THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

AND...

All the Platforms of All Parties

Price 25 Cents

VINCENT PUBLISHING CO.
1812 Chicago Street, OMAHA, NEB.
The Platform Text Book

CONTAINING

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

... AND...

All the Platforms of All Parties.

PRICE 25 CENTS.

Entered as Second Class Matter at Post-Office, Omaha, Neb.

VINCENT PUBLISHING CO.,
1812 Chicago Street, OMAHA, NEB.
COPYRIGHT, 1900

BY

C. VINCENT.
This compilation is presented at this time because, for several years last past, the trend of political events has been toward an abandonment of the traditions and simplicity and purity, and even of the form of government that was bequeathed to us at such a cost of blood and treasure, and has shown a tendency to react from those high ideals to a closer pattern after and sympathy with old world models. It is believed that a perusal of all party platforms, in the light of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of our Country, will show clearly the point of divergence from a safe political course, and the point to which we must retrace our steps. Such a perusal will also show at least two complete changes or reversals in the principles of the parties dominant at the time of those changes, and will enable the young voters more clearly to discern the truth touching the claims of political parties to the support of the people.

It is hoped that persons perusing these pages will put every party pledge and utterance to the test suggested in the "Preamble to the Constitution," and note whether the party pledges are calculated to subserve the ends therein expressed.

Omaha, July 6, 1900. The Compiler.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declaration of Independence</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of the United States</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Elected</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Resolutions</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Republican Platform</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Federalist Platform</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford Resolution</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers' Resolutions</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platforms</td>
<td>1832-34; 1836-35; 1840-37; 1844-39; 1848-43; 1852-48; 1856-57; 1860-64; 1864-68; 1868-71; 1876-86; 1880-92; 1884-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platforms</td>
<td>1800-26; 1856-54; 1860-61; 1864-66, 67; 1868-69; 1872-78; 1876-83; 1880-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical Republican Platform</td>
<td>1864-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Soil Platforms</td>
<td>40-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty Party Platforms</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American (Party Platform</td>
<td>56-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American National Platform</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Greenback&quot; Platform</td>
<td>81-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Party Platforms</td>
<td>75-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Republican Platforms</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whig Platforms</td>
<td>36-39-42-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1880</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of Election of 1880</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign of 1884</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1884</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1884</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National (Greenback) Platform of 1884</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Platform</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Rights Platform</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of Election of 1884</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign of 1888</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platform of 1888</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1888</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1888</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Labor Platform of 1888</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Reform Platform of 1888</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of Election of 1888</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Party Organized</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Party Platform</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution of St. Louis Conference</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign of 1892</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platform of 1892</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS.</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1892.</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1892.</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha Platform.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of the People.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question of Finance.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of Transportation.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclaiming the Land.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialistic Platform of 1892.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Demands.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of Election of 1892.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign of 1896.</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1896.</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party Platform.</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegiance to Protection Renewed.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaration on Reciprocity.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against Free Coinage.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Massacres and Cuba.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Immigration.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperance and Woman's Rights.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1896.</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Party Platform.</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Party Platform of 1896.</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance.</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Legislation.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Propositions.</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Labor Platform of 1896.</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolutions.</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indianapolis Platform.</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of Election Nov. 3, 1896.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President McKinley's Cabinet.</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign of 1900.</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Party Platform of 1900.</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1900.</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platform of 1900.</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Republican Platform.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-of-the-Road Populist Platform.</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform for 1900.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Labor Platform for 1900.</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Platform of 1904.</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platform of 1904.</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1904.</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1904.</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Platform of 1908.</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Platform of 1908.</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Platform of 1908.</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Platform of 1908.</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence Platform of 1908.</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

On June 7th, 1776, in the Colonial Congress, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution that, "THESE UNITED COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

A committee was appointed to draft a suitable declaration. The members of that committee were Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. Lee's resolution having been submitted to the several colonies was favorably passed by twelve, New York alone failing to unite in the action, and on July 2nd, the Congress having official notice of the action of the several colonies proceeded to discuss the declaration and on July 4th adopted the same, which transaction is thus recorded in the journal for that day.

"Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report."

The Declaration being read was agreed to as follows:

"A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

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

For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

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

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the powers of our government:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and canguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which demands our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, and in a firm reliance upon the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:


Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York—William Floyd, Philip
Livingstone, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.


Delaware—Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean.

Maryland—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, JOHN HANCOCK, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.


North Carolina—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. II.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

3. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The
seats of the senators of the first-class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, the second-class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third-class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sec. IV.—1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in the State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. V.—1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sec. VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office
under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sec. VII.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it; but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. VIII.—The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish postoffices and post roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the
Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand, eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit and trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Sec. X.—1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection law; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section I.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four
years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person shall have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them the Vice-President.

Annulled. See Amendments, Article XII.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve upon the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sec. II.—1. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when
called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senate present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments herein are not otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they may think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. IV.—The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States: between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.
Sec. III.—1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in
levying war against them, or in ad-
hering to their enemies, giving them
aid and comfort. No person shall be
convicted of treason unless on the testi-
mony of two witnesses to the same
overt act, or on confession in open
court.

2. The Congress shall have power to
declare the punishment of treason, but
no attaintder of treason shall work cor-
rupit of blood, or forfeiture except
during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

Section I.—Full faith and credit shall
be given in each State to the public
acts, records and judicial proceedings
of every other State. And the Con-
gress may by general laws prescribe
the manner in which such acts, rec-
cords and proceedings shall be proved,
and the effect thereof.

Sec. II.—1. The citizens of each State
shall be entitled to all privileges and
immunities of citizens in the several
States.

2. A person charged in any State
with treason, felony, or other crime,
who shall see from justice, and be
found in another State, shall on de-
mand of the executive authority of the
State from which he fled, be delivered
up to be removed to the State having
jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or la-
bor in one State, under the laws there-
of, escaping into another, shall, in
consequence of any law or regulation
therin, be discharged from such serv-
ice or labor, but shall be delivered up
on claim of the party to whom such
service or labor may be due.

Sec. III.—1. New States may be ad-
mited by the Congress into this
Union; but no new State shall be
formed or erected within the jurisdic-
tion of any other State; nor any State
be formed by the junction of two or
more States, or parts of States, with-
out the consent of the legislatures of
the States concerned as well as of
the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to
dispose of and make all needful rules
and regulations respecting the terri-
tory or other property belonging to
the United States; and nothing in this
Constitution shall be so construed as
to prejudice any claims of the United
States, or any particular State.

Sec. IV.—The United States shall
guarantee to every State in this Union
a republican form of government, and
shall protect each of them against inv-
asion; and, on application of the leg-
sislature, or of the executive (when
the legislature cannot be convened)
against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds
of both houses shall deem it necessary,
shall propose amendments to this Con-
stitution, or, on the application of the
legislatures of two-thirds of the sev-
eral States, shall call a convention for
proposing amendments, which, in
either case, shall be valid to all in-
ten ts and purposes, as part of this
Constitution, when ratified by the leg-
sislatures of three-fourths of the sev-
eral States, or by conventions in three-
fourths thereof, as the one or the other
mode of ratification may be propose-
d by the Congress; provided that no
amendment which may be made prior
to the year one thousand eight hun-
dred and eight shall in any manner
affect the first and fourth clauses in
the ninth section of the first article;
and that no State, without its consent,
shall be deprived of its equal suffrage
in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engage-
ments entered into, before the adop-
tion of this Constitution, shall be as
valid against the United States un-
der this Constitution, as under the
Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of
the United States which shall be made
in pursuance thereof; and all treaties
made, or which shall be made, under
the authority of the United States,
shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support the Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

(Signed by Geo. Washington, President, and by Members of the Convention.)

The Constitution was adopted by the Convention on the 17th of September, 1787, appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the Confederation of the 21st of February, 1787, and ratified by the Conventions of the several States, as follows:

Delaware, December 7th, 1787, unanimously.
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, by a vote of 46 to 23.
New Jersey, December 18th, 1787, unanimously.
Georgia, January 2d, 1788, unanimously.
Connecticut, January 9th, 1788, by a vote of 128 to 40.
Massachusetts, February 6th, 1788, by a vote of 187 to 168.

Maryland, April 28th, 1788, by a vote of 63 to 12.
South Carolina, May 23d, 1788, by a vote of 149 to 73.
New Hampshire, June 21st, 1788, by a vote of 57 to 47.
Virginia, June 25th, 1788, by a vote of 89 to 79.
New York, July 26th, 1788, by a vote of 30 to 25.
North Carolina, November 21st, 1788, by a vote of 193 to 75.
Rhode Island, May 29th, 1790, by a majority of 2.
Vermont, January 10th, 1791, by a vote of 105 to 4.

Declared ratified by resolution of the Congress, September 13th, 1788.

The first Congress under its provisions was to have met in New York, March 4th, 1789, but on that day no quorum was present in either House. The House of Representatives organized on the 1st of April and the Senate secured a quorum on the 6th of April, 1789.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be described by law.
ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, on in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

(Proposed by Congress March 5th, 1794, and declared in force January 8, 1798.)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

(Proposed December 12th, 1803, in the first session of the Eighth Congress, and declared in force September 25th, 1804.)

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of
Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest members on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.
(Proposed by Congress February 1st, 1865, and declared in force December 18th, 1865.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.
(Proposed by Congress June 16th, 1866, and declared in force July, 1868.

Of the above, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia (9) first rejected the amendment, but finally ratified it. New Jersey and Ohio (2) rescinded their ratification.

Rejected by Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland—3.

No final action was taken by California—1.)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State; who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a two-thirds vote of each house remove such disability.

Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slaves; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation the provisions of this Article.

ARTICLE XV.

(Proposed by Congress February 26th, 1869, and declared in force March 30th, 1870.


Of the above, Georgia and Ohio at first rejected but finally ratified. New York rescinded its ratification.

Rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, and Oregon—6.

No final action was taken by Tennessee—1.)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
NATIONAL PLATFORMS OF PARTIES.

On November 15, 1777, the year following the issue of the "Declaration of Independence," a congress of delegates assembled in Philadelphia and adopted "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," declaring that: "The style of this confederation shall be 'The United States of America.'"

This action was fully ratified and confirmed by the Congress assembled July 9, 1778, and these articles of confederation were the fundamental law until the adoption of the Constitution nearly ten years later, which provided that all debts contracted and engagements entered into before adoption of the Constitution were as valid against the United States under the Constitution as under the confederation. Under the Articles of Confederation, power was vested in Congress but there was no provision for a chief executive nor Senate.

FIRST PRESIDENTIAL TERM.
The first election of President of the United States occurred on Jan. 7, 1789. Ten states participated in the election and 69 presidential electors were chosen.

Of the original thirteen states New York had not adopted the required election laws, while North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution.

George Washington of Virginia was the unanimous choice for President, and for Vice-President John Adams of Massachusetts was elected, receiving 34 votes.

Other votes for Vice-President were as follows: John Jay of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison of Maryland, 6; Jno. Rutledge of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton of New York, 3; Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, 2; John Milton of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong of Georgia, 1; Edward Telfair of Georgia, 1; Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, 1.

Washington was inaugurated on April 30, 1789.

The President's cabinet, as at first created, consisted of only three Secretaries: Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia; Secretary of Treasury, Alex. Hamilton of New York; Secretary of War and Navy, Edmund Randolph of Virginia.

During Washington's first term party division began to exist. Hamilton and Vice-President Adams were the acknowledged leaders of the "Federalists," while the opposition, under the leadership of Jefferson and Randolph, were called at times "Democrats," "Anti-Federalists," and "Republicans," which latter name was adopted, though no party convention was held nor platform made.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM.
In 1792 fifteen states voted and 132 electors were chosen.

The entire vote was again cast for George Washington's re-election and John Adams was re-elected Vice-President, receiving 77 votes.

Other votes for Vice-President were as follows: George Clinton of New
York, 50; Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, 4; Aaron Burr of New York, 1.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia was appointed Secretary of State, but in December, 1795, was succeeded by Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts.

Secretary of Treasury Alex. Hamilton of New York succeeded by Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut.

Secretary of War and Navy, Henry Knox until January, 1795, when Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts was appointed and held the position until transferred to the state department in December of the same year, James McHenry taking the place in the war department.

Attorney-General, William Bradford of Virginia, succeeded by Charles Lee of the same state.

ELECTION OF 1796.

The opposition to the Federalists had developed much strength and was led by Thomas Jefferson, while John Adams, who had for two terms held the office of Vice-President, was the leader of the party in power. There were no nominating conventions held, however, nor platforms adopted, though party lines were being clearly drawn.

The Federalist strength in Congress was breaking and with the retirement of Washington it was evident that there was no one on whom the entire vote could concentrate for President.

Under the Constitution as originally adopted it was provided that electors chosen to vote for President and Vice-President, should each vote for two persons, no designation being made as between the two positions, but the one receiving the highest number of votes was elected President and the next highest was elected Vice-President. In the two prior elections a unanimous vote had been given General Washington, while the second place only, had been a matter of contest. In the election of 1796, the first position being a matter of contention led to the election of the opposing presidential candidates to the two positions.

On Dec. 12, 1803, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed, and declared in force Sept. 25, 1804, which provided that presidential electors should name in their ballots the person voted for as President and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President.

In 1796 there were 138 electors and each voted for two candidates, making a total vote of 276 divided as follows: Federalists: John Adams of Massachusetts, 71; Thos. Pinckney of South Carolina, 59; Oliver Elsworth of Connecticut, 11; John Jay of New York, 5; James Iredell of North Carolina, 3; George Washington, 2; John Henry of Maryland, 2; S. Johnson of South Carolina, 2; C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina, 1. Anti-Federalists: Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, 68; Aaron Burr of New York, 30; Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, 15; George Clinton of New York, 7.

The electoral vote was counted on Feb. 8, 1797, and the result announced: John Adams, President; Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President. Cabinet officers from the former administration were retained.

In 1798 the navy department was established as a cabinet position and Benjamin Stoddard of Maryland appointed Secretary of the Navy.

John Marshall of Virginia, who had become leader of the Federalists in Congress, was Secretary of State during the closing months of the Adams' administration. Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts was Secretary of the Treasury at the same period.

During this administration the growth of public sentiment in opposition to the Federalists was marked, and while party lines had not assumed definite shape, Jefferson, the acknowledged leader, had decided on "Republican" as the party name and Congress was becoming Anti-Federalist.

The Kentucky Legislature on Nov. 10, 1798, passed a series of resolutions setting forth the idea of state supremacy, in matters not especially delegated to the general government and
condemning certain acts of Congress which it was claimed interfered with the authority of the states and was a usurpation of federal authority. During the following month the Virginia Legislature passed resolutions of similar purport which attracted general attention, and was condemned by seven state legislatures which took official notice of them. The “Alien and Sedition” laws to which reference is made were extremely unpopular with the people and caused very general criticism of the administration and led to the downfall of the Federalists.

The “Alien” law authorized the President to expel from the country any foreigners whom he might consider dangerous to the United States.

The “Sedition” law subjected to punishment by fine and imprisonment anyone convicted of speaking, writing, or publishing anything false or malicious against the President or Congress.

Kentucky and Virginia, in asserting opposition to these laws, laid the foundation for a “States Rights” doctrine which was asserted much more vigorously at a later period.

While in no sense a political party platform, yet the resolutions adopted by the Virginia Legislature had much to do in bringing about the political revolution of the time.

THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved. That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of this state, against every aggression either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the Government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and, that for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by said compact, the states, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret, that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government, to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the Constitutional Charter which defines them; and, that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains, and limits the general phases, so as to consolidate the states by degrees into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be, to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best, a mixed monarchy.

That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late cases of the “Alien and Sedition Acts,” passed at the last session of Congress; the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and which, by uniting legislative and
judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as particular organization and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exercises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto; a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

That this state having by its convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution, expressly declared, that among other essential rights, "the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States," and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition, having with other states recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was, in due time, annexed to the Constitution, it would mark a reproachful inconsistency, and criminal degeneracy, if an indifference were now shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights, thus declared and secured; and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

That the good people of this commonwealth, having ever felt and continuing to feel the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other states; the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the Union of all; and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship, and the instrument of mutual happiness; the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like disposition in the other states, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth, in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operating with this state, in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights and liberties, reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

That the governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other states with a request that the same may be communicated to the legislature thereof; and that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this state in the Congress of the United States.

Attest,

JOHN STEWART.

1798, December 24th. Agreed to by the Senate.

H. BROOKS.

A true copy from the original deposited in the office of the General Assembly.

JOHN STEWART,
Keeper of Rolls.

The Virginia resolutions were drawn by James Madison, the intimate, lifelong friend of Thomas Jefferson.

Seven state legislatures indorsed the general government in the construction placed on the Constitution and denounced the sentiments expressed in the resolutions which, however, were rapidly receiving the support of the people.

The legislature of Vermont rejected the Virginia Resolutions as being "unconstitutional in their nature and dangerous in their tendency."

The General Assembly of Connecticut upheld the "Alien and Sedition Acts," urged that they were authorized by the Constitution and were laws "which the exigency of the country rendered necessary."

Delaware regarded the resolutions as "unjustifiable interference with the General Government and constituted authorities of the United States."

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and New Hampshire maintained a similar position.
ELECTION OF 1800.

The Republicans at a meeting in Philadelphia adopted a platform and named their candidates: For President, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia; for Vice-President, Aaron Burr of New York.

The Federalists renominated John Adams of Massachusetts, with C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina for Vice-President, and made no platform. The electoral vote was: Jefferson 73, Burr 73, Adams 65, Pinckney 64, John Jay 1. The vote was counted Feb. 11, 1801. Jefferson and Burr having received an equal number of votes, the House proceeded to ballot for President, and it was not until Feb. 17 and on the 36th ballot that Jefferson was chosen President and Burr Vice-President.

Jefferson's Cabinet—Secretary of State, James Madison of Virginia; Secretary of Treasury, Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith of Maryland, succeeded by Jacob Crowninshield of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, succeeded by Robert Smith.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1800.

1. An inviolable preservation of the Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the states, that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that which its enemies apprehended, who, therefore, became its enemies.

2. Opposition to monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a transition, first, to a President and Senate for life; and secondly, to an hereditary tenure of those offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle.

3. Preservation to the states of the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers; and resistance, therefore, to existing movements for transferring all the powers of the state to the General Government, and all of those of that Government to the executive branch.

4. A rigorously frugal administration of the Government, and the application of all the possible savings of the public revenue to the liquidation of the public debt; and resistance, therefore, to all measures looking to a multiplication of offices and salaries, merely to create partisans and to augment the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

5. Reliance for internal defense solely upon the militia, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors from depredations, and opposition, therefore, to the policy of a standing army in time of peace which may overawe the public sentiment, and to a navy, which, by its own expenses, and the wars into which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.

6. Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.

7. Opposition to linking ourselves, by new treaties, with the quarrels of Europe, entering their fields of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

8. Freedom of religion, and opposition to all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect against another.

9. Freedom of speech and of the press, and opposition, therefore, to all violations of the Constitution, to silence, by force and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their public agents.

10. Liberal naturalization laws, under which the well disposed of all nations who may desire to embark their fortunes with us and share with us the public burdens, may have that opportunity, under moderate restrictions, for the development of honest inten-
tion, and severe ones to guard against
the usurpation of our flag.
11. Encouragement of science and
the arts in all their branches, to the
end that the American people may
perfect their independence of all for-
eign monopolies, institutions and in-
fluences.

FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.
In 1804 no platforms were adopted
and candidates were named by caucus
of congressmen.
The 176 electoral votes, of which Thomas Jefferson for President
and George Clinton for Vice-President received 162, being the entire
vote of fifteen states, while only two
states, Connecticut and Delaware, voted for Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus
King, the Federalist candidates, casting 14 electoral votes.
No change was made in the Cabinet.
During this administration a move-
ment was made to adopt the name
Democrat instead of Republican as the
party name, and in many localities
this was done though both names were
used synonymously.
It is believed that Jefferson had al-
ways preferred the name Democrat,
but it having been used in derision by
the Federalists and a charge of "mob
rule" made in connection with the
name, it was only after the party had
become strong and in power, that
the name was assumed which more
perfectly represented a government by
the people.

ELECTION OF 1808.
There were no party platforms nor
conventions.
The Democrats in congressional cau-
cus nominated for President, James
Madison, who had held the position
of Secretary of State during the eight
years of Jefferson's administration.
Vice-President George Clinton was re-
nominated.
The Federalists again placed in
nomination the same candidates that
were defeated four years before, C.
C. Pinckney of South Carolina for
President and Rufus King of New
York for Vice-President. The electoral
vote counted on Feb. 8, 1808, gave
James Madison 122, C. C. Pinckney
47, and George Clinton 6 for Presi-
dent; George Clinton 113, Rufus King
47, James Madison 3, John Langdon 9,
and James Monroe 3 for Vice-Presi-
dent.
President Madison appointed James
Monroe of Virginia Secretary of State,
a position which he retained through
this presidential term as well as the
following; in fact, until he was him-
self elected President in 1816.
Albert Gallatin, Secretary of Treas-
ury, and Charles A. Rodney of Dela-
wre, Attorney-General, retained their
positions in the cabinet of Jefferson's
administration. William Eustis of
Massachusetts was appointed Secre-
tary of War and Paul Hamilton of
South Carolina, Secretary of the Navy.
Party lines were beginning to be more
closely drawn and in the 12th Con-
gress, 1811-1813, there were but 35 Fed-
eralists in the House and only 3 in
the Senate. Henry Clay of Kentucky
was chosen Speaker of the House and
although but 34 years of age at the
time, was recognized as a rising states-
man. War was declared against Eng-
land on June 19, 1812.

ELECTION OF 1812.
The Democratic congressional cau-
cus nominated James Madison for re-
election, with Elbridge Gerry of New
York as candidate for Vice-President.
No platform. In 1812 the Federalists
held a national convention in New
York, the first ever held in the United
States. DeWitt Clinton of New York
was nominated for President and Jared
Ingersoll of Pennsylvania for Vice-
President. The resolutions adopted
were known as the "Clintonian" plat-
form.
The election resulted in a victory for
Madison and Gerry, who received 138
electoral votes, while Clinton and
Ingersoll received 86.
During Madison's second term Alex.
J. Dallas of Pennsylvania was given charge of the treasury department, the former secretary, Albert Gallatin, going to Paris as United States Minister.

During both the 13th and 14th Congress the Democrats were in full control of both House and Senate. Henry Clay was Speaker of the House during the entire time.

THE FEDERALIST PLATFORM.

Adopted at New York Federalist convention and known as the "Clintonian" platform:

1. Opposition to nominations of chief magistrates by congressional caucuses, as well because such practices are the exercise of undelegated authority, as of their repugnance to the freedom of elections.

2. Opposition to all customs and usages in both the executive and legislative departments which have for their object the maintenance of an official regency to prescribe tenets of political faith, the line of conduct to be deemed fidelity or recreancy to republican principles, and to perpetuate in themselves or families the offices of the Federal Government.

3. Opposition to all these efforts on the part of the particular states to monopolize the principal offices of the Government as well because of their certainty to destroy the harmony which ought to prevail amongst all the constituent parts of the Union, as of their leanings toward a form of oligarchy entirely at variance with the theory of republican government: and, consequently, particular opposition to continuing a citizen of Virginia in the executive office another term, unless she can show that she enjoys a corresponding monopoly of talents and patriotism, after she has been honored with the presidency for twenty out of twenty-four years of our constitutional existence, and when it is obvious that the practice has arrayed the agricultural against the commercial interests of the country.

4. Opposition to continuing public men for long periods in offices of delicate trust and weighty responsibility as the reward of public services, to the detriment of all or any particular interest in, or section of, the country; and, consequently to the continuance of Mr. Madison in an office which, in view of our pending difficulties with Great Britain, requires an incumbent of greater decision, energy and efficiency.

5. Opposition to the lingering inadequacy of preparations for the war with Great Britain now about to ensue, and to the measure which allows uninterrupted trade with Spain and Portugal, which, as it cannot be carried on under our flag, gives to Great Britain the means of supplying her armies with provisions, of which they would otherwise be destitute, and thus affording aid and comfort to our enemy.

6. Averment of the existing necessity for placing the country in a condition for aggressive action for the conquest of the British American Provinces and for the defense of our coasts and exposed frontiers; and of the propriety of such a levy of taxes as will raise the necessary funds for the emergency.

7. Advocacy of the election of De Witt Clinton as the surest method of relieving the country from all the evils existing and prospective, for the reason that his great talents and inflexible patriotism guarantee a firm and unyielding maintenance of our national sovereignty, and the protection of those commercial interests which were flagging under the weakness and imbecility of the administration.

DECLINE OF THE FEDERALISTS.

Under Madison's administration the Federalists of the United States largely united with the Democrats, the war of 1812 engrossed the people's attention and party lines were being badly shattered.

With the election of Jefferson in 1800.
the difference between the parties had been practically wiped out, there being no further reason for the party in power to denounce usurpations of authority and charge infraction of constitutional rights, nor reason for those out of power to urge a right to the exercise of greater authority by the administration.

There was an element which denounced the war policy of the administration and in December, 1814, during the second term of President Madison, the Federalists who opposed the war met in convention at Hartford, Conn., and adopted resolutions which served rather to promote the annihilation of the party.

These resolutions, while not a party platform, are of interest as a matter of party history.

The Hartford convention was composed of the delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont. The treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States by which our government won the points contended for by the administration left the remnant of the Federalist organization with slight following, and their resolutions, passed so recently, only emphasized in the minds of the people the wisdom of their opponents.

HARTFORD RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the legislatures of the several states represented in this convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, that it be and is hereby recommended to the said legislatures, to authorize an immediate and an earnest application to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said states may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said states may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the balance due said states, and to the future defense of the same. The amount so paid into said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid, to be charged to the United States.

Resolved, That is be and hereby is recommended to the legislatures of the aforesaid states, to pass laws where it has not already been done, authorizing the governors or commanders-in-chief of their militia to make detachments from the same state, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their Constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and held in readiness for service, and upon request of the governor of either of the other states to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the state, or such part thereof as may be required, and can be spared consistently with the safety of the state, in assisting the state making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved, That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the states represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the state legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a Constitution chosen by the people of each state. And it is further recommended that the said states shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected.

1. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included
within this Union, according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, and all other persons.

2. No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted in the Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses.

3. Congress shall not have power to lay an embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days.

4. Congress shall not have power without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation or the dependencies thereof.

5. Congress shall not make nor declare war, nor authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

6. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, or capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States.

7. The same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time, nor shall the President be elected from the same state two terms in succession.

Resolved. That if the application of these states to the Government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defense of these states should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet in Boston, in the state of Massachusetts, on the third Monday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

Resolved, That the Honorable George Cabot, the Honorable Chauncey Goodrich, the Honorable Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be held in Boston at any time before new delegates shall be chosen as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it.

ELECTION OF 1816.

Candidates were named by congressional caucus. No platforms were adopted.

The Federalists nominated Rufus King of New York for President, but made no nomination for Vice-President.

The Democrats—or Republicans as they were yet called to a great extent—nominated James Monroe of Virginia for President and Daniel D. Tompkins of New York for Vice-President.

Nineteen states voted, choosing 221 presidential electors. Monroe and Tompkins received 183 votes. Rufus King received 34 cast by the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware.

Monroe's cabinet was composed as follows: Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts; Secretary of Treasury, Wm. H. Crawford of Georgia; Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson of New York; Attorney-General, Wm. Wirt of Virginia.

During this presidential term there were but 6 Federalists in the Senate and never more than 22 in the House.

ELECTION OF 1820.

No candidates whatever were named nor platform adopted.

Twenty-four states voted and 232
electoral votes were cast. Every state voted for the re-election of Monroe, who received 231 votes. One elector voted for John Q. Adams of Massachusetts.

For re-election as Vice-President, Tompkins received 218 electoral votes, Richard Stockton of New Jersey 8, Daniel Rodney of Delaware 4, Robert Harper of Maryland 1, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania 1.

There was no change in the cabinet except that in 1823 Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey was appointed Secretary of the Navy.

During the administration of President Monroe history records the initial moves toward a number of important political changes.

Early in his first term, within a month from his inauguration, a United States bank was chartered with an authorized capital of $35,000,000, in which the United States took paid up stock to the amount of $7,000,000, and this bank with its branches was made the official depository of public money. Subsequent events proved that when the government deposits were called for and withdrawn the suspension of the bank ensued and the capital stock had been exhausted.

Anti-slavery agitation reached a point of considerable importance and organization was gradually spreading.

In 1820 the admission of Missouri as a state was hotly contested and finally the act of admission was accompanied with a provision that slavery should thereafter be forbidden in United States territory north of latitude 36, 30, this being the southern boundary of Missouri. This action of Congress was introduced by Henry Clay and is known as the "Missouri Compromise."

In 1818 slavery was abolished in Connecticut and during the same year the slave trade was declared by Congress to be piracy.

The close of Monroe's second term made twenty-four years in succession without change of party in the executive department. There had been three administrations of eight years each and the three Presidents who had been re-elected were all citizens of Virginia.

ELECTION OF 1824.

The presidential contest in 1824 was devoid of political significance; no nominations were made nor platforms announced. Twenty-four states voted and 261 presidential electors were chosen. The electoral vote was divided as follows: For President—Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, 99; John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, 84; William H. Crawford of Georgia, 41; Henry Clay of Kentucky, 37.

The vote for Vice-President was: John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, 182; Nathan Sanford of New York, 30; Nathaniel Mason of North Carolina, 24; Andrew Jackson, 13; Martin Van Buren of New York, 2, and Henry Clay, 9. John C. Calhoun was declared elected Vice-President and the House of Representatives proceeded to vote by states for the election of President with the result that Adams was elected on the first ballot, receiving 13 states, Andrew Jackson 7 and Crawford 4.

In the earlier elections presidential electors were usually chosen by the state legislatures, but at this time they were largely chosen by popular vote, which was divided as follows: Jackson 155,872, Adams 105,321, Crawford 44,282, Clay 46,587.

John Quincy Adams' cabinet was: Secretary of State, Henry Clay of Kentucky; Secretary of Treasury, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, James Barbour of Virginia, succeeded by Peter B. Porter of New York, May 26, 1828; Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt of Virginia.

During this administration the first railroad enterprise in the United States was projected, and in 1826 a charter was granted to the Mohawk and Hudson Company. The Baltimore
and Ohio Railroad was chartered in 1827.

July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of American independence, was made specially memorable by the deaths of two eminent revolutionary patriots on that day, Thomas Jefferson, past eighty-three years of age, and John Adams, almost ninety-one. The coincidences of their lives were strikingly completed by the coincidence of their passing away on the 4th of July, 1826. Both had been resolute and unyielding in their devotion to the cause of American liberty. Both were members of the committee to draw up and submit to the Colonial Congress, the Declaration of Independence. Both were earnest and fearless in their support of the measure. Both had been Ministers abroad, and both had filled the positions of Vice-President and President of the United States.

The policy of protecting home manufacturers by a high tariff on imported articles became an absorbing topic in politics and on July 30, 1827, a meeting of manufacturers convened in Harrisburg, Pa., adopted resolutions and submitted to the country arguments which formed the base of action for political organization, and as such is of importance in defining the cause and course of political movements at that time.

ARGUMENTS FOR PROTECTION.

That the United States, having the raw material for the manufacture of any article in abundance, should be encouraged to supply that material. That to import a material or an article from a foreign country, that can be obtained at home, is a waste of time, money and labor, to the extent of the cost of transportation of such article or material.

To place a high custom duty on articles coming from abroad, making the article, which is thus protected, higher in price, is calculated to induce capitalists from foreign lands to come to this country and invest their money in the manufacture of that which will not be imported because of the high tariff.

That the manufacturer, who thus gets a large price for the article he makes, in consequence of lessened competition is enabled and does pay a correspondingly high price to his workmen.

That workmen, receiving more for their labor because of shutting out the goods of foreign countries, are consequently better supplied with all those comforts and luxuries which pertain to a higher civilization.

That the money which is paid to workmen in our own country, be the price high or low, is kept at home, circulates in our midst and consequently makes money abundant and times good.

That the higher price for goods, which results from protection, will invite capital into the country; the capitalist will bring a higher order of mechanical talent with him to assist in his manufacturing than has been in the country before, the whole resulting in better citizenship.

That the springing up of new industries, the result of preventing goods coming in from abroad, tends not only to bring in new and better mechanics from other countries, but it causes a rapid settlement of the country, making a better home market for the farmer and the manufacturer.

That if goods are allowed to come into the country comparatively free of duty, the result will be that the laboring classes of this country must work at the same price which is paid in Europe for like service. Thus if the Swiss watchmaker can hire help at one dollar a day and send his watch here free of tariff duty, the watchmaker in America, in order to compete with the Swiss watchmaker, cannot pay his workmen more than one dollar per day.

That a high protective duty is placed on watches or other goods coming from foreign lands, the increased compensation to workmen will be in
proportion to the rate of tariff which is charged.

That the protecting of young industries in the beginning will result, through the higher price of goods, in developing factories in America to such a great extent as will result in a large supply of goods and ultimately cheap prices through competition.

That a high protective tariff will not only bring capital and desirable population from abroad, but it will develop our internal resources, will give high wages to workmen, will keep money in circulation at home, and in time, through universal development of manufacturing interests, prices will go so low that the United States will become the manufacturing center of the globe and will be able to export goods, compete with and undersell all the nations of the earth in any part of the world.

There seems to have been little if any opposition to the raising of government revenue by means of this plan, which levied a tax on imported articles that were consumed by our own people, but the contest was made over the question whether this tax should be a certain per cent on all importations, or a schedule of varied rates in the interests of establishing or maintaining certain manufacturing enterprises.

President Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay were leaders in the cause of "protection" and Andrew Jackson was prominent in favor of a tariff for revenue only.

ELECTION OF 1828.

John Quincy Adams was the candidate for President and Richard Rush of Pennsylvania for Vice-President on the ticket supported by the friends of a protective tariff, who were organized under the name National Republican.

The opposition were known as Democrats, and placed in the race Andrew Jackson of Tennessee for President and John C. Calhoun for Vice-President. There were no conventions nor platforms. State legislatures indorsed the choice of candidates made by common consent of Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Twenty-four states voted and 261 electors were chosen. Election was held Nov. 4, 1828; electoral vote counted Feb. 11, 1829. Jackson received 178 and Adams 83 for President.

For Vice-President: Calhoun 171, William C. Smith of South Carolina 7, and Richard Rush 83. Jackson and Calhoun were declared elected. The popular vote was, Democrat 647,231, National Republican 509,097.

In New York, Delaware and South Carolina electors were chosen by the legislature.

Jackson's cabinet: Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren of New York; Secretary of Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, John H. Eaton of Tennessee; Secretary of Navy, John Branch of North Carolina; Attorney-General, John W. Berrien of Georgia. The office of Postmaster-General was made a cabinet position, and on March 9, 1829, William T. Barry of Kentucky was appointed to this place.

Jackson's administration marks a period of more than ordinary political antagonism and controversy.

Party spirit prevailed to an extent it had not previously attained and President Jackson drew party lines in making appointments to office more strictly than had any of his predecessors.

In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison established a strong anti-slavery paper in Boston.

Contention in regard to the tariff laws reached the highest point in South Carolina, where the legislature passed a "nullification" act, declaring the law contrary to the interests of the people, unconstitutional, null and void; also threatening to secede and establish an independent government...
if any attempt was made to enforce the laws in that state. Vice-President Calhoun was a leader in this movement and resigned his seat as Vice-President that he might, on the floor of the Senate, defend the action and advocate the measures proposed by his state. Martin Van Buren succeeded him as Vice-President, and Edward Livingstone of Georgia was appointed Secretary of State.

Jackson took the most prompt and vigorous steps to sustain federal authority; sent troops into the state, placed naval forces along the coast, and by his firmness and unflinching attitude in upholding the laws, won the admiration and respect of those who had been his political adversaries.

On July 10, 1831, Jackson vetoed the bill rechartering the United States bank.

Anti-Masonic agitation was active and in 1830 and 1831 conventions were held at which resolutions were adopted opposing secret societies and calling on the people to unite for political action. In 1831 nominations were made for the campaign of the following year.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1832.

The Democrats renominated Andrew Jackson for President, and nominated Martin Van Buren for Vice-President in a convention held at Baltimore March 22, 1832.

At a ratification meeting held in Washington City on May 11 the following resolutions were adopted:

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1832.

Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the General Government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength and permanency of the republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that “to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished,” is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

The National Republicans, or Whigs as they were being called, held a convention in Baltimore, Md., Dec. 12, 1831, and nominated: For President, Henry Clay of Kentucky; for Vice-President, John Sargent of Pennsylvania. No platform was adopted.

The Anti-Masonic candidates named at the convention in Baltimore Sept. 26, 1831, were William Wirt, of Maryland for President, and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

Election occurred Nov. 6, 1832, and the vote was counted Feb. 13, 1833. Twenty-four states voted and chose 288 electors. The state of Vermont cast 7 votes for Wirt and Ellmaker. South Carolina cast 11 votes for John Floyd and Henry Lee. Henry Clay and John Sargent received 49 electoral votes cast by the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky.

For Jackson there were 219 electoral votes, and for Van Buren 189. Thirty votes were cast for William Wilkins for Vice-President.

The popular vote is reported as: Democratic, 667,502; National Republican, 530,189; Anti-Mason, 33,108.

Several changes occurred in Jackson's cabinet during his first term.

During the first year of this term one important step was taken which involved a cabinet change, and without a
report of which, history would be glaringly incomplete.

When the charter was granted in 1816 for a corporation to be known as "The United States Bank" it provided that government funds, current receipts, were to be deposited with the bank and withdrawn only as needed for expenditures, unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The government also was a stockholder in the institution, taking one-fifth the stock, putting in seven million dollars cash against twenty-eight millions of capital stock on the part of the managers.

General Jackson believed that a gigantic monopoly was being established at the expense of the people and desired the government deposits removed, but his Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, refused to so order, and finally resigned his position on a written request of the President, and Roger B. Taney of Maryland was, on Sept. 23, 1833, appointed to the place.

The order was at once issued that deposits with "The United States Bank" should cease, and the funds already on deposit should be withdrawn as needed in government expenditures.

The result was that the bank closed its business in a short time and on settling up it was found that its whole capital was lost; had been exhausted in payment of salaries and other expenses; in large loans to congressmen, editors of newspapers and other influential men; in the circulation of campaign literature and in other extraordinary expenditures in an effort to prevent the re-election of President Jackson; yet with these facts plainly evident, most historians have not only failed to make mention of the political influence exerted by the corporation, under the title "United States Bank," but have entirely overlooked the fact that the capital used was government funds.

It is a matter deserving of emphasis in history, that the seven millions of cash capital and the government deposits formed the only actual basis for the institution.

In 1835 the public debt was practically extinguished, being reduced to $37,000.

In 1837 the banks of New York, which was the commercial center of the country, suspended payment and refused to meet the demand for withdrawal of deposits, and a general panic ensued, followed by widespread destitution, suspension of business and an era of bankruptcy and ruin.

The Democratic party was becoming divided into factions while the opposition was united under the name Whig. One faction of the democracy known as the radical wing of the party was in ridicule termed "loco-foco."

THIRTEENTH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1836.

The Democrats in May, 1835, met in Baltimore and nominated Martin Van Buren of New York for President, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for Vice-President. No platform.

In January, 1836, the radical wing in New York named as candidates, Hugh L. White of Tennessee for President, and William Smith of Alabama for Vice-President; adopting the following:

PLATFORM—"LOCO-FOCO."

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of republican government is the equal rights of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up our natural rights; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the natural right to commit ag-
gressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to banknotes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation; because they are violations of equal rights of the people; hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or prerogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the people's sovereign rights; no legislative or other authority in the body politic can rightfully, by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men, in any case whatever, from trial by jury and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation, passed by preceding legislatures, can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors; and that they should be altered or repealed, when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

On Feb. 3, at Albany, N. Y., the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President, and Francis Granger of New York for Vice-President.

WHIG PLATFORM, 1836.

Resolved, That in support of our cause, we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the executive to obtain his influence to elect him to the Presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to free institutions.

Resolved, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and successful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of hackneyed politicians—a man of the school of Washington.

Resolved, That in Francis Granger we recognize one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, whose talents we admire, whose patriotism we trust, and whose principles we sanction.

ELECTION NOV. 8, 1836—VOTE COUNTED FEB. 8, 1837.

Van Buren was elected, receiving a popular vote of 761,549, while the total vote was 1,498,205. Electors chosen, 294; 170 voted for Van Buren, who carried fifteen states, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Michigan.

Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana voted for Harrison, casting 73 electoral votes.

Georgia and Tennessee cast 26 electoral votes for White.

South Carolina voted for W. P. Mangum of North Carolina, and Daniel Webster received the vote of Massachusetts.

For Vice-President Richard M. Johnson failed to have a majority, receiving 147 votes of the total 294, but was chosen for the position by the Senate. Martin Van Buren retained almost entirely the cabinet from the former administration.

Anti-slavery agitation was spreading rapidly and on Nov. 7, 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy of Alton, Ill., publisher of an Abolition paper, was killed by a mob and his printing outfit destroyed.

The government having lost heavily by suspension of banks, holding public funds, the establishment of a Treasury
at Washington and subtreasuries at other principal points, under the care of federal officers, was recommended in Van Buren's first message to Congress, yet the measure, although the leading financial proposition of the administration, only became a law in 1840.

The Whigs were becoming a powerful factor in politics, advocating a U. S. bank and a protective tariff. The voters generally labored under the impression that the so-called United States bank was an institution actually conducted by the government.

FOURTEENTH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION—1840.

On December 4, 1839, the Whigs met at Harrisburg, Pa., and nominated for President, William H. Harrison of Ohio; for Vice-President, John Tyler of Virginia. No platform was adopted.

The Liberty party met in convention at Warsaw, N. Y., on Nov. 13, 1838, and after adopting the following resolution nominated James G. Birney of New York for President:

Resolved, That in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

This nomination was indorsed at Albany, N. Y., April 1, 1840.

The Democratic convention was held in Baltimore, May 5, 1840. Martin Van Buren was nominated for President, but no nomination was made for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—1840.

1. Resolved, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

2. Resolved, That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. Resolved, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local internal improvements or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country—that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

6. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank: that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. Resolved, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states; and
that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our statute book.

Whereas, Several of the states which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency, have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for Vice-President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and

Whereas, Some of the said states are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their republican fellow-citizens in the several states, trusting that before the election shall take place, their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the electoral college.

RESULT OF ELECTION NOVEMBER, 1840.

Harrison and Tyler received 234 electoral votes and Van Buren 60 cast by seven states as follows: South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois and New Hampshire. The remaining nineteen states voted for the Whig party.

Popular vote: Harrison, 1,275,017; Van Buren, 1,128,702; Birney, 7,059.

Early after Harrison was inaugurated he called an extra session of Congress to convene on May 31, 1841, to take action on "matters connected with the finance of the country."

President Harrison died on April 4, only one month after his induction into office, and John Tyler became President April 6.

Congress passed two bills for the establishing of a "United States Bank" and both were vetoed by President Tyler, who thereby incurred the disgust of his cabinet and the greatest displeasure of the voters who elected him.

The cabinet which had been selected when Mr. Harrison came into office all resigned their positions except Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, Secretary of State, who retained the place for two years.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was Secretary of State the closing year of Tyler's administration.

CAMPAIGN OF 1844

Under the leadership of Samuel Houston, Texas had in 1836 declared independence from the government of Mexico and now sought annexation to the United States.

This question was an issue in the campaign of 1844. President Tyler favored annexation, but it was opposed by the Whigs generally and in the presidential contest of 1844 James K.
Polk, Democratic candidate, favored the measure, while Henry Clay, the Whig candidate, was opposed.

A Democratic convention at Baltimore on May 27 nominated: For President, James K. Polk of Tennessee; for Vice-President, Silas Wright of New York was named, but he declined and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was placed on the ticket.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The resolutions 1 to 9 inclusive of the Democratic platform of 1840 were reaffirmed and the following added:

10. Resolved. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

11. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

12. Resolved, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

The Whig convention met in Baltimore May 1 and placed in nomination: For President, Henry Clay of Kentucky; for Vice-President, Theo. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

WHIG PLATFORM—1844.

1. Resolved, That these principles may be summed as compromising a well-regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

The Liberty party held their convention at Buffalo, Aug. 30, 1843, making James G. Birney again candidate for President, and Thomas Morris of Ohio candidate for Vice-President.

LIBERTY PARTY PLATFORM—1844.

1. Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy, as well as pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it can be truly democratic or permanent.

2. Resolved, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men, in every state where the party exists, or may exist.

3. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.
4. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slave-holding as the grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

5. Resolved, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party but a national party; was not originated 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, nor a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

6. Resolved, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the states was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and the implied faith of the states and the Nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet at no distant day, wholly abolished by state authority.

7. Resolved, That the faith of the states and the Nation thus pledged, was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the states; and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, then the only territory in the United States, and consequently the only territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress by which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the Territory of Wisconsin, and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

8. Resolved, That the faith of the states and the Nation thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the states, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits, by acts of Congress admitting new slave states into the Union.

9. Resolved, That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our National Government, by that amendment to the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

10. Resolved, That we recognize as sound the doctrine maintained by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than state legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.

11. Resolved, That the General Government has under the Constitution no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that 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.

12. Resolved, That the provision of the Constitution of the United States which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred
and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave states a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people and ought to be abrogated.

13. Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions, is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the states, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.

14. Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding by the General Government, ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

15. Resolved, That the practice of the General Government, which prevails in the slave states, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

16. Resolved, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations and laws, in derogation of either, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

17. 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.

18. Resolved, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free states where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The Constitution of the United States is a series of agreements, covenants or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all, and all with each; and,

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality, that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than men;" and,

Whereas, The principle of common law—that any contract, covenant or agreement, to do an act derogatory to natural rights, is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality—has been recognized by one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that "any contract that rests upon such a basis is void;" and,

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave, does "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty—and is therefore absolutely void. Therefore,

19. Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this Nation and the world that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it, in our conformity to the laws of God, and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens or public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, when-
ever we are called upon or sworn to support it.

20. Resolved, That the power given to Congress by the Constitution to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection does not make it the duty of the government to maintain slavery by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force; when freemen unsheathe the sword it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.

21. Resolved, That to preserve the peace of the citizens, and secure the blessings of freedom, the legislature of each of the free states ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport or aid in transporting from such state, any person sought to be thus transported, merely because subject to the slave laws of any other state; this remnant of Independence being accorded to the free states by the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania.

RESULT OF ELECTION.

Polk and Dallas received 170 electoral votes and Clay and Frelinghuysen 105.

Popular vote: Democrats, 1,337,243; Whigs, 1,299,068; Liberty party, 62,300.

The Northwest boundary dispute with Great Britain was settled under Polk's administration and the annexation of Texas precipitated a war with Mexico, although an independent government had been maintained by the Texans for nearly ten years.

In 1845 Cassius M. Clay established an anti-slavery paper at Lexington, Ky., but was compelled by a mob to move the press to Cincinnati, Ohio.

In August, 1846, when it became evident that the Mexican war would result in a large acquisition of territory, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced in Congress a provision that slavery should be excluded from all territory acquired. This did not become a law, but led to discussion which strengthened the anti-slavery sentiment and promoted anti-slavery organization which was now uniting as the "Free Soil Party."

General Zachary Taylor, although not an active participant in politics, had won much popular favor by his military career in the war with Mexico.

CAMPAIGN OF 1848.

On June 7, 1848, at Philadelphia, the Whigs nominated for President, Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, and for Vice-President, Millard Filmore of New York.

The following resolutions were adopted at a ratification meeting held after adjournment of the convention:

WHIG RESOLUTIONS OF 1848.

1. Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their representatives, heartily ratify the nomination of Gen. Zachary Taylor as President, and Millard Filmore as Vice President of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.

2. Resolved, That in the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President, we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fidelity to the great example of former days, and to the principles of the Constitution as administered by its founders.

3. Resolved, That General Taylor in saying that, had he voted in 1844, he would have voted the Whig ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny, when Henry Clay was our candidate, and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended
on success. The heart that was with
us then is with us now, and we have
a soldier's word of honor, and a life
of public and private virtue, as the
security.

4. Resolved, That we look on Gen-
eral Taylor's administration of the
government as one conducive of peace,
prosperity and union; of peace, be-
cause no one better knows, or has
greater reason to deplore, what he has
seen sadly on the field of victory, the
horrors of war and especially of a for-
ign and aggressive war; of prosper-
ity, now more than ever needed to re-
lieve the nation from a burden of debt,
and restore industry—agricultural,
manufacturing and commercial—to its
accustomed and peaceful functions and
influences; of union, because we have
a candidate whose very position as a
southwestern man, reared on the banks
of the great stream whose tributaries,
natural and artificial, embrace the
whole Union, render the protection of
the interests of the whole country his
first trust, and whose various duties
in past life have been rendered, not on
the soil or under the flag of any state
or section, but over the wide frontier,
and under the broad banner of the
nation.

5. Resolved, That standing, as the
Whig party does, on the broad and firm
platform of the Constitution, braced
up by all its inviolable and sacred
guarantees and compromises and cher-
ished in the affections, because protec-
tive of the interests of the people,
we are proud to have as the exponent
of our opinions one who is pledged to
construe it by the wise and generous
rule which Washington applied to it
and who has said—and no Whig de-
sires any other assurance—that he will
make Washington's administration his
model.

6. Resolved, That, as Whigs and
Americans, we are proud to acknowl-
dege our gratitude for the great mili-
tary services, which, beginning at Palo
Alto, and ending at Buena Vista, first
awakened the American people to a
just estimate of him who is now our
Whig candidate. In the discharge of a
painful duty—for his march into the
enemy's country was a reluctant one;
in the command of regulars at one
time, and volunteers at another, and
of both combined; in the decisive
though punctual discipline of his
camp, where all respected and loved
him; in the negotiation of terms for
a dejected and desperate enemy; in the
exigency of actual conflict when the
balance was perilously doubtful—we
have found him the same—brave,
distinguished, and considerate, no
heartless spectator of bloodshed, no
 trifler with human life or human hap-
piness; and we do not know which to
admire most, his heroism in with-
standing the assaults of the enemy in
the most hopeless fields of Buena
Vista—mourning in general sorrow
over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay,
of Hardin—or in giving, in the heat
of battle terms of merciful capitula-
tion to the vanquished foe at Monte-
rey, and not being ashamed to avow
that he did it to spare women and
children, helpless infancy and more
helpless age, against whom no Amer-
ican soldier wars. Such a military
man, whose triumphs are neither re-
 mote nor doubtful, whose virtues these
trials have tested, we are proud to
make our candidate.

7. Resolved, That in support of this
nomination, we ask our Whig friends
throughout the nation to unite, to co-
operate zealously, resolutely, with
earnestness, in behalf of our candi-
ate, whom calumny cannot reach, and with
respectful demeanor to our adversa-
ries, whose candidates have yet to
prove their claims on the gratitude of
the nation.

The Democrats met in convention at
Baltimore on May 22, 1848, and nomi-
nated Lewis Cass of Michigan for Pres-
ident, and William O. Butler of Ken-
tucky for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1848.

1. Resolved, That the American
Democracy place their trust in the in-
telligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government, springing from and upheld by the popular will; and contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. Resolved, Therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general conventions of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the platform of 1840 were reaffirmed.

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Resolution 5 of the platform of 1840 was enlarged by the following:

And that the result of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8 and 9 of the platform of 1840 were here inserted.

13. Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the National objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

14. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. Resolved, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the coast and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of
their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaUtering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.

18. Resolved, That the Democratic national convention of thirty States composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the national convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representatives of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which their La Fayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence: and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils, on the basis of a democratic Constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people in their sovereign capacity to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

19. Resolved, That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us Constitutional liberty, equality and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

20. Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American minister at Paris, to the Republic of France.

21. Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a national bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the Constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

22. Resolved, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound
Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability, which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him in advance, that at the expiration of his Presidential term, he will carry with him to his retirement, the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.

23. Resolved, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President of the United States.

The Free Soil party met in convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on Aug. 9, 1848. Nominated for President, Martin Van Buren of New York; for Vice-President, Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts.

FREE SOIL PLATFORM OF 1848.

Whereas, We have assembled in convention as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all political difference, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the national party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty and self-respect; and,

Whereas, These nominations so made, furnish the occasion, and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free Democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control.

1. Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God, for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We, therefore, propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

3. Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates to Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory, by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

4. Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, pro-
mote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government which they created, all Constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due legal process.

5. 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 or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or deprived by just implication from them.

6. Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Government posses Constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

7. Resolved, That the true, and in the judgment of this convention, the only safe measures of preventing the extension of slavery into the Territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such Territory by an act of Congress.

8. Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States, and 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 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.

9. Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the Territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

10. Resolved, That we demand freedom and established institution for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free government and free Territories; and not only for them but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

11. Resolved, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore,

12. Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

13. Resolved, That river and harbor improvements when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern and that it is the duty of Congress in the exercise of its constitutional power to provide therefor.

14. Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote
various ways the interest of all the States of the Union; and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the Federal Government, and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

RESULT OF ELECTION.
The election resulted in a victory for the Whigs. Taylor and Filmore received 163 electoral votes; Cass and Butler, 127.

The popular vote was: Whig, 1,360,601; Democrat, 1,220,544; Free Soil, 291,263.

President Taylor died July 9, 1850, when Millard Filmore succeeded to the position of chief executive.

Daniel Webster, Thomas Ewing and John J. Crittenden, who had been in Harrison's cabinet, were appointed to cabinet positions during this administration.

The slavery question was agitating the public mind throughout the nation, and in South Carolina a strong sentiment in favor of secession prevailed.

In September, 1850, a bill reported by Henry Clay and intended as a compromise measure, became a law.

It prohibited slavery in the District of Columbia, and admitted California as a free State, but the measure provided for the recovery of slaves by their masters, when they had escaped into a free state, and this law, known as the "Fugitive Slave Law," became the source of violent opposition in the northern states.

In 1849 one million acres of land were granted to the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, being the first public land grant of this character in the United States.

During this administration the number of Free Soilers in Congress reached eight in the House and two in the Senate.

CAMPAIGN OF 1852.
The Democrats at Baltimore, June 1, 1852, nominated: For President, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire; for Vice-President, William R. King of Alabama.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1852.
The first seven resolutions of the platform of 1848 were reaffirmed, with the following additions:

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

9. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

10. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

11. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which
make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute books.

12. Resolved, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with, or control, the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

13. Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress, "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

14. Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

15. Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the National objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

16. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

17. Resolved, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

18. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid or comfort to the enemy.

19. Resolved, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party, and in-
TBEPLATFORM TEXTBOOK.

sured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

20. Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them Constitutional liberty by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

The Whig convention met at Baltimore on June 16, 1852, and nominated for President, Winfield Scott of New York; for Vice-President, William A. Graham of North Carolina.

WHIG PLATFORM OF 1852.

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected.

1. The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

2. The State governments should be held secure to their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained in its Constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

3. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his farewell address, of keeping ourselves from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground; that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, nor impose on other countries by our form of government, by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

4. That, as the people make and control the Government, they should obey its Constitution, laws, and treaties as they would retain their self-respect and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

5. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and on laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equality to all classes and to all portions of the country.

6. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defense, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, said im-
provements being in every instance national and general in their character.

7. The Federal and State governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just Constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of National, State and individual welfare.

8. That the series of acts of the 32nd Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law, included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace, and so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discontinue all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.

The Free Soil convention was held at Pittsburg, Aug. 11, 1852.

John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for President, and George W. Julian of Indiana for Vice-President.

FREE SOIL PLATFORM OF 1852.

Having assembled in national convention as the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavor to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

1. That governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice and an economical administration.

3. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

4. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the Government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses Constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

5. That to the persevering and im-
portunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we, therefore deny its binding force on the American people and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repair, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the acts of Congress, known as the compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional fugitive slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and Constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

13. That due regard for the Federal Constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the General Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress,
in the exercise of its Constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15. That emigrants and exiles from the old world should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

18. That as by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the profession made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitrations.

20. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and denouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this platform the convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commend them to the support of all freemen and all parties.

The election resulted in a victory for Pierce and King, who received 254 electoral votes, cast by 27 states, while Scott and Graham received only 42 electoral votes, cast by the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee.

There were no electoral votes for the Free Soil ticket.

Popular vote: Democrat 1,601,474, Whig 1,386,987, Free Soil 156,149.

Vice-President King died April 18, 1853, and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, President of the Senate, became acting Vice-President.

During this administration a reorganization of political parties occurred. The Whigs ceased to exist as a political factor and the slavery question became the dominant issue.
In 1854 organization of the anti-slavery element began under the name Republican, and by 1856 it was second in voting strength as a political party.

A national party came into the political field known as the American party, receiving the support of a secret organization whose members were called "Know Nothings," their motto being "Americans must rule America."

This party in 1856 made a platform, and nominated a ticket that was indorsed by a Whig convention held in Baltimore, Sept. 13, 1856, which passed resolutions deploring the sectional strife to which the slavery question was leading, and urging the election of Millard Fillmore, nominee of the American party.

In 1854 a bill was passed which in effect repealed the Missouri compromise and organized the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, leaving the question whether they should be slave or free to be determined in each territory by the voters.

This led to a bitter contest in Kansas between anti-slavery men of the North and pro-slavery men of the South, each being determined to win. Hostile encounters and lawless violence was a natural result, and Kansas was the scene of a bloody strife for several years.

Armed bands from Missouri would drive Free Soil voters from the polls, force an illegal count of ballots, and try to secure a territorial government favorable to slavery.

Throughout the entire nation the slavery question was the all-absorbing political topic.

CAMPAIGN OF 1856.

The Republicans met in national convention at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, and nominated: For President, John C. Fremont of California; for Vice-President, William L. Dayton of New York.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to 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 free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who propose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.
Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their Territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; that the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present national administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people who gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations of Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of
our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all prospective legislation affecting their security.

The American party held a convention in Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1856, and nominated Millard Fillmore of New York for President, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee for Vice-President.

AMERICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

1. An humble acknowledgement to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union and Constitution as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwarks of American independence.

3. Americans must rule America; and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal and municipal offices of government employment, in preference to all others. Nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens.

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6. The unequaled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between the citizens of the several States, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions pertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7. The recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their Constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress: Provided, always, that none but those who are citizens of the United States under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between church and state; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test oaths for office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more espe-
cially as shown in removing "Ameri-
cans" (by designation) and conserva-
tives in principle, from office, and plac-
ing foreigners and ultraists in their
places; as shown in a truckling sub-
serviency to the stronger, and an in-
solent and cowardly bravado towards
the weaker powers; as shown in re-
opening sectional agitation, by the re-
peal of the Missouri Compromise; as
shown in granting to unnaturalized
foreigners the right of suffrage in
Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its
vacillating course on the Kansas and
Nebraska question; as shown in the
corruptions which pervade some of the
departments of the Government; as
shown in disgracing meritorious naval
officers through prejudice or caprice;
and as shown in the blundering mis-
management of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing
evils and prevent the disastrous conse-
quences otherwise resulting therefrom,
we would build up the "American
Party" upon the principles hereinbe-
fore stated.

15. That each State council should
have authority to amend their several
constitutions, so as to abolish the sev-
eral degrees and substitute a pledge of
honor, instead of other obligations, for
fellowship and admission into the
party.

16. A free and open discussion of all
political principles embraced in our
platform.

The Democratic convention met at
Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and nomi-
nated: For President, James Buch-
anan of Pennsylvania; for Vice-Presi-
dent, John C. Breckinridge of Ken-
tucky.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1856.

Resolved, That the American Demo-
cracy place their trust in the intelli-
gence, the patriotism, and the discrim-
inating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a
distinctive feature of our political
creed, which we are proud to maintain
before the world as a great moral ele-
ment in a form of government spring-
ing from and upheld by the popular
will; and we contrast it with the creed
and practice of federalism, under what-
ever name or form, which seeks to
palsy the will of the constituent, and
which conceives no imposture too mon-
strous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, Therefore, That entertain-
ing these views, the Democratic party
of this Union, through their delegates
assembled in national convention,
coming together in a spirit of concord,
of devotion to the doctrines and faith
of a free representative government,
and appealing to their fellow citizens
for the recitude of their intentions, re-
new and reassert before the American
people, the declaration of principles
avowed by them, on former occasions.
In general convention, they have pre-
sent ed their candidates for the popular
suffrage.

(Here resolutions 1 to 4 inclusive,
from platform of 1840 were inserted.)

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of
every branch of the Government to en-
force and practice the most rigid
economy in conducting our public af-
fairs, and that no more revenue ought
to be raised than is required to defray
the necessary expenses of the Govern-
ment and for the gradual but certain
extinction of the public debt.

6. Resolved, That the proceeds of the
public lands ought to be sacredly ap-
plied to the National objects specified
in the Constitution: and that we are
opposed to any law for the distribu-
tion of such proceeds among the States
as alike inexpedient in policy and re-
pugnant to the Constitution.

7. Resolved, That Congress has no
dpower to charter a National Bank;
that we believe such an institution one
of deadly hostility to the best inter-
ests of the country, dangerous to our
republican institutions and the liber-
ties of the people, calculated to place
the business of the country within the
control of a concentrated money power
and above the laws and will of the peo-
ple; and that the results of Demo-
Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

8. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of internal improvements.

10. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the Allen and Sedition laws from our statute books.

And Whereas, since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse, political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of the Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and preeminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed National, Constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States—

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with, or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Demo-
of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among us Constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies
and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. Resolved, That our geographical and political position with reference to other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe Doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconception, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. Resolved, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. Resolved, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy to the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

6. Resolved, That the Democratic party recognize the great importance in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication by military and postal roads, through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

7. Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and, therefore, true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition it has maintained the laws at home and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad, and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of its measures and policy.

RESULTS OF ELECTION OF 1856.

Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes; Fremont and Dayton, 114; Fillmore and Donelson, 8.

The Popular vote was: Democratic 1,538,169, Republican 1,341,264, and American Party, 874,534.

The struggle in Kansas between the pro-slavery men and the anti-slavery men continued and John Brown be-
came prominent as a resolute and determined free state leader.

He finally organized a company of 21 associates and captured the United States arsenal at Harper’s Ferry and madly attempted to excite the slaves of the locality to revolt and arm themselves to secure their freedom.

Brown and his band were easily overpowered; thirteen of them were killed and only two escaped, while he and six of his followers were taken prisoners, tried at Charleston, Va., committed and hung.

His move did not receive hearty endorsement in the North, yet helped to excite the public mind, and before the campaign of 1860 opened the most bitter feelings existed between the two sections of the country on the slavery question.

The Dred Scott decision, which was rendered by the Supreme Court in 1857, helped to increase the feeling of opposition to the party in power and to increase the bitterness of sectional strife.

Dred Scott had gone with his master into free northern states, and resided outside of slave territory for nearly five years; married in Minnesota another of his master’s slaves, and with a child born on free soil, returned to Missouri, where he ten years later, after his master’s death, brought suit which involved the question of his freedom, winning the case in the lower court, but the final decision in the Supreme Court, besides refusing him and his family their liberty, declared that no colored person could be recognized as a citizen and that “they had no rights which white persons were bound to respect.”

The court went further and declared the Missouri Compromise void and that Congress had no right to exclude slavery from any territory.

In 1857 the banks produced another panic and an era of bankruptcy and financial disaster, by suspending payment of their debts to depositors and other creditors.

As anti-slavery sentiment spread in the North a sentiment in favor of secession and “states rights” was taking firm hold of the South, and before the close of this administration the initiatory moves were completed which led to the four years’ war which immediately followed.

CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

The Republican convention met at Chicago on May 16, 1860. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was nominated for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1860.

Resolved. That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before, demand its peaceful and Constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, “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; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,” is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising
development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehension, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest; as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unequallfied property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of the instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent—is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic princi-
ple of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to emigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in our affirmation and support.

The American party, now called the Constitutional Union party, held a convention in Baltimore, May 19, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the elevation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the Laws; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in national convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the
United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

The Democratic national convention met at Charleston, S. C., on April 23, 1860, but after a long, animated discussion between the two factions, one representing the ultra southern wing of the party and the other the northern Democracy, the convention split and the southern wing adopted a platform. Both factions adjourned to meet at Baltimore in June.

The northern Democrats met June 18, in Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice-President, and adopted the following platform:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1860 (DOUGLAS).

1. Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories.

2. Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the question of Constitutional law.

3. Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such Constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. Resolved, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. Resolved, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

On June 28, the southern faction of the Democratic party met in Baltimore and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1860 (BRECKINRIDGE).

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory, organized by an act of Congress,
is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle, with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its Constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population, form a State Constitution in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of the other States, and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, from the guileful minister of the Constitutions of the United States, to the extent of the Constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a railroad, from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1860.

Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes, Breckinridge and Lane 72, Douglas and Johnson 12, Bell and Everett 39.

The popular vote was: For Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,865,913; for Douglas and Johnson, 1,374,664; for Breckinridge and Lane, 848,404; for Bell and Everett, 591,900.

Sectional strife had grown very bitter. The Republicans had carried every free state except New Jersey, and secured three electors in that state. Douglas, representing the Democrats who believed that the slavery question should be left to the people of the territories without congressional interference, received half a million more votes than Breckinridge, yet only secured the electoral votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey.

Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia gave their electoral votes for Bell and all the other slave states were carried for Breckenridge.

As soon as the result of the election was known southern leaders began making a vigorous agitation in favor of withdrawal from the Union, and on Feb. 4, 1861, a month before the inauguration of President Lincoln a convention at Montgomery, Ala., proceeded to organize the "Confederate States of America."

The question of "states rights" had from the earliest days of the government been a matter of dispute and the people were not agreed on the dividing line between national and state authority.

In the South the belief was prevalent that a state should have the right to withdraw from the union of states at will.

Soon after the inauguration of Lin-
coin it became evident that his hopes of a settlement of the strife between the contending sections by a peaceful reconciliation would not be realized, and on April 15 a call was issued for 75,000 troops, and Congress was called to assemble on July 4 in extra session.

Within two weeks after this first call for troops over 300,000 men had offered themselves in response to the call.

Throughout the North a strong sentiment existed in favor of more vigorous action on the part of the administration. In July, 1861, John C. Fremont was given command in Missouri and the following month he issued a proclamation declaring the slaves of all rebels to be free men.

Fremont was relieved from this command in November and his place given to General Hunter, who was shortly superseded by General Halleck.

General Hunter as commander in South Carolina issued a similar proclamation in 1862, but it was overruled by the President.

On Sept. 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation giving notice to the inhabitants of the states in rebellion, that unless they returned to their allegiance by the end of the year, he would declare their slaves free.

On Jan. 1, 1863, the proclamation was issued, and it specifically declared that it was issued as an act of "military necessity."

The President had the most hearty approval of the northern people in this action which liberated the slaves.

There had sprung up an element which complained at the deliberate manner of President Lincoln, and in the next campaign were known as Radical Republicans; they urged that more vigorous and harsh measures be adopted in dealing with questions at issue.

CAMPAIGN OF 1864.

On May 31, 1864, the Radical Republican convention met at Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated John C. Fremont of California for President, and John C. Cochran of New York for Vice-President.

RADICAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

2. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

3. That the Rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.

4. That the rights of free speech, free press and the habeas corpus be held inviolate; save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

5. That the Rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

6. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the Government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.

8. That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

9. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and navy, for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and of civil liberty.

10. That the one-term policy for the Presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by Constitutional amendment.

11. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.
12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

General Fremont afterwards withdrew and recommended that the entire Republican strength be given the regular ticket and this recommendation was followed.

The Republicans met in convention at Baltimore on June 7, and renominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and nominated Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1864.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling, by force of arms, the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and to its free institutions.

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this Rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death blow at the gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the na-
tion against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation and the employment, as Union soldiers, of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country, into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate and for this purpose, we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of national currency.

Resolved that we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

The Democrats met in Chicago, Aug. 29, 1864, and nominated George B. McClellan of New Jersey for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1864.

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a frame work of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the states, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of all the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful viola-
tion of the Constitution; and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subdivision of the civil and military laws in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of States rights; the employment of unusual test oaths and the interference with and denial of the rights of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now are and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1864.

Only twenty-four states voted at this election and 212 electoral votes were cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subdivision of the civil and military laws in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of States rights; the employment of unusual test oaths and the interference with and denial of the rights of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now are and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1864.

Only twenty-four states voted at this election and 212 electoral votes were cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Twenty-one electoral votes were cast for the Democratic candidates, by the states of Kentucky, New Jersey and Delaware.

Popular vote: Lincoln 2,216,067, McClellan, 1,808,725.

On April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated and Andrew Johnson became President.

The war being ended, the administration addressed itself to the work of reconstruction, and on May 29, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation of amnesty, to all who had participated in the rebellion, who would now take an oath to support the government; except certain specified classes, who were permitted to make application for executive pardon.

A difference existed between the President and a majority of Congress in regard to the restoration of the southern States to their former political rights; Congress maintaining that they should not be fully restored until the freedmen were secured in all their rights, and precaution taken to prevent rebels from participating in the control of government.

The work of reconstruction, however, progressed; loyal state governments were established and by 1868 only three states failed to take part in the Presidential election; these were Virginia, Mississippi and Texas.

CAMPAIGN OF 1868.

The Republicans met in Chicago, May 20, 1868, and nominated U. S. Grant of Illinois for President, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1868.

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political
rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee of Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the south was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage to all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was constructed.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debts is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizens; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more special honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the
wealth, development, resources, and increase of power of this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which the men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty shall die out and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

The Democrats met in New York, July 4, 1868, and nominated Horatio Seymour of New York for President, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1868.

The Democratic party in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war or voluntary action of the southern States in constitutional convention assembled, and never to be revived or agitated, do, with the return of peace, demand—

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of all the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all money drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and when the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedman's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, and the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in times of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal-revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least
burden upon, and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; and the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the Government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated the most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied the noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star chamber inquisitions, for the Constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law. It has converted the American capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort. It has abolished the right of appeal on important Constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of the Constitutional power of appointment, even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political powers of each State respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant
usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of co-equal States. And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the Constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and, on behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform, the Democratic party appeals to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such, co-operating with us, as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States, in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, for the justice, dignity and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1868.

Grant and Colfax received 214 electoral votes cast by 26 states.

Seymour and Blair received 80 electoral votes cast by 8 states—New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and Oregon.

Popular vote: Republican 3,015,071, Democrat 2,709,613.

During this administration the Republican majority in Congress was overwhelming and James G. Blaine was Speaker of the House.

Among other acts of financial legislation which assisted in bringing around an attempt at the new alignment of political parties was the “Credit Strengthening Act” which made U. S. obligations payable in coin. This act was passed five years after the close of the war and at a time when the credit of the nation was unimpaired and the people, through the advantage of a large circulation of money, were enjoying a degree of commercial prosperity never exceeded in the history of the nation. This act increased the value of obligations and made greater burdens to be borne by the industries of the country. It was recognized by many as a species of class legislation, opposed to the welfare of the people and dangerous in its tendencies.
CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

On Feb. 21, 1872, a Labor Reform convention was held at Columbus, Ohio, and a platform adopted. David Davis of Illinois was nominated for President and Joel Parker of New Jersey for Vice-President.

These candidates declined and the candidates of the straight-out Democrats were afterward indorsed.

LABOR PLATFORM OF 1872.

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges or immunities from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor, by providing a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private and interchangeable at the option of the holder for Government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent, subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of Government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of Government bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest, is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people and should be granted to the landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers, imported by capitalists in large numbers for servile use is an evil entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms or corporations, contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours per day, recently adopted by Congress for national employes; and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the sys-
tem of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore, money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise its rights over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other by a regular Constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

13. That we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the Government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective; and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

On Feb. 22, 1872, in Columbus, Ohio, the Prohibition convention nominated James Black of Pennsylvania for President and John Russell of Michigan for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

The preamble recites that protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; and every citizen who yields obediently to the full commands of government should be protected in all enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty and private property. That the traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a great mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure. That all political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question. Therefore, as a national convention, we adopt the following declaration of principles:

That while we acknowledge the true patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundation of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally and in their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchres of our republican fathers, but we hereby renew our pledges of solemn fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution.

That the traffic in intoxicating bev-
erages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands for its suppression effective legal prohibition, both by State and national legislation.

That there can be no greater peril to a nation than existing party competition for the liquor vote. That any party not opposed to the traffic, experience shows will engage in this competition—will court the favor of criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

That, as Prohibitionists, we will individually use all efforts to persuade men from the use of intoxicating liquors; and we invite all persons to assist in this movement.

That competence, honesty and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding office.

That removals from public office for mere political differences of opinion are wrong.

That fixed and moderate salaries of public officers should take the place of fees and perquisites, and that all means should be taken to prevent corruption and encourage economy.

That the President and Vice-President should be elected directly by the people.

That we are in favor of a sound national currency, adequate to the demands of business, and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and public safety to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

That the rates of ocean and inland postage, and railroad telegraph lines and water transportation should be made as low as possible by law.

That we are opposed to all discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

That the removal of the burdens imposed in the traffic in intoxicating drinks will emancipate labor, and will practically promote labor reform.

That suffrage should be granted to all persons without regard to sex.

That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the Government.

That a liberal policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration.

On May 1, 1872, a convention was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, of Liberal Republicans who nominated Horace Greeley of New York for President and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. This ticket and the Liberal Republican platform was adopted by the Democratic convention at Baltimore, July 9, 1872.

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare
requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the Constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We, therefore, regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest and irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade. We remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to the specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic; and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendships of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

Democrats who did not concur in the indorsement of the Liberal Republicans met in convention at Louisville, Ky., Sept. 3, 1872, and nominated for President, Charles O'Connor of New York, and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President. These candidates both declined, yet received nearly thirty thousand votes in the election.

PLATFORM (STRAIGHT-OUT) DEMOCRATIC.

Whereas, a frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our Constitutional system is the only protection for either; therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each State voluntarily created their
The Republicans met in Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, and renominated U. S. Grant for President, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1872.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted, with grand courage, the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage, exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity; it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved their loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased, with firm hand, the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged and a full acknowledgment of naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably compromised, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high re-
spect throughout the world. This glo-
rious record of the past is the party's
best pledge for the future. We believe
the people will not entrust the Gov-
ernment to any party or combination
of men composed chiefly of those who
have resisted every step of this benefi-
cent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the
national Constitution should be cor-
dially sustained because they are right,
not merely tolerated because they are
law, and should be carried out accord-
ing to their spirit by appropriate legis-
lation, the enforcement of which can
safely be entrusted only to the party
that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equal-
ity in the enjoyment of all civil, po-
litical, and public rights should be es-
tablished and effectually maintained
throughout the Union by efficient and
appropriate State and Federal legis-
lation. Neither the law nor its admin-
istration should admit any discrimina-
tion in respect to citizens by reason
of race, creed, color, or previous con-
dition of servitude.

4. The National Government should
seek to maintain honorable peace with
all nations, protecting its citizens
everywhere, and sympathizing with all
peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of civil service un-
der which the subordinate positions of
the Government are considered re-
wards for mere party zeal is fatally
demoralizing; and, we therefore, favor
a reform of the system, by laws which
shall abolish the evils of patronage,
and make honesty, efficiency, and fi-
delity the essential qualifications for
public positions, without practically
creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants
of the public lands to corporations and
monopolies, and demand that the na-
tional domain be set apart for free
homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue after paying
current expenditures, pensions and the
interest on the public debt, should fur-
nish a moderate balance for the re-
duction of the principal; and that rev-
enue, except so much as may be de-


8. We hold in undying honor the
soldiers and sailors whose valor saved
the Union. Their pensions are a sa-
cred debt of the nation, and the wid-
ows and orphans of those who died for
their country are entitled to the care
of a generous and grateful people. We
favor such additional legislation as
will extend the bounty of the Govern-
ment to all our soldiers and sailors
who were honorably discharged, and
who in the line of duty became dis-
abled, without regard to the length of
service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain
and other European powers concern-
ing allegiance— "once a subject always
a subject"— having at last, through the
efforts of the Republican party, been
abandoned, and the American idea of
the individual's right to transfer alle-
giance having been accepted by Euro-
pean nations, it is the duty of our
Government to guard with jealous care
the rights of adopted citizens against
the assumption of unauthorized claims
by their former governments, and we
urge continued careful encouragement
and protection of voluntary immigra-
tion.

10. The franking privilege ought to
be abolished, and a way prepared for a
speedy reduction in the rates of post-
age.

11. Among the questions which press
for attention is that which concerns
the relation of capital and labor; and
the Republican party recognizes the
duty of so shaping legislation as to
secure full protection and the amplest
field for capital, and for labor, the
creator of capital, the largest oppor-
tunities and a just share of the mutual
profits of these two great servants of
civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the
President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violence and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot box; and therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the States and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people; and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1872.

Grant and Wilson received 286 electoral votes of a total 317 cast by 37 states.

Six states—Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Texas voted for Greeley and Brown, but the death of Horace Greeley occurred on Nov. 29, and the electoral votes cast were for various persons.

For President, B. Gratz Brown received 18, Thos. A. Hendricks 42, Chas. J. Jenkins 2 and David Davis 1.


The popular vote was: Grant 3,597,070, Greeley 2,834,079, O'Connor 29,489, Black 5,608.

Financial legislation, which was in the direction of steadily reducing the amount of money in circulation, led to the organization of a party demanding monetary reform.

In 1873 an act was passed which suspended the coinage of silver dollars and this, coupled with the gradual retirement of the outstanding "greenback" circulation, created the well founded apprehension that lower prices of property would prevail, as the amount of money in circulation grew less.

In September a financial panic occurred which swept into bankruptcy thousands of people and destroyed general confidence. Money was drawn
Baltimore platforms of Parties.

from the banks by depositors to such an extent that nearly all the leading banks were compelled to suspend. In explaining the cause of this panic, Barnes in his popular U.S. History, mentions as a principal one "the contraction of the currency from six hundred and ninety-nine million dollars in 1865 to three hundred and forty-seven million dollars in 1873."

In 1874 a "Greenback" convention was held at Indianapolis and propositions were indorsed in favor of paper money issued by the Government based on the faith and resources of the nation; and opposing the issue of currency by banking corporations, as well as denouncing the policy of contraction and bond issues.

CAMPAIGN OF 1876.

In September, 1875, a convention met at Pittsburg and adopted a platform as the American National party; nominating for President, James B. Walker of Illinois, and for Vice-President, Donald Kirkpatrick of New York.

AMERICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, is the true policy on the temperance question.

4. That charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.

5. That the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Articles 13th, 14th and 15th of our amended Constitution should be preserved inviolate.

6. That arbitration of differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.

7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts; therefore, the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

8. That land and other monopolies should be discon temptened.

9. That the Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment as soon as practicable.

10. The maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens and justice to Indians, are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.

11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

On May 17, 1876, a "Greenback" convention was held at Indianapolis; Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio for Vice-President.

INDEPENDENT GREENBACK PLATFORM.

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of a suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

1. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin
and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every Congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop to present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

2. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the Government, and convertible, on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the Government to "prove such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

3. It is the paramount duty of the Government in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial.

4. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the Government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 1.65 per cent per annum or even a lower rate.

5. We further protest against the sale of Government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calcu-
produce and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

5. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil; and the protection of purity, peace and happiness of homes, by ample and efficient legislation.

6. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity and religion excepted) on that day.

7. The establishment, by mandatory provisions in national and State constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

8. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground for religious creeds, but as a text book of the purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature, in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

9. The separation of the Government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom and religious faith and worship.

10. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

11. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

12. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and the election of President, Vice-President, United States Senators, and all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

13. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guarantee to them of ample protection and of equal rights and privileges.

14. The separation of the money of the Government from all banking institutions. The National Government, only, should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

15. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices; the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in Government expenses; and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trust.

The Republican convention met at Cincinnati, June 14, 1876, and nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1876.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the Government of the people, by the people and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unflagging courage, hope and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:
1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation’s birth and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—“That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.” Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent Constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments, in the Congress by the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their Constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the national Government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and “solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.” Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interests of the public service demand that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointment should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places when harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for cur-
rent expenditures, and the obligations of the public debt, must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and in the exercise of this power is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We hereby sincerely deplore all sectional feeling and tendencies. We, therefore, note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united south, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol, the sentiments of irrepentent rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself through the period of its ascendency in the lower house of Congress utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting the party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present, as our candidates
for President and Vice-President of the United States, two distinguished statesmen of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis, June 27, and nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1876.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow citizens of every former political connection to undertake, with us, this first most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church from State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom, in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union the great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the incapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honey-combed the offices of the Federal Government itself, with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace has taken from the people in federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, but, instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annual-
ly enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and of its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well devised and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating, at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which 95 per cent of all business transactions are performed; a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries—set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts—restore employment to labor—and renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sense and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a master-piece of injustice, inequality and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising, revenue. It has impoverished many industries, to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that the people might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions in gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870 or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a vigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers, by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone and, out of more than thrice that aggregate, has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omission of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race re-crossing the Atlantic of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law, denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and, tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women, im-
ported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men, held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within Constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it a controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belongs exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain, without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now united in one indivisible Republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the Governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary, even more, in the higher grades of the public service, President, Vice-President, judges, Senators, Representatives, cabinet officers—these, and all others in author-ity—are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends, by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England concerned in a dishonorable speculation; the President’s private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; the Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people’s choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party’s mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the
action of the present House of Representatives, in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries and extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misrepresentation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1876.

The election of 1876 resulted in a contest which was not finally settled until near the date of inauguration, the commission deciding the case adjourning on March 2, 1877.

Questions arose as to the electoral votes of four states, viz.: Oregon, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, which caused much excitement and bitter controversy.

It was finally agreed that the Senate and House should meet in joint session in the House of Representatives to count the vote and where there was more than one return from a state, the matter should be referred to a special commission of fifteen men who should decide the contest.

This election commission was composed of five Senators, five Representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court.

This commission to pass on conflicting returns was agreed on by concurrent action of both houses of Congress to consist of an equal number of Republicans and Democrats to the number of seven of each, and the selection of the remaining member of the commission was delegated to the four Judges of the Supreme Court.

The act named on the part of the Republicans, Senators George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana and F. T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey; Representatives James A. Garfield of Ohio and George F. Hoar of Massachusetts; Judges William Strong and Samuel J. Miller; while on the part of the Democrats were named, Senators T. F. Bayard of Delaware and Francis Kernan of New York; Representatives H. B. Payne of Ohio, E. Hunton of Virginia, J. G. Abbott of Massachusetts, and Judges Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field. The four Judges named Joseph P. Bradley, a Republican, to complete the commission.

All the contests being decided by a strict party vote of 8 to 7 in favor of the Republicans, gave to R. B. Hayes 185 electoral votes, Samuel J. Tilden 184.

The popular vote was: Hayes and Wheeler 4,033,975, Tilden and Hendricks 4,284,757, Cooper and Cary 817, 740, Stewart and Smith, 9,522, Walker and Kirkpatrick 2,636.

A bill providing for the limited coinage of silver was passed in Congress; vetoed by President Hayes, and passed over his veto Feb. 28, 1878.

This bill provided for the coinage of from two to four million dollars of silver per month, at discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury; and made silver dollars a legal tender for all debts unless contract had been made specially providing for payment otherwise, thus legalizing gold contracts.

CAMPAIGN OF 1880.

The Republicans met in convention at Chicago, June 2, 1880, and nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio for President and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1880.

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its
charge, submits to the people of the
United States its brief report of its
administration.

It suppressed a rebellion which had
armed nearly a million of men to sub-
vert the national authority. It recon-
structed the Union of the States with
freedom instead of slavery, as its cor-
ner-stone. It transformed four millions
of human beings from the likeness of
things to the rank of citizens. It re-
lieved Congress from the infamous
work of hunting fugitive slaves, and
charged it to see that slavery does
not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper
currency from thirty-eight per cent.
to the par of gold. It has restored,
upon a solid basis, payment in coin for
all the national obligations, and has
given us a currency absolutely good
and equal in every part of our extend-
red country. It has lifted the credit
of the nation from the point where
six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six
to that where four per cent bonds are
eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways
have increased from 21,000 miles in
1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.
Our foreign trade has increased from
$700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the
same time; and our exports, which
were $20,000,000 less than our imports
in 1869 were $264,000,000 more than our
imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has,
since the war closed, defrayed the or-
dinary expenses of government, be-
sides the accruing interest on the pub-
dic debt, and disbursed annually over
$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It
has paid $888,000,000 of the public debt
and, by refunding the balance at lower
rates, has reduced the annual interest
charge from nearly $151,000,000 to less
than $89,000,000.

All the industries of the country
have revived, labor is in demand,
wages have increased, and throughout
the entire country there is evidence of
a coming prosperity greater than we
have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record, the Republican
party asks for the continued confi-
dence and support of the people; and
this convention submits for their ap-
proval the following statement of the
principles and purposes which will
continue to guide and inspire its ef-
forts:

1. We affirm that the work of the
last twenty years has been such as
to commend itself to the favor of
the nation, and that the fruits of the
costly victories which we have
achieved through immense difficulties
should be preserved; that the peace
regained should be cherished; that the
discovered Union, now happily re-
stored, should be perpetuated, and that
the liberties secured to this genera-
tion should be transmitted, undimin-
ished, to future generations; that the
order established and the credit ac-
quired should never be impaired; that
the pensions promised should be paid;
that the debt so much reduced should
be extinguished by the full payment
of every dollar thereof; that the reviv-
ing industries should be further pro-
moted; and that the commerce, al-
ready so great, should be steadily en-
couraged.

2. The Constitution of the United
States is a supreme law, and not a
mere contract; out of Confederate
States it made a sovereign nation.
Some powers are denied to the nation,
while others are denied to States; but
the boundary between the powers del-
egated and those reserved is to be de-
termined by national and not by State
tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is
one left to the care of the several
States, but it is the duty of the nation-
al Government to aid that work to
the extent of its Constitutional ability.
The intelligence of the nation is but
the aggregate of the intelligence in the
several States; and the destiny of the
nation must be guided, not by the
genius of any one State, but by the
average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids
Congress to make any law respecting
an establishment of religion; but it is
idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its dominations. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease. That the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the early career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to select him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administrations the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interposition between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage. That to obtain possession of the national and State governments, and the control of place and positions, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure, at all hazards, the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy, by force and fraud, the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movements of government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality. Equal, steady and complete enforcement of the laws and protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The danger of a solid south can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation made to the citizen. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established
throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform; and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time, to surrender the administration of the national Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the Constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, and nominated Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania for President and W. H. English of Indiana for Vice-President.
which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and for the first time in American history the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow to our system of representative government. The Democratic party to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in the firm and patriotic belief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a nation of freemen.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Til- den not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility; and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of the public morality, and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

8. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.


11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure $10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

The National Greenback convention at Chicago on June 9, 1880, placed in nomination for President James B. Weaver of Iowa, and for Vice-President B. J Chambers of Texas.

NATIONAL GREENBACK PLATFORM OF 1880.

The civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and, hence a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital endowed with
power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare,

1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of Constitutional sanction and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for debts, public and private.

2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national-banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold established by law.

3. That labor should be so protected by national and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of the results. The eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

7. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fastening and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

8. That the Constitution in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

9. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

10. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifested to restrict the right of suffrage.
11. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

12. We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

13. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

14. In furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of the government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

The Prohibition convention was held at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 17, 1880, and the candidate named for President was Neal Dow of Maine. A. M. Thompson of Ohio was placed on the ticket for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM OF 1880.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, for the suffrage of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures:

In the examination and discussion of the temperance question, it has been proven, and it is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing, in the children of many who drink, a predisposition to intemperance, insanity, and various bodily and mental diseases, causing diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose and premature old age, and inducing in all future generations deterioration of moral and physical character. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable foe of man as an individual.

1. The legalized importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks ministers to their use, and teaches the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above mentioned evils.

2. To the home it is an enemy—proving itself to be a disturber and destroyer of its peace, prosperity and happiness; taking from it the earnings of the husband; depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing and education; bringing into it profanity, abuse and violence; setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar; breaking up the family and sundering the children from the parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation of good government, national prosperity and welfare.

3. To the community it is equally an enemy—producing vice, demoralization and wickedness; its places of sale being resorts of gaming, lewdness and debauchery, and the hiding-place of those who prey upon society; counteracting the efficacy of religious effort,
and of all means of intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happiness, and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits; being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

4. To the State it is equally an enemy—legislative inquiries, judicial investigations, and official reports of all penal, reformatory and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime, and pauperism, and of demands upon public and private charity, imposing the larger part of taxation, paralyzing thrift, industry, manufactures and commercial life, which, but for it, would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of streets and highways; filling prisons and poorhouses; corrupting politics, legislation, and the execution of the laws; shortening lives; diminishing health, industry, and the productive power of manufactures and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and is contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of the fundamental maxim of our common law, to use your own property or liberty so as to not injure others.

5. It is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection to any traffic or any system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual home, community and State, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

6. In this time of profound peace at home and abroad, the entire separation of the General Government from the drink-traffic, and its prohibition in the District of Columbia, Territories, and in all places and ways over which, under the Constitution, Congress has control and power, is a political issue of the first importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life, or property, until secured by national or State Constitutional provisions, enforced by adequate laws.

7. All legitimate industries require deliverance from the taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them; and financial and other legislation could not accomplish so much to increase production and cause a demand for labor and, as a result, for the comforts of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

8. The administration of the government and the execution of the laws are through political parties; and we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for twenty years, as being false to duty, as false to loudly proclaimed principles of equal justice to all and special favors to none, and of protection to the weak and dependent, insensible to the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon industry, trade, commerce, and the social happiness of the people; that 5,652 distilleries, 3,830 breweries and 175,266 places for the sale of these poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste to the nation of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and the sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, have under its legislation grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; that during its history, six territories have been organized and five States been admitted to the Union, with constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided, nor even the people given at the time of admission, power to forbid it in any one of them. Its history further shows, that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory
law been passed by any State that was controlled by it, while in four States, so governed, the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed. At its national convention in 1872, it declared, as part of its party faith, that “it disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either State or national Government,” which, the author of this plank says, was adopted by the platform committee with the full and implicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance, prohibitory and Sunday laws.

9. We arraign, also, the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for, although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of an opposition party during twenty years past, strong in numbers and organization, it has allied itself with liquor traffickers, and become, in all the States of the Union, their special political defender, and in its national convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink, by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call “all sump- tuary laws.” The National party has been dumb on this question.

10. Drink traffickers, having the history and experience of all ages, climes, and conditions of men, declaring their business destructive of all good—finding no support in the Bible, morals, or reason—appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and intrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia become battling forces, protecting this evil.

11. In view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters without regard to former affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system, under the authority of our national and State Govern-ments. We also demand, as a right, that women, having the privileges of citizens in other respects, be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for the proper settlement of the liquor question.

12. To remove the apprehension of some who allege that a loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the direct trade, we confidently point to the experience of governments abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from the consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

13. We recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a nation; and, asking for His Spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we all look for it, relying upon His omnipotent arm.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1880.

Garfield and Arthur received 214 electoral votes.

Hancock and English received 155.

The popular vote was as follows:


Early after the inauguration of Garfield the contention between factions of the dominant party became very bitter; not from any variance of opinion, but from a disagreement as to the disposition of the spoils of office; and on May 16, 1881, both the New York Senators resigned their seats in the United States Senate, alleging as the chief reason for such action the fact that certain appointments made by the President was opposed by them, and antagonistic to their political interests.

The disagreement of the two factions became a matter of general interest and public excitement and during this period of contention, on July 2, 1881, President Garfield was shot and mortally wounded, while at a railroad depot in Washington.

The assassin, Charles J. Guiteau,
was arrested, and after a tedious trial, was sentenced and hung.

The President lived until Sept. 19, when he died at Long Branch, N. J.

On September 20 Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office as President, at his New York residence, and two days later at Washington, D. C., was sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Congress came under Democratic control during the latter part of Arthur's administration and the Republicans outnumbered the Democrats in the Senate by only three, and in 1882 Grover Cleveland was elected Governor of New York by the unprecedented majority of 192,854 votes.

CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

The Republicans met in convention at Chicago, June 3, 1884, and nominated James G. Blaine of Maine for President and John A. Logan of Illinois for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1884.

The Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render the institutions just, equal and beneficent; the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor, for an honest currency, for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform. We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people. In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisites revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the right and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital may have its just award and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party which would degrade labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by a vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States
the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity, and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection. We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage. The regulations of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government. The Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the Constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike a fair and equal protection of the laws. We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriations from the national revenue wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption and we favor the settlement of national differences by arbitration. The Republican party having its birth in the hatred of slave labor, and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unutterably opposed to place workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions. We pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service so conspicuously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that damage to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided. The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with the act of incorporation; in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the condition of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.
The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; the policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any high sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burden under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church, and the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot and an honest count and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in the southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The Democratic convention met in Chicago, July 8, 1884, and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for President and Thomas Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1884.

The Democratic party of the Union through its representatives in the national convention assembled, recognizes that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress, and the old issues perish, but the fundamental principles of Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States and the supremacy of the Federal Government, within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and power which enables a continent to be developed in peace and social order, to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as
necessary as the constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes the instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country, hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice, it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party, yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office. The Republican party, during its legal, stolen and its bought tenure of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued these burdens. It professes the protection of American manufacturers; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law; attempting to fix the status of colored citizens. The acts of Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils, or a veto upon its bad nominations. That a change is necessary is proven by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Un-
necessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward. The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for the law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making a reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injury any of the domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for a successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in its execution to the plain dictates of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of an economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation, from custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on the articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuse of existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered. The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the tax continues, all the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy, based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but an entangling alliance with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political. We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the 45th and 46th Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as conclusive proof that a Democratic
administration will preserve liberty with order. The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously residents therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty. We favor honest civil service reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and State, and the diffusion of free education by the common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, the prevention of monopoly and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is the best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domains, and that no more grant of lands shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been the cardinal principles of the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates shall be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization issued by courts of competent jurisdiction must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our Government, and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag and is only to be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well defined and executed foreign policy save under a Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interest of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Cali-
The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite the freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and annual immigration; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the old world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing, standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy has managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredite scheme and false pretenses of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of Republicans (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, and for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the judgment of our fellow countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him in his withdrawal from public life not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and cause, now inseparable in the history of the Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden. With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change of administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

The Prohibition convention held at Pittsburg, Pa., July 23, 1884, nominated John P. St John of Kansas for President and William Daniel of Maryland for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM OF 1884.

1. The Prohibition party in national convention assembled, acknowledge
Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the just powers of government are derived, and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity and happiness.

2. That the importation, manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State governments during the entire history of such laws, is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism; imposing large and unjust taxation for the support of penal and sheltering institutions, upon industry, manufactures and commerce; endangering the public peace; desecrating the Sabbath; corrupting our politics, legislation and administration of the laws; shortening lives, impairing health and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth of our widely extended country; and which, imperiling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are contrary to God’s laws and contravene our happiness. We, therefore, call upon our fellow citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and in the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

3. During the twenty-four years in which the Republican party has controlled the General Government and many of the States, no effort has been made to change this policy. Territories have been created, governments for them established, States admitted to the Union, and in no instance in either case has this traffic been forbidden, or the people been permitted to prohibit it; that there are now over 200,000 distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in their products, holding certificates and claiming the authority of government for the continuation of the business so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to, or impotent for, redress of these wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government, that although this party, in its late national convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. With the past year Mr. Blaine has recommended that the revenue derived from the liquor traffic be distributed among the States; and Senator Logan has by bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the public schools. Thus, both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the States and their citizens become partners in the liquor crime.

4. That the Democratic party has in its national deliverances of party policy arrayed itself on the side of drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of prohibition under the false name of “sumptuary laws,” that when in power in any of the States it has refused remedial legislation; and that in Congress it has obstructed the creation of a commission of inquiry into the effects of this traffic, proving that it should not be entrusted with power and place.

5. That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition; will court the favor of the criminal classes; will barter the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every trust and object of good government for party success. Patriots and good citizens should, therefore, immediately withdraw from all connection with these parties.
6. We favor reforms in the abolition of all sinecures with useless offices and officers, and in elections by the people instead of appointments by the President; that as competency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for office, we oppose removals except when absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness in vital issues; that the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquor and tobacco should be abolished, since the vices of men are not proper subjects of taxation; that revenue from custom duties should be levied for the support of the Government economically administered, and in such manner as will foster American industries and labor; that the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers; that grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the service of their country, and to their dependent widows and orphans; that we repudiate as un-American and contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that any persons or people should be excluded from residence or citizenship who may desire the benefit which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations; that while these are important reforms and are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the drink traffic, which now annually wastes $800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, dragging down thousands of families from comfort to poverty, filling jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals and institutions for dependency, impairing the health and destroying the lives of thousands, lowering intellectual vigor, and dulling the cunning hand of the artisan, causing bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangering the perpetuity of free institutions; that Congress should exercise its undoubted power by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, and all places over which the Government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State should be admitted to the Union until its constitution shall express and forever prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, and that Congress shall submit to the States an amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

7. We earnestly call the attention of the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer to the investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry of the needless liquor business. It will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, foments discontent and strikes, and the destroyer of family welfare. Labor and all legitimate industries demand deliverance from the taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and no tariff or other legislation can so healthfully stimulate production, or increase the demand for capital and labor, or insure so much of comfort and content to the laborer, mechanic and capitalist, as would the suppression of this traffic.

8. That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for the prohibition of the traffic, the purity of purpose and method, earnestness, zeal, intelligence and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have been eminently blessed of God. Kansas and Iowa have been given them as "sheaves" of rejoicing, and the education and the arousing of the public mind, and the now prevailing demand for the Constitutional amendment are largely the fruit of their prayers and labors.
Sharing in the efforts that shall bring the question of the abolition of this traffic to the polls, they shall join in the grand "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow," when by law victory shall be achieved.

9. That believing in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hands of woman is her right for protection, and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the liquor traffic, the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life, we enunciate the principle and relegate the practical workings of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several States according to the condition of public sentiment in those States.

10. That we gratefully acknowledge the presence of the Divine Spirit guiding the counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform, and we earnestly ask the voters of these United States to make the principles of the above declaration dominant in the Government of the nation.

The Greenback national convention met at Indianapolis, Ind., May 28, 1884, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts for President and A. M. West of Mississippi for Vice-President.

NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PLATFORM OF 1884.

We, the National party of the United States, in national convention assembled, this 29th day of May, A. D. 1884, declare:

1. That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the legal tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of the legal tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demand of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denominations of greenbacks and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our republican institutions, those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money, and other gigantic corporate monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the powers they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership
of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand Congressional regulation of our inter-state commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock watering and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a Government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contract labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a Constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarreled over and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It has not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from luxuries rather than necessaries, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant when compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariffs, we have never suffered from a panic nor seen our factories and workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor, and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject, we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the Government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a National party, knowing no east, no west, no north, no south. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of State as candidates, men from any section of the Union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen and votes.

On June 19, 1834, a convention assembled in Chicago as the American party and nominated Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas for President and John A. Conant of Connecticut for Vice-President.

AMERICAN PLATFORM.

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.
2. That the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

3. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

4. That we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks.

5. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State Legislatures should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law.

6. We are opposed to putting prison labor or depreciated contract labor from foreign countries in competition with free labor to benefit manufacturers, corporations and speculators.

7. We are in favor of a thorough revision and enforcement of the law concerning patents and inventions for the prevention and punishment of frauds either upon inventors or the general public.

8. We hold to and will vote for woman suffrage.

9. We hold that the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Articles 13, 14 and 15 of our amended National Constitution should be preserved inviolate, and the same equality should be extended to Indians and Chinamen.

10. That international differences should be settled by arbitration.

11. That land and other monopolies should be discouraged.

12. That the General Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency.

13. That it should be the settled policy of the Government to reduce the tariffs and taxes as rapidly as the necessities of revenue and vested business interests will allow.

14. That polygamy should be immediately suppressed by law, and that the Republican party is censurable for its long neglect of its duty in respect to this evil.

15. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

On September 20, 1884, a convention was held at San Francisco, Cal., under the name of the "Equal Rights Party" at which the prime object was the urging of the rights of women to a voice in the affairs of government.

This convention nominated Belva A. Lockwood of Washington, D. C., for President, and Marietta L. Snow of California for Vice-President.

EQUAL RIGHTS PLATFORM.

1. We pledge ourselves, if elected to power, so far as in us lies, to do equal and exact justice to every class of our citizens, without distinction of color, sex or nationality.

2. We shall recommend that the laws of the several States be so amended that women will be recognized as voters, and their property rights made equal with that of the male population, to the end that they may become self-supporting, rather than a dependent class.

3. It will be our earnest endeavor to revive the now lagging industries of the country by encouraging and strengthening our commercial relations with other countries, especially with the Central and South American States, whose wealth of productions are now largely diverted to England and other European countries for lack of well-established steamship lines and railroad communications between these countries and our own, encourage exports by an effort to create a demand for our home productions; and to this end we deem that a moderate tariff—sufficient to protect the laboring classes, but not so high as to keep our goods out of the market, as most likely to conserve the best interests of our whole people. That is to say, we shall avoid as much as possible a high protective tariff on the one hand and free trade on the other. We shall also endeavor by all laudable means to increase the wages of laboring men and
women. Our protective system will be most earnestly exerted to protect the commonwealth of the country from venality and corruption in high places.

4. It will be our earnest effort to see that the solemn contract made with the soldiers of the country on enlistment into the United States service, viz.: that if disabled therein they should be pensioned, is strictly carried out, and that without unnecessary expense or delay to them; and a re-enactment of the "Arrears Act."

5. We shall discountenance by every legal means the liquor traffic, because its tendency is to demoralize the youth of the land; to lower the standard of morality among the people; and we do not believe that the revenue derived from it would feed and clothe the paupers that it makes, and the money expended on its account in the courts, workhouses and prisons.

6. We believe that the only solution of the Indian question is, to break up all of their small principalities and chieftainships, that have ever presented the anomaly of small kingdoms scattered through a republic and ever liable to break out in some unexpected locality, and which have been hitherto maintained at such great expense to the Government, and treat the Indian like a rational human being, as we have the negro—make him a citizen, amenable to the laws, and let him manage his own private affairs.

7. That it is but just that every protection granted to citizens of the United States by birth should also be secured to the citizens of the United States by adoption.

8. We shall continue gradually to pay the public debt and to refund the balance, but not in such manner as to curtail the circulating medium of the country so as to embarrass trade, but pledge ourselves that every dollar shall be paid in good time.

9. We oppose monopoly, the tendency of which is to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer, as opposed to the genius and welfare of republican institutions.

10. We shall endeavor to aid in every laudable way the work of educating the masses of the people, not only in book knowledge, but in physical, moral and social culture, in such a manner as will tend to elevate the standard of American manhood and womanhood—that the individual may receive the highest possible development.

11. We recommend a uniform system of laws for the several States as desirable as far as practicable; and especially the laws relating to the descent of property, marriage and divorce, and the limitation of contracts.

12. We will endeavor to maintain the peaceable relations which now exist between the various sections of our vast country, and strive to enter into a compact of peace with the other American as well as European nations, in order that the peace which we now enjoy may become perpetual. We believe that war is a relic of barbarism belonging to the past, and should only be resorted to in the direst extremity.

13. That the dangers of a solid South or a solid North shall be averted by a strict regard to the interests of every section of the country, a fair distribution of public offices, and such a distribution of the public funds for the increase of the facilities of inter-commercial relations as will restore the South to her former industrial prestige, develop the exhaustless resources of the West, foster the iron, coal, and woolen interests of the Middle States, and revive the manufactures of the East.

14. We shall foster civil service, believing that a true civil service reform, honestly and candidly administered will lift us out of the imputation of having become a nation of office seekers, and have a tendency to develop in candidates for office an earnest desire to make themselves worthy and capable of performing the duties of the office that they desire to fill, and in order to make the reform a permanent one, recommend that it
be engrafted into the Constitution of the United States.

15. It will be the policy of the Equal Rights party to see that the residue of the public domain is parceled out to actual settlers only, that the honest yeomanry of the land, and especially those who have fought to preserve it, shall enjoy its benefits.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1884.

Cleveland and Hendricks received 219 electoral votes; Blaine and Logan received 182.

The popular vote was as follows:
Republican 4,874,986, Democratic 4,851,981; National (Greenback) 175,370, Prohibition 150,369.

Mr. Cleveland's cabinet was as follows: Secretary of State, Thos. F. Bayard of Delaware; Secretary of Treasury, Dan'l Manning of New York, who was succeeded by C. S. Fairchild of New York, April 1, 1887; Secretary of War, W. C. Endicott of Massachusetts; Secretary of Navy, W. C. Whitney of New York; Secretary of Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi; Postmaster General, W. F. Vilas of Wisconsin, succeeded by D. M. Dickinson of Michigan on Jan. 16, 1888; Attorney General, A. H. Garland of Arkansas.

The office of Secretary of Agriculture was created and N. J. Coleman of Missouri was appointed on Feb. 12, 1889.

CAMPAIGN OF 1888.

The Republicans met at Chicago, June 21, 1888, and nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for President and Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader; the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan and Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished.

We also recall with our greetings, and with our prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completes the abolition of slavery throughout the two continents.

We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of Home Rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution and the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot, and the just and equal representation of all the people, to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the foundations of public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic ma-
majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of Protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent any unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not aliens—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers titles to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that
purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity, only to the end that they may become States in the Union. Therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves Constitutions and State Governments and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible and the others as soon as they may become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation, therefore the State, or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress on the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriation for the early rebuilding of our navy, for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance to the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pa-
specific States, as well as for the pay-
ment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to
our labor, activity to our various indus-
tries, increase the security of our
country, promote trade, open new and
direct markets for our produce and
cheapen the cost of transportation. We
affirm this to be far better for our
country than the Democratic policy of
loaning the Government's money,
without interest, to "pet banks."
The conduct of affairs by the pres-
ent administration has been distin-
guished by its inefficiency and cow-
ardice. Having withdrawn from the
Senate all pending treaties effected by
Republican administrations for the re-
moval of foreign burdens and restric-
tions upon our commerce, and for its
extension into better markets, it has
neither effected nor proposed any
others in their stead. Professing ad-
herence to the Monroe Doctrine, it has
seen, with idle complacency, the exten-
sion of foreign influence in Central
America and of foreign trade every-
where among our neighbors. It has
refused to charter, sanction or encour-
age any American organization for
constructing the Nicaragua canal, a
work of vital importance to the main-
tenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and of
our national influence in Central and
South America, and necessary for the
development of trade with our Pacific
territory, with South America and
with the islands and farther coasts of
the Pacific ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administra-
tion for its weak and unpa-
triotic treatment of the fisheries ques-
tion, and its pusillanimous surrender
of the essential privileges to which
our fishing vessels are entitled in Ca-

adian ports under the treaty of 1818,
the reciprocal maritime legislation of
1830 and the comity of nations, and
which Canadian fishing vessels re-
ceive in the ports of the United States.
We condemn the policy of the present
administration and the Democratic
majority in Congress toward our fish-
eries as unfriendly and conspicuously
unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy
a valuable national industry and an
indispensable source of defense against
a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike
to all citizens of the republic, and im-
poses upon all alike the same obliga-
tion of obedience to the laws. At the
same time that citizenship is and
must be the panoply and safeguard of
him who wears it, and protect him,
whether high or low, rich or poor, in
all his civil rights. It should and must
afford him protection at home and fol-
low and protect him abroad, in what-
ever land he may be, on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Repub-
lican party in 1884 and continue to
adhere to the Democratic party, have
deserted not only the cause of honest
government, of sound finance, of free-
dom, of purity of the ballot, but espe-
cially have deserted the cause of re-
form in the civil service. We will not
fail to keep our pledges because they
have broken theirs or because their
candidate has broken his. We there-
fore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-
wit: "The reform of the civil service
auspiciously begun under the Repub-
lican administration should be com-
pleted by the further extension of the
reform systems already established by
law to all the grades of service to
which it is applicable. The spirit and
purpose of the reform should be ob-
served in all executive appointments,
and all laws at variance with the ob-
ject of existing reform legislation
should be repealed, to the end that
the dangers to free institutions which
lurk in the power of official patronage
may be wisely and effectively avoid-
cd."

The gratitude of the nation to the
defenders of the Union cannot be
measured by laws. The legislation
of Congress should conform to the
pledges made by a loyal people, and
be so enlarged and extended as to pro-
vide against the possibility that any
man who honorably wore the Federal
uniform shall become an inmate of an
almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles here-with enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

The Democratic convention was held at St. Louis, June 7, 1888, and Grover Cleveland was renominated for President and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio was nominated for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1888.

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress, as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or the people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power which, four years ago, was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has by the adoption of a wise and conservative course not only averted disaster but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the unwise and improvident policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred millions of acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period. By intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of the public money, it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been
effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control the right and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the National Democracy invoke a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who is faithful, able and prudent.

They invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justness which are their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses; enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from the tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them as purchasers, of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.

The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than $125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than $60,000,000 annually.

Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenditures, whether Constitutional or not, the accumulations of extravagant taxation.

The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries should not, and need not, be endangered by a reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the
difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operation.

In the interest of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party would promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time secure to him steady and remunerative employment.

Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrage of the American people.

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing statehood and self-government to their people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for Home Rule in Ireland.

The Prohibition convention at Indianapolis on May 31, 1888, nominated Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey for President and John A. Brooks of Missouri for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM OF 1888.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in Government, do hereby declare:

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes, and prohibited as such.

2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments to our National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

3. That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation, license or taxation enters into alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare, and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the license iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor crime, defeat the enforcement of law.

4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

5. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties; but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the treasury, and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessaries of life, and imposed on such
articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world.

6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstances of race, color, sex, or nationality; and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age, and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the Legislatures of the several States, on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

7. That civil service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution, without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on other than the first day of the week.

11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economical method of settling national differences, and the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employees and their employers; that the abolition of the saloon would remove the burdens moral, physical, pecuniary and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be a wise and successful way of promoting labor reform, and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof; that monopoly in land is wrong to the people, and the public lands should be reserved to actual settlers; and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions, and others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

13. Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who, on this one dominant issue, are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

The Union Labor party met in convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 16, 1888, and nominated A. J. Streator of Illinois for President, and Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas for Vice-President.

UNION LABOR PLATFORM OF 1888.

1. While we believe that the proper solution of the financial system will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgage foreclosure and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculation in land and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it. We believe the earth was made for the people and not to enable an idle aristocracy to subsist through rents upon the toil of the industrious, and that “corners” in land are as bad as “corners” in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own land in the United States. A homestead should be exempt to a limited extent from execution or taxation.

2. The means of communication and transportation should be owned by the
people, as is the United States postal system.

3. The establishing of a national monetary system in the interest of the producers instead of the speculators and usurers, by which the circulating medium in necessary quantity and full legal tender should be issued directly to the people without the intervention of banks, or loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest.

To relieve them from extortions of usury and enable them to control the money supply, postal savings banks should be established. While we have free coinage of gold we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the idle money in the United States Treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds either by the National Government or by States, Territories, or municipalities.

4. Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of convict labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished in public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced commensurate with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employes be protected from bodily injury, equal pay given for equal work for both sexes and labor, agricultural and co-operative associations be fostered and encouraged by law. The foundation of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are drawn into workshops, mines and factories, are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

5. We demand the passage of a service pension bill to pension every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

6. A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of government upon those who are best able to pay, instead of laying it upon the farmers and exempting millionaire bondholders and corporations.

7. We demand a Constitutional amendment making United States Senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

8. We demand a strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contracts.

9. We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

10. The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of State legislation.

11. The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.

The Industrial Reform party met in Washington, Feb. 22, 1888, and nominated Albert E. Redstone for President and John Calvin for Vice-President.

INDUSTRIAL REFORM PLATFORM OF 1888.

Whereas, It is possible to secure many needed reforms under a correct financial and industrial system; therefore,

Resolved, By the Industrial party, in national convention assembled, at the City of Washington, D. C., on the 22d day of February, 1888:

1. That the Government shall provide full legal tender money sufficient in volume to meet the requirements of the people.

2. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately redeem all public interest-bearing bonds.

3. That all banks of issue shall be abolished.
4. That the privilege of voting is inherent in citizenship and the right to vote should be accorded to woman.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1888.

Harrison and Morton were elected, receiving 233 electoral votes. Cleveland and Thurman received 168.


Mr. Harrison’s cabinet was made up as follows:

Secretary of State, James G. Blaine of Maine, succeeded on June 22, 1892, by J. W. Foster of Indiana; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Windom of Minnesota, succeeded on February 25, 1891, by Charles Foster of Ohio; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor of Vermont; Secretary of the Navy, Benj. F. Tracy of New York; Secretary of Interior, J. W. Noble of Missouri; Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, W. H. H. Miller of Indiana; Secretary of Agriculture, J. M. Rusk of Wisconsin.

During the exciting campaign of 1888, political passions were unusually roused and an incident occurred that in many respects was similar to that in Van Buren’s administration, when Elijah P. Lovejoy was mobbed and his printing press destroyed. The Vincent brothers published a paper at Winfield, Kansas, which so forcibly attacked the administration of the Republicans, National, State, and local, that an attempt was made to destroy the paper and its publishers, by the use of a dynamite bomb or “infernal machine.” The box containing the “infernal machine” was deposited with the express company at Coffeyville, Kan., and before shipment accidentally exploded, destroying the agent’s residence and nearly killing himself and family. Two years later a legislative investigation was made wherein the Republican state central committee and others were implicated.

PEOPLE’S PARTY ORGANIZED.

In accordance with a call issued for a conference of Reform organizations, over 1,300 delegates met at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 19, 1891, and formed a new national organization, “The People’s Party of the United States,” and adopted a platform as follows:

PEOPLE’S PARTY PLATFORM.

Adopted at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 21, 1891.

1. That in view of the great social, industrial, and economical revolution now dawning upon the civilized world, and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what is known as the “People’s Party of the United States of America.”

2. That we most heartily indorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889; and Ocala, Fla., in 1890, by industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

A—The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit; hence we demand the abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank notes we demand that legal tender treasury notes be issued, in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis, without damage or special advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes when demanded by the people shall be loaned to them at not more than 2 per cent per annum upon non-perishable products as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and the amount of money.

B—We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

C—We demand the passage of laws
prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action
to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by alien and foreign synd-
dicates, and that all lands held by railroads and other corporations in
excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the
Government and held for actual settlers only.

D—Believing the doctrine of equal
rights to all and special privilege to
none, we demand that taxation—Na-
tional, State or municipal—shall not be
used to build up one interest or class
at the expense of another.

E—We demand that all revenues—
National, State or county—shall be
limited to the necessary expenses of
the Government, economically and
honestly administered.

F—We demand a just and equitable
system of graduated tax on incomes.

G—We demand the most rigid, hon-
est and just national control and su-
 pervision of the means of public com-
 munication and transportation, and if
this control and supervision does not
remove the abuses now existing, we
demand the Government ownership of
such means of communication and
transportation.

H—We demand the election of Pres-
ident, Vice-President and United
States Senators by a direct vote of the
people.

3. That we urge united action of all
progressive organizations attending
the conference called for February 22,
1892, by six of the leading reform or-
ganizations.

4. That a national central com-
mittee be appointed by this conference, to
be composed of a chairman, to be
elected by this body, and of three
members from each State represented,
to be named by each State delegation.

5. That this central committee shall
represent this body, attend the na-
tional conference on February 22, 1892,
and if possible unite with that and
all other reform organizations there
assembled. If no satisfactory arrange-
ment can be effected, this committee
shall call a national convention not
later than June 1, 1892, for the pur-
pose of nominating candidates for
President and Vice-President.

6. That the members of the central
committee for each State where there
is no independent political organiza-
tion, conduct an active system of po-
litical agitation in their respective
States.

Resolved, That the question of uni-
versal suffrage be recommended to the
favorable consideration of the various
States and Territories.

Resolved, That while the party in
power in 1889 pledged the faith of the
nation to pay a debt in coin that had
been contracted on a depreciated cur-
rency basis and payable in currency,
thus adding nearly one billion dollars
to the burdens of the people, which
meant gold for the bondholder and de-
preciated currency for the soldier, and
holding that the men who imperiled
their lives to save the life of a nation
should have been paid in money as
good as that paid to the bondholder,
we demand the issue of legal tender
Treasury notes in sufficient amount to
make the pay of the soldiers equal to
par with coin or such other legisla-
tion as shall do equal and exact justice
to the union soldiers of this country.

Resolved, That as eight hours con-
stitutes a legal day's work for Gov-
ernment employees in mechanical de-
partments, we believe this principle
should be further extended so as to
apply to all corporations employing la-
bors, in the different States of the
Union.

Resolved, That this conference con-
demns in unmeasured terms the ac-
tion of the directors of the World's
Columbian Exposition on May 19, in
refusing the minimum rate of wages
asked for by the labor organizations
of Chicago.

Resolved, That the Attorney Gen-
eral submit the act of March 2, 1889,
providing for the opening of Oklahoma
to homestead settlement, to the su-
preme court of the United States at
the earliest possible moment, that the
unhappy settlers of that afflicted Territory may understand the law and Constitutional meaning of said act and thus put a stop to so much litigation and expense.

On Feb. 22, 1892, the action of the Cincinnati conference was ratified by a conference of industrial organizations at St. Louis, Mo., and the following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE.

This, the first great labor conference of the United States and of the world, representing all divisions of urban and rural organized industry, assembled in national congress, invoking upon its action the blessing and protection of Almighty God, puts forth to and for the producers of the nation this declaration of union and independence. The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. Many of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places in order to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down; and they are rapidly degenerating to European conditions.

The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while their possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice breed the two great classes—paupers and millionaires. The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property, as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and is taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

In this crisis of human affairs intelligent working people and producers of the United States have come together in the name of peace, order and society to defend liberty, prosperity and justice.

We declare our union and independence. We assert our purpose to support the political organization which represents our principles.

We charge that the controlling influence dominating the old political parties has allowed the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to restrain or prevent them. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcry of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff; so that corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, “watered stock,” the demonetization of silver, and the oppression of usurers, may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes and children upon the altar of mammon; to destroy the hopes of the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the great lords of plunder.

We assert that a political organiza-
tion, representing the political principles herein stated, is necessary to redress the grievances of which we complain.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birth of the illustrious man who led the first great revolution on this continent against oppression, filled with the sentiments which actuated that grand generation, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of the "plain people" with whom it originated. Our doors are opened to all points of the compass. We ask all honest men to join with and help us.

In order to restrain the extortions of aggregate capital, to drive the money-changers out of the temple, to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity we do ordain and establish the following platform of principles:

1. We declare the union of the labor forces of the United States this day accomplished permanent and perpetual. May its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind.

2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it. Every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. If any one will not work, neither shall he eat. The interests of rural and urban labor are the same, their enemies are identical.

3. We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the general Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; and that without issue of banking corporations a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. be provided, as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

4. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver.

5. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.

6. We demand a graduated income tax.

7. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand all national and State revenue shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

8. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

9. The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by the railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

10. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

11. The telegraph and the telephone like the postoffice system, being a necessity for transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

CAMPAIGN OF 1892.

The Republican convention at Minneapolis, Minn., June 7, 1892, nominated Benjamin Harrison for President, and placed on the ticket as candidate for Vice-President, Whitelaw Reid of New York.
The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, such restrictions to be determined by contemplation of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be equal at all times.

The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar—paper or gold—issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution, the free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as just and equal protection under the laws as the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated on American citizens for political reasons in certain southern States of the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce; the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships and the construction of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fish-
National Platforms of Parties.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense. We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employes of railroad companies engaged in carrying inter-state commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employes engaged in inter-state commerce, in mining and in manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The ultimate reliance of free, popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men.

We declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and of the press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action taken on this issue and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve of the policy of extending towns and rural communities, the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the large cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws relating to the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest possible moment, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and for the United States. All the federal office-holders appointed in the Territories should be selected from the residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as possible.

We favor the cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits for the people.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

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

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administra-
tion of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

The Democratic convention met at Chicago, June 21, 1892, and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for President, and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1892.

1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party, as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty was never more urgent than now when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the republic.

2. We warn the people of our common country, zealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the greatest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the republic. It strikes at the north as well as the south, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white. It means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the supplanting of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved rights of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has definitely declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill, and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States. Believing that the preservation of Republican Government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus, and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation.
upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

3. We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare 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 the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wages, reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the west there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantage to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desires for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we also believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

6. The Republican party while professing a policy of reserving the public lands for small holding by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndi-
cates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues be repealed.

9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal officeholders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

10. The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our American neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of National defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience' sake and in the spirit of the founders of our Government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our national Government, in the interests of justice and humanity by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

12. We heartily approve of all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as a dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration.
or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

13. This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents; but we demand that the work of the pension office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

14. The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government such aid should be extended for a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

15. For the purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

16. Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation extended, and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provisions as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

18. We favor legislation by Congress and State legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

20. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolish-
ing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under 15 years of age.

21. We are opposed to all sumptu-
ary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

22. Upon this statement of prin-
ciples and policies, the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the mainte-
nance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

The Prohibition convention at Cin-
cinnati, Ohio, June 28, 1892, nominated John Bidwell of California for President and J. B. Cranfill of Texas for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM OF 1892.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government and His law as the standard to which business enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the fol-
lowing declaration of principles:

The liquor traffic is the foe to civil-
ization, the arch-enemy of popular gov-
ernment and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that under the guise of regulation legalize and protect this traffic, or make the gov-
ernment share in its ill-gotten gains, are vicious in principle and powerless of a remedy. We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufac-
ture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by federal and State

legislation, and the full powers of gov-
ernment should be exerted to secure this result. No party that fails to recognize the nature of this issue in American politics is deserving of the support of the people.

No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages without regard of sex.

The money of the country should be issued by the General Government only and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded. No indi-
vidual or corporation should be al-
lowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal ten-
der for the payment of all debts, pub-
lic and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita and made to increase with population.

Tariff should be levied only as a de-
ference against foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administra-
tion of the Government should be raised by levying the burden on what the people possess instead of upon what we consume.

Railroads, telegraphs, and other pub-
lic corporations should be controlled by the government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges al-
lowed than necessary to give fair in-
terest on the capital actually invested.

Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the fac-
tors in decreasing wages and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly en-
forced. The time of residence for nat-
uralization should be extended and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen. No resident aliens should be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of indivi-
dual and corporate ownership of land—all unearned grants to railroads,
companies or other corporations should be reclaimed. Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law and we demand that every citizen be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.

Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

Speculation in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices, should be suppressed.

We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as false to the standards reared by their founders and faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past, to whom they do homage with their lips, as recreant to the higher law, which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life, and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people or inviting the confidence of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics" follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations and both are alike guilty. Each protests when out of power against infractions of the civil service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and in spirit. Each professes fealty to the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in the administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill is no longer treated by them as an issue between great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests.

The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both these parties for the vote of the slums and their assiduous courting of the liquor power, and subserviency to the money power, has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiter of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protests against these personal tendencies and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five national campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes. We pledge that the Prohibition party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

We stand unequivocally for the American public school and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We believe that only by united support of such common schools taught in the English language can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.

The People's Party convention met in Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, and nominated for President, James B. Weaver of Iowa, and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President.

OMAHA PLATFORM.

Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America in their first national convention, invoking upon their actions the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth in the name and in behalf of the people of the country the fol-
lowing preamble and declaration of principles:

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress and touches even the ermine on the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hiring army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possession of these in turn despite the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin ever since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold, by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggle of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them.

Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outrages of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, trusts, watered stock, demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of mammon, to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires. Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation and filled with the spirit of the grand general chief, who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people" with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national Constitution, to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets, that the civil war is over and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must
die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood. Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world. Our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value which must in a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange. The results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of Government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition on which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our industrial prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend, and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a Republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted and equal rights and privileges established for all the men and women of this country; we declare therefore

UNION OF THE PEOPLE.

First. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any man will not work neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third. We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of national administration by the use of such Government employees.

THE QUESTION OF FINANCE.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, to be provided as set forth in the subtreasury plan of the farmers' alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax. We believe that the money of the
country should be kept, as much as possible, in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and National revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered.

CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interests of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the postoffice system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

RECLAIMING THE LAND.

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

The following resolutions were offered independent of the platform and were adopted as expressive of the sentiment of the convention:

Resolved, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian secret ballot system.

Resolved, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

Resolved, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-union soldiers and sailors.

Resolved, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which, opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners, and we denounce the present ineffective law against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of the organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

Resolved, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition, and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officers.

Resolved, That we commend to the thoughtful consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the Initiative and referendum.

Resolved, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of the Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Resolved, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

The Socialistic Labor party met in New York August 28, 1892, and nominated Simon Wing for President and Charles H. Matchett for Vice-President.

SOCIALISTIC PLATFORM OF 1892.

1. Reduction of hours of labor in production.
2. The United States shall obtain possession of the telegraph, telephones, and all other means of public transportation.
3. The municipalities to obtain the coal, railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all in-
industries requiring municipal franchises.
4. The public land to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The incorporation by the states of local trades unions which have no national organization.
6. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
7. Congressional legislation, providing for the scientific management of the waterways and prohibiting the waste of natural resources of the country.
8. Inventions to be free to all, the inventors to be remunerated by the Union.
9. Progressive income tax and tax inheritance, the smaller income to be exempt.
10. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
11. Repeal of pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws; unbridged right of combination.
12. Official statistics concerning the condition of labor. The prohibition of the employment of children of school age, and of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages to those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.
1. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance according to the referendum principle.
2. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-Presidency and Senate of the United States. An executive board to be established, whose members are to be elected, and may at any time be recalled by the House of Representatives, as the only legislative body. The states and municipalities to adopt corresponding amendments of the constitution and statutes.
4. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days are to be legal holidays. The principle of minority representation to be introduced.
5. All public officers to be subject to their constituencies.

RESULT OF ELECTION OF 1892.

Cleveland and Stevenson received 277 electoral votes, Harrison and Reid 145, Weaver and Field 22.

The popular vote was as follows:
Democratic 5,556,562, Republican 5,162,874, People's party 1,055,424, Prohibition 264,066, Socialist 21,191.

Mr. Cleveland's cabinet was composed as follows:
Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, succeeded in 1895 by Richard Olney of Massachusetts; Secretary of Treasury, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky; Secretary of War, D. S. Lamont of New York; Secretary of Navy, H. A. Herbert of Alabama; Secretary of Interior, Hoke Smith of Georgia; succeeded on September 1st, 1896, by D. R. Francis of Missouri; Postmaster General, W. S. Bissell of New York, succeeded by W. L. Wilson of West Virginia on March 1, 1895; Attorney General, Richard Olney of Massachusetts, succeeded by Judson Harmon of Ohio when Mr. Olney was promoted to Secretary of State; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton of Nebraska.
CAMPAIGN OF 1896.

The Prohibition convention met at Pittsburg, May 27, 1896, and after much contention split and nominated two tickets.

The faction which bolted the convention adopted the name National party.

The Prohibition nominees were Joshua Levering of Maryland for President and Hale Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM OF 1896.

"We, the members of the Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, renewing our declaration of allegiance to Almighty God as the rightful ruler of the universe, lay down the following as our declaration of political purpose.

"The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a national party organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political actions of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

"The urgency of this course demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of Prohibition into one party, and In order to accomplish this end we deem it of right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by Prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand."

The National party nominated C. E. Bentley of Nebraska for President and J. H. Southgate of North Carolina for Vice-President.

NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORM.

The National party, recognizing God as the author of all just power in government, presents the following declaration of principles, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation when given the power to do so:

1. The suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation, exportation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating or compromising with this traffic, whether such plans be called, local option, taxation, license or public control. The sale of liquors for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by the State, without profit, and with such regulations as will prevent fraud or evasion.

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

3. All money should be issued by the general government only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability and integrity of the Nation. It should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of sufficient volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating our outstanding coin obligations, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation.

4. Land is the common heritage of the people and should be preserved from monopoly and speculation. All
uneared grants of land, subject to forfeiture, should be reclaimed by the government and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

5. Railroads, telegraphs and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the government, giving to the people the benefit of service at actual cost.

6. The national constitution should be so amended as to allow the national revenues to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

7. The contract convict labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

8. All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

9. The American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

10. The President, Vice-President and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

11. Ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States army and navy, their widows and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, graded on disability and term of service, not merely as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

12. Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

13. The initiative and referendum and proportional representation, should be adopted.

14. Having herein presented our principles and purposes, we invite the co-operation and support of all citizens who are with us substantially agreed.

The Republican convention met in St. Louis, Mo., June 16, 1896, and nominated William McKinley of Ohio for President and Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1896.

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

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessiy sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, dawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of the policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government
shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequal success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

ALLEGIANOE TO PROTECTION RENEWED.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingmen; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the times and of production. The ruling and uncompro-mising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement and then it wants rest.

DECLARATION ON RECIPROCITY.

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

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

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

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

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

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law Drovidina for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

AGAINST FREE COINAGE.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at a parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard—the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

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

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

ARMENIAN MASSACRES AND CUBA.

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

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

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

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

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

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

The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew and repeat our declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

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

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

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in interstate commerce.

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

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

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

TEMPERANCE AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

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

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

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

The Democratic convention met in Chicago, Ill., July 7, 1896. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska was nom-
We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but it is anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public or private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the federal treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.
Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or to individuals. We, therefore, denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the government honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the supreme court on the income tax. But for this decision by the supreme court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the government.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their product below the cost of production and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories; and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employes, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railway systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control of the federal government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission, and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high while the labor that pays them is unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits
a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

We denounce arbitrary interference by federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which federal judges in contempt of the laws of the States and the rights of citizens become at once legislators, judges and executioners, and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempt in federal courts, and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt. No discrimination should be indulged in by the government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding bill, and denounce the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily indorse the rule of the present commissioner of pensions, that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the admission of the territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma into the Union as states, and we favor the early admission of all the territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood, and while they remain territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said territory.

The Monroe doctrine as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service except as provided in the constitution. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and maintained our government, that no man should be eligible for a third term to the presidential office.

The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior states easy and cheap transportation to tide water. Whenever any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the government such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until a permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who
desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

Early in 1896 many politicians in each of the majority parties opposed the tendencies of both toward the establishment of a "gold standard." The leadership of both denied any such intention and neither would avow such purpose in its platform. However, a large number of prominent men in both parties prepared to abandon their political homes unless specific disavowal of such purpose were declared, and a call was made for a convention of such persons as should not be satisfied with the positions taken by the leading parties in their respective conventions on June 16 and July 7. This convention was called to meet at St. Louis on July 22, the date and place set for the People's Party convention.

About three hundred delegates assembled and indorsed the nominations of W. J. Bryan and Arthur Sewall, candidates of the Democratic party.

SILVER PARTY PLATFORM.

The National Silver party, in convention assembled, hereby adopts the following declaration of principles:

1. The paramount issue at this time in the United States is undisputably the money question. It is between the gold standard, gold bonds, and bank currency on the one side, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds, and government currency on the other.

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to the single gold standard and demand the immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver by the restoration by this government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the ratio of 16 to 1, and upon terms of exact equality as they existed prior to 1873, the silver coin to be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts and dues, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money; and hence that all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued and its volume controlled by the general government only, and should be legal tender.

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder worse than a crime the present treasury policy, concurred in by a Republican House, of plunging the country in debt by hundreds of millions in the vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold; and we demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States, as provided by existing laws, in either in gold or silver coin, at the option of the government, and not at the option of the creditor.

2. That over and above all other questions of policy, we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the constitution—gold and silver, not one, but both—the money of Washington, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and Monroe, and Jackson, and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard and not in a standard that has appreciated 100 per cent above all the great staples of our country; and to the end further that silver standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation alone cannot overcome.

We therefore confidently appeal to the people of the United States to leave in abeyance for the moment all other
questions, however important and even momentous they may appear, to surrender, if need be, all former party ties and affiliations and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age. And upon the consummation of our desires and efforts we invoke the gracious favor of divine providence.

The People's Party convention met in St. Louis, Mo., on July 22, 1896, and placed the Democratic candidate, William J. Bryan, in nomination for President, after having nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President.

PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM OF 1896.

The People's Party, assembled in national convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892. We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding administrations, the country has reached a crisis in its national life as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour. We realize that while we have political independence our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies.

The influence of European money changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of Democracy. To restore the Government intended by the fathers and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control by the adoption of the following declaration of principles:

FINANCE.

First—We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the general government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; also a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

Second—We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

Third—We demand that the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business and population of this country and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

Fourth—We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing debt made by the present administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and demand that no more bonds be issued except by specific act of Congress.

Fifth—We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

Sixth—We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligations, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

Seventh—We demand a graduated
income tax to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we regard the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

Eighth—We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION.

First—Transportation, being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis; to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

Second—The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific Railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare, as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof by the debtor companies; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people, and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for the protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freights.

Third—We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their true intent and spirit.

Fourth—The telegraph, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

LAND.

First—The true policy demands that national and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only; and private land monopoly as well as alien ownership should be prohibited.

Second—We condemn the frauds by which the land grants to Pacific Railroad companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of actual bona fide settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral land from such grants after as well as before patent.

Third—We demand that bona fide settlers on all public lands be granted free homes as provided in the national homestead law; and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and refer-
endum under proper constitutional safeguards.

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS.

First—We demand the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Second—We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent State.

Third—We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Fourth—All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

Fifth—In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

Sixth—The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling them by injunction, should be prevented by proper legislation.

Seventh—We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

Eighth—Believing that the elective franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some of the States as un-Republican and un-Democratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot, and an honest count.

Ninth—While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign upon which the present presidential election will turn, is the financial question. And upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

On July 4, 1896, the Socialists met in New York and nominated Charles H. Matchett of New York for President and Matthew McGuire of New Jersey for Vice-President.

SOCIALIST LABOR PLATFORM OF 1896.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of de-
democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purposes to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property is the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to
all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages to those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.


19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.


Following the Democratic convention, which convened in Chicago on July 7, there were many expressions of dissatisfaction at the position assumed on the silver question and a convention of Democrats who were opposed to the platform and nominees of that body was called to meet at Indianapo-

lis, Ind., Sept. 2, 1896. This conven-
tion claimed the name "National Dem-
ocrat" and nominated: For President, John McAuley Palmer of Illinois; for Vice-President, Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky.

THE INDIANAPOLIS PLATFORM.

This convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that democrats throughout the union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster to their country and ruin to their party. The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual, consistent with good government; to the preservation of the federal government in its constitutional vigor, and to the support of the states in all their just rights; to economy in public expenditures, to the maintenance of the public credit and sound money, and it is opposed to paternalism and to all class legislation. The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the president to enforce federal laws.

They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation, to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon, for republican allies the democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists. In view of their fiscal heresy and other grave departures from democratic principles we cannot support the candidates of that convention nor be bound by its acts. The democratic party has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago. The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of
class legislation by the republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law, and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

The national democracy here convened, therefore renews its declaration of faith in democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times. Taxation tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes, and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy, the sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levy is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriation made by Congress. The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money, and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government.

We arraign and condemn the populist conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their co-operation with the Republican party in creating these conditions, which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection. We therefore denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity, are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money. In fine, we reaffirm the historic democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only.

We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which were long ago abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the stars and stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen.

We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping. That scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of their natural qualities gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measures and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency assuring the most stable standard and especially the best and safest money for all who earn their livelihood by labor or the product of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency which offers continual profits to the money changer at their cost.

Realizing these truths, demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss,
the democratic party, in the interest of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurements and likewise entirely divorced the government from banking and currency issue. To this long established democratic policy we adhere and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the government, and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion.

But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril. We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country, a uniform, safe, and elastic bank currency, under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

The fidelity, patriotism and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs, and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation are fully recognized by the democratic party, and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the republic.

We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its effort to extend the merit system still further.

We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the undemocratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the government.

We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three co-ordinate branches of the government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land without fear or favor must be maintained. We condemn all efforts to defame that tribunal or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly had.

The democratic party ever has maintained and ever will maintain the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract, and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination, and attempt against the just rights of property and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

Believing these principles to be essential to the well being of the republic we submit them to the consideration of the American people.

RESULT OF ELECTION NOVEMBER 3, 1896.

After one of the most exciting campaigns in the history of the country the result on election day was a victory for the Republican ticket.

The popular vote was as follows: Republican (McKinley) 7,104,779, Democrat (Bryan) 6,502,925, Prohibition (Levering) 132,007, National Prohibition (Bentley) 13,969, Socialist (Matchett) 36,274, National Democrat (Palmer) 133,148.

The electoral vote was as follows:

For President, William McKinley received 271 votes and William J. Bryan 176 votes.
For Vice-President, Garrett A. Hobart received 271 votes; Arthur Sewall, 149; and Thomas E. Watson, 27.

McKinley and Hobart received the electoral vote of Connecticut 6, Delaware 3, Illinois 24, Indiana 15, Iowa 13, Maine 6, Maryland 8, Massachusetts 15, Michigan 14, Minnesota 9, New Hampshire 4, New Jersey 10, New York 36, North Dakota 3, Ohio 23, Oregon 4, Pennsylvania 32, Rhode Island 4, Vermont 4, West Virginia 6, Wisconsin 12, eight votes from California and twelve from Kentucky.

Bryan received the electoral vote of Alabama 11, Arkansas 8, Colorado 4, Florida 4, Georgia 13, Idaho 3, Kansas 10, Louisiana 8, Mississippi 9, Missouri 17, Montana 3, Nebraska 8, Nevada 3, North Carolina 11, South Carolina 3, South Dakota 4, Tennessee 12, Texas 15, Utah 3, Virginia 12, Washington 4, Wyoming 3, one vote from California and one from Kentucky; the electoral vote for Sewall being the same as Bryan's, except that the following states gave part of the vote to Watson as follows: Arkansas 3, Louisiana 4, Missouri 4, Montana 1, Nebraska 4, North Carolina 5, South Dakota 2, Utah 1, Washington 2, Wyoming 1.

Immediately following the inauguration of President McKinley he called a special session of Congress which convened on March 15, 1897, and at once proceeded to the consideration of proposed radical revision of the revenue laws, making many very important changes in tariff schedules.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S CABINET.

Secretary of State, John Sherman of Ohio, succeeded by John A. Day of Ohio; Secretary of Treasury, Lyman J. Gage of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger of Michigan, succeeded by Elihu Root of New York; Attorney General, Joseph McKenna, of California; Postmaster General, James A. Gary of Maryland; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson of Iowa.

CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

The People's party met in convention at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900 and nominated Wm. J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and Chas. A. Towne of Minnesota for Vice-President.

PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

The Populist party of the United States, in convention assembled, congratulating its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby reaffirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power, to unite with it in bringing the government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom, assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces and the promise of honest and hearty co-operation in every effort for their success.

To the people of the United States we offer the present platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation and relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse, and hence of the people.

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign payable in gold coin, or its equivalent, enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.
Second, for refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years, into long time gold bonds so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

Third, for taking from the treasury over $50,000,000 in a time of war and presenting it as a premium to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

Fourth, for doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes, so that they may draw one interest from the government and another from the people.

Fifth, for allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

Sixth, for authorizing the secretary of the treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency, by drawing gold from the treasurer, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

Seventh, for striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow $346,000,000 more from the banks, at an annual cost of over $20,000,000.

While barrving out the money of the constitution, this law opens the printing mints of the treasury to the free coinage of bank paper money, to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the people's party, never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired.

We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted dollar for dollar for bank notes issued by private corporations under special privileges granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes replaced with full legal tender government paper money and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price level.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax to the end that wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

With Thomas Jefferson, we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the alienable heritage of the people. The Government should so act as to secure homes for the people and prevent land monopoly. The original homestead policy should be enforced and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead while all who have paid an acreage price to the government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a nonpartisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation and that the extortion, tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the people, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished in a manner consistent with the sound public policy.

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of transmission of information, which instruments of commerce are
public functions and which our forefathers declared in the constitution should be controlled by the people through their congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts in that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust should be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil, the people must act directly without the intervention of representatives who may be controlled or influenced. We, therefore, demand direct legislation, giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life; at war with the declaration of independence and the plain precepts of humanity.

Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals to the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Filipinos of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The Declaration of Independence, the constitution and the American flag are one and inseparable. The Island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island, the administration has violated the constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our fathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesirable dominion upon the people of the Philippines, springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the old world. We denounce the administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldier, which is the best safeguard of the republic.

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

And a further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Couer d'Alene, soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. And we denounce the state government of Idaho and the federal government for employing the military arm of the government to abridge the civil rights of the people and to enforce an infamous permit system, which denies to laborers their inherent liberty and compels them to foreswear their manhood and their right before being permitted to seek employment.

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigrant laws. We demand that the federal government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws.

We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration.

We indorse municipal ownership of public utilities and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be
multiplied a hundred fold by its extension to natural interstate monopolies. We denounce the practice of issuing injunction in the cases of disputes between the employers and employees, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

We demand that United States senators and all other officials, as far as practicable, be elected by direct vote of the people.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation adopted in some states, as un republican and undemocratic. And we declare it to be the duty of the several state legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot and an honest count.

We favor home rule in the Territories and District of Columbia and the early admission of the Territories as states.

We denounce the expensive red tape system, political favoritism, cruel and unnecessary delay and criminal evasion of the statutes in the management of the pension office and demand the simple and honest execution of the laws and the fulfillment by the nation of its pledges of service pensions to all its honorably discharged veterans.

The Democratic convention met in Kansas City, Mo., July 4, 1900 and nominated Wm. J. Bryan for President and A. E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1900.

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in national convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do re-affirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the republic. We hold with the United States supreme court that the declaration of independence is the spirit of our government, of which the constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the constitution follows the flag and denounce the doctrine that an executive or congress deriving their existence and their powers from the constitution can exercise lawful authority beyond it, or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation.

It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, in-
consistent with republican institutions and condemned by the supreme court in numerous decisions.

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

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

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

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

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

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

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

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

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment.

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

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, state and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the state of their origin, that they have no water in their stock and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, proves the insincerity of the high sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or control the sovereignty which creates them, should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.
We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

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

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

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

We favor an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the workingman as the corner stone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that congress create a department of labor, in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

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

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaraguan canal by the United States and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican national platform for an isthmian canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in congress.

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

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

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

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

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land grabbing of Asia and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

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

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

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

The Republican party met in convention in Philadelphia, Pa., June 19, 1900 and nominated Wm. McKinley of Ohio for President and Theodore Roosevelt of New York for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted its power four years ago to a Republican chief magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two
legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.

The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and everywhere labor is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while, during the whole period of 107 years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094. And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted, and in victory concluded, a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which the American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready.

Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To 10,000,000 of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom" and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record, and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity when Democratic success at the polls is announced halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency on a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in the production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged.

The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is
today. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country’s credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market the competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured, and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen, we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world. The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government’s duty to provide for the survivors, and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country’s wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal, and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given, wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service, to soldiers and sailors, and to their widows and orphans. We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as
far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of state governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment, are revolutionary and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several states.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective states and territories.

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of, the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

The Dingley act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the government's revenues, and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an isthmian canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China. In the interest of our expanding commerce, we recommend that Congress create a department of commerce and industries in the charge of a secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.

The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

The American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid association, and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undisputed control of the most important island of the Samoan group, and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded. We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our government in the peace conference at the Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine. The provisions of the Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African republic. While the American government...
must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine islands.

That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations, our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law. To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

The Lincoln (or silver) Republicans met in convention in Kansas City, Mo., on July 4, 1900 and nominated Wm. J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and A. E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President and adopted the following.

SILVER REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

We, the silver republican party, in national convention assembled, declare these as our principles and invite the co-operation of all who agree therewith:

We recognize that the principles set forth in the declaration of independence are fundamental and everlastingly true in their application of governments among men. We believe the patriotic words of Washington's farewell to be words of soberness and wisdom, inspired by the spirit of right and truth. We treasure the words of Jefferson as priceless gems of American statesmanship.

We hold in sacred remembrance the broad philanthropy and patriotism of Lincoln, who was the great interpreter of American history and the great apostle of human rights and of industrial freedom, and we declare, as was declared by the convention that nominated the great emancipator, that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the declaration of independence and embodied in the federal constitution, "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; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

We declare our adherence to the principle of bimetallism as the right basis of a monetary system under our national constitution, a principle that found place repeatedly in republican platforms from the demonetization of silver in 1873 to the St. Louis Republican convention in 1896.

Since that convention a republican congress and a republican president, at the dictation of the trusts and money power, have passed and approved a currency bill which in itself is a repudiation of the doctrine of bi-
metallism advocated theretofore by the president and every great leader of his party.

This currency law destroys the full money power of the silver dollar, provides for the payment of all government obligations and the redemption of all forms of paper money in gold alone—retires the time-honored and patriotic greenbacks, constituting one-sixth of the money in circulation, and surrenders to banking corporations a sovereign function of issuing all paper money, thus enabling these corporations to control the price of labor and property by increasing or diminishing the volume of money in circulation, thus giving the banks power to create panics and bring disaster upon business enterprises.

The provisions of this currency law making the bonded debt of the republic payable in gold alone changes the contract between the government and the bondholders to the advantage of the latter and is in direct opposition to the declaration of the Matthews resolution passed by congress in 1878, for which resolution the present republican president, then a member of congress, voted, as did also all leading republicans, both in the house and senate.

We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the constitution itself, and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which systems all paper money shall be issued by the government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception.

We are in favor of a graduated tax upon incomes, and if necessary to accomplish this we favor an amendment to the constitution.

We believe that United States senators ought to be elected by a direct vote of the people, and we favor such amendment of the constitution and such legislation as may be necessary to that end.

We favor the maintenance and the extension wherever practicable of the merit system in the public service, appointments to be made according to fitness, competitively ascertained, and public servants to be retained in office only so long as shall be compatible with the efficiency of the service.

Combinations, trusts and monopolies contrived and arranged for the purpose of controlling the prices and quantity of articles supplied to the public are unjust, unlawful and oppressive.

Not only do these unlawful conspiracies fix the prices of commodities in many cases, but they invade every branch of the state and national government with their polluting influence and control the actions of their employees and dependents in private life until their influence actually imperils society and the liberty of the citizen.

We declare against them. We demand the most stringent laws for their destruction and the most severe punishment of their promoters and maintainers and the energetic enforcement of such laws by the courts.

We believe the Monroe doctrine to be sound in principle and a wise national policy and we demand a firm adherence thereto. We condemn acts inconsistent with it and that tend to make us parties to the interests and to involve us in the controversies of European nations and to recognition by pending treaty of the rights of England to be considered in the construction of an interoceanic canal. We declare that such canal, when constructed, ought to be controlled by the United States in the interests of American nations.

We observe with anxiety and regard with disapproval the increasing own-
ership of American lands by aliens and their growing control over our international transportation, natural resources and the public utilities. We demand legislation to protect our public domain, our natural resources, our franchises and our internal commerce and to keep them free and maintain their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions and influences, and we declare our opposition to the leasing of the public lands of the United States whereby corporations and syndicates will be able to secure control thereof and thus monopolize the public domain, the heritage of the people.

We are in favor of the principles of direct legislation. In view of the great sacrifice made and patriotic services rendered we are in favor of liberal pensions to deserving soldiers, their widows, orphans and other dependents. We believe that enlistment and service should be accepted as conclusive proof that the soldier was free from disease and disability at the time of his enlistment. We condemn the present administration of the pension laws.

We tender the patriotic people of the South African republics our sympathy and express our admiration for them in their heroic attempts to preserve their political freedom and maintain their national independence. We declare that the destruction of these republics and the subjugation of their people to be a crime against civilization.

We believe this sympathy should have been voiced by the American congress, as was done in the case of the French, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Armenians and the Cubans and as the traditions of this country would have dictated. We declare the Porto Rican tariff law to be not only a serious but a dangerous departure from the principles of our form of government. We believe in a republican form of government and are opposed to monarchy and the whole theory of imperialistic control.

We believe in self-government—a government by the consent of the governed—and are unalterably opposed to a government based upon force. It is clear and certain that the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago cannot be made citizens of the United States without endangering our civilization. We are therefore in favor of applying to the Philippine archipelago the principle we are solemnly and publicly pledged to observe in the case of Cuba.

There no longer being any necessity for collecting war taxes, we demand the repeal of the war taxes levied to carry on war with Spain.

We favor the immediate admission into the union of states the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

We demand that our nation's promises to Cuba shall be fulfilled in every particular.

We believe the national government should lend aid, encouragement and assistance toward the reclamation of the arid lands of the United States, and to that end we are in favor of a comprehensive survey thereof and an immediate ascertainment of the water supply available for such reclamation, and we believe it to be the duty of the general government to provide for the construction of storage reservoirs and irrigation works so that the water supply of the arid region may be utilized to the greatest possible extent in the interests of the people, while preserving all rights of the state.

Transportation is a public necessity and the means and methods of it are matters of public concern. Railway companies exercise a power over industries, business and commerce which they ought not to do and should be made to serve the public interests without making unreasonable charges or unjust discriminations.

We observe with satisfaction the growing sentiment among the people in favor of the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

We are in favor of expanding our commerce in the interests of American labor and for the benefit of all our
people by every honest and peaceful means. Our creed and our history justifies the nations of the earth in expecting that wherever the American flag is unfurled in authority human liberty will be found. We protest against the adoption of any policy that will change in the thought of the world the meaning of our flag.

We are opposed to the importation of Asiatic laborers in competition with American labor and a more rigid enforcement of the laws relating thereto.

The silver republican party of the United States in the foregoing principles, seeks to perpetuate the spirit and to adhere to the teachings of Abraham Lincoln.

The middle-of-the-road populists met in Cincinnati and on May 10th, 1900, nominated Wharton Baker of Pennsylvania for President and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for Vice-President, and adopted the following.

**MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD POPULIST PLATFORM.**

The People's party of the United States, assembled in national convention this 10th day of May, 1900 affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the People's party as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continued advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty until right shall triumph over might and love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith:

1. We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate for such changes of existing fundamental and statute laws as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire; to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests, and to recall unfaithful public servants.

2. We demand the public ownership and operation of those means of communication, transportation and production which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephones, coal mines, etc.

3. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

4. A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation, not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts, and receivable for all taxes and public duties, and issued by the government only, without the intervention of banks, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised; but, until such a financial system is secured, which we shall press for adoption, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

5. We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances, and a constitutional amendment to secure the same if necessary.

6. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, Federal Judges and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

7. We are opposed to trusts, and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principle of public ownership of public utilities.

The Prohibition party met in Chicago, Ill., on June 28, 1900, and nominated John G. Woolley of Minnesota for President and Henry B. Metcalf of Rhode Island for Vice-President.
PROHIBITION PLATFORM FOR 1900.

The National Prohibition party, in convention represented at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledging Almighty God as the supreme source of all just government, realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles, and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

1. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting by their joint endeavor the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed."

We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principal of prohibition applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely by its adoption and assertion through a national policy and a co-operation therein by every state, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle proposed by any party anywhere for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to the minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot box from this time forward until prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, can successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its own way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We purpose, as a first step, in the financial problem of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic, and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

2. We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom, when Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and
“that the destruction of this iniquity
stands next on the calendar of the
world’s progress.” We hold that the
existence of our party presents this
issue squarely to the American peo-
ple, and lays upon them the responsi-

bility of choice between the two par-
ties, dominated by distillers and brew-

ers, with their policy of saloon per-
petuation, breeding waste, wickedness,
woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption
and crime, and our one party of patri-
otic and moral principle, with a policy
which defends it from domination by
corrupt bosses, and which insures it
forever against the blighting control
of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and
fear the awful fact that this liquor
traffic has a grip on our government,
municipal, state, and national, through
the revenue system and a saloon sov-
ereignty, which no other party dares
to dispute; a grip which dominates
the party now in power, from caucus
to congress, from policemen to presi-
dent, from the rum shop to the white
house; a grip which compels the chief
executive to consent that law shall be
nullified in behalf of the brewer, that
the canteen shall curse our army and
spread intemperance across the seas,
and that our flag shall wave as the
symbol of partnership, at home and
abroad, between this government and
the men who defy and defile it for their
unholy gain.

3. We charge upon President Mc-
Kinley, who was elected to his high
office by appeals to Christian senti-
ment and patriotism almost unprece-
dented and by a combination of moral
influences never before seen in this
country, that, by his conspicuous ex-
ample as a wine-drinker at public
banquets and as a wine-serving host
in the white house, he has done more
to encourage the liquor business, to de-
moralize the temperance habits of
young men, and to bring Christian
practices and requirements into disre-
pute, that any other president this
republic has had. We further charge
upon President McKinley responsibil-
ity for the army canteen, with all its
dire brood of disease, immorality, sin
and death in this country, in Cuba, in
Porto Rico and the Philippines; and
we insist that by his attitude con-
cerning the canteen, and his apparent
contempt for the vast number of peti-
tions and petitioners protesting against
it, he has outraged and insulted the
moral sentiment of this country in
such a manner and to such a degree
as calls for its righteous uprising and
his ignignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that
our chief executive, as commander-in-
chief of the military forces of the
United States, at any time prior to or
since March 2, 1899, could have closed
every army saloon, called a canteen,
by executive order, as President Hayes
in effect did before him, and should
have closed them, for the same reasons
which actuated President Hayes: we
assert that the act of congress, passed
March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of
liquors, “in any post, exchange or can-
teen,” by any “officer or private sol-
dier,” or by “any person, on any prem-
ises used for militarv munoses by the
United States,” was and is as explicit
an act of prohibition as the English
language can frame; we declare our
solem belief that the Attorney-Gen-
eral of the United States, in his inter-
pretation of that law, and the Secre-
tary of War, in his interpretation of
that law, and the Secre-
tary of War, in his acceptance of that
interpretation and his refusal to en-
force the law, were and are guilty of
treasable nullification thereof, and
that President McKinley, through his
assent to and indorsement of such in-
terpretation and refusal on the part of
officials appointed by and responsible
to him, shares responsibility in their
guilt; and we record our conviction
that a new and serious peril confronts
our country, in the fact that its Pres-
ident, at the behest of the beer power,
dares and does abrogate a law of con-
gress, through subordinates remova-
able at will by him and whose acts be-
come his, and thus virtually confesses
that laws are to be administered, or
to be nullified, in the interest of a
law-defying business, by an administration under mortgage to such business for support.

4. We deplore the fact that an administration of this republic, claiming the right and power to carry our flag across the seas, and to conquer and annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved, by the evidence painfully abundant, that this administration's policy of expansion is bearing so rapidly its fruits of drunkenness, insanity and crime under the hot-house sun of the tropics; and that when the president of the first Philippine commission said: "It was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there, to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our race," we charge the inhumanity and unchristianity of this act on the administration of William McKinley, and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

5. We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right uphold as to the liquor traffic, under the national constitution, upon any territory under the military or civil control of that government, is the policy of prohibition: that, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and insure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," as the constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy, which makes our government a partner with distillers and brewers and bar-keepers, is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity and a crime against God.

We condemn the present administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory laws in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grogshop, and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian islands.

We call general attention to the fearful fact that the exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine islands increased from $337 in 1898 to $467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 1, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached $30,000 a year, previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba, during the fiscal year of 1899, reached the sum of $629,655.

6. One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing unchristian, un-American and perilous utterly to every interest of life;" another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly asserted and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should it receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon;" other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty
years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school against the saloon, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

We insist that no differences of belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties today concerning the liquor traffic—perpetuationists and prohibitionists—and that patriotism, Christianity, and every interest of genuine republicanism and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot-box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

The Socialist Labor Party met in convention at Indianapolis, Ind., and nominated Eugene V. Debs of Illinois for President and Job Harriman of California for Vice-President.

SOCIALIST LABOR PLATFORM FOR 1900.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in convention assembled reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. We affirm our steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation) and the large and ever-increasing class of wage earners, possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and its political equality rendered bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies, goes the annihilation of small industries and the middle class depending upon them. Ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalistic production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises, continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit. Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered, that wage
slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class cannot, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to gain!"
SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

(Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

I.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the
workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict. This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental or moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist programme is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the
power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or programme for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values. The proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents, and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be intrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.
NATIONAL PLATFORMS OF PARTIES.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.
(Adopted at Chicago June 23, 1904.)

Fifty years ago the republican party came into existence dedicated among other purposes to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party, during the same period, has had complete control for only two years.

This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of the civil war.

We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint and confidence was gone.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively and at once.

We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garrisoned with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry freed from opposition and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed.

Wages have risen and all industries have revived and prospered.

We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish war had closed to remove over $100,000,000 of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt and lower the interest charges of the government.

The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent. even in time of war.

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines
we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Pekin and a decisive part in preventing the participation and the preserving of the integrity of China.

The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and the protection of our honor and our interests.

Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operation of great corporations and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates have been passed by a Republican Congress.

In this record of achievements during the last eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We propose to continue these policies and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

Protection which guards and develops our industries is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always, at least, equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad.

We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and, therefore, rates of duty should be adjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration. But this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declared the protective tariff unconstitutional or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system.

However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity, a Republican tariff by business prosperity.

To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity whenever reciprocal agreements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and the value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages and heavy subsidies of foreign governments has not for many years
received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement at any kind. We, therefore, favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the merchant marine commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe doctrine and watch over our commerce is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor and promise a continuation of the Republican policy in that direction.

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

We are also mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States and we believe in making ample provision for them in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international difference by arbitration.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administration of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited and if such is the case we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire Nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

The confidence of the people in his justice inspired by his public career enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of the winter of 1902.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful. The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated.
cated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a serious character.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high. He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law, that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM

Adopted at Springfield, Ill., July 4, 1904

The People's party reaffirms its adherence to the basic truths of the Omaha platform of 1892, and of the subsequent platforms of 1896 and 1900. In session in its fourth national convention on July 4, 1904, in the city of Springfield, Ill., it draws inspiration from the day that saw the birth of the nation, as well as its own birth as a party, and also from the soul of him who lived at its present place of meeting.

We renew our allegiance to the old-fashioned American spirit that gave this nation existence and made it distinctive among the peoples of the earth. We again sound the keynote of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal in a political sense, which is the sense in which that instrument, being a political document, intended that the utterance should be understood. We assert that the departure from this fundamental truth is responsible for the ills from which we suffer as a nation; that the giving of special privileges to the few has enabled them to dominate the many, thereby tending to destroy the political equality which is the cornerstone of democratic government.

We call for a return to the truths of the fathers, and we vigorously protest against the spirit of mammonism and of thinly-veiled monarchy that is invading certain sections of our national life and of the very administration itself. This is a nation of peace, and we deplore the appeal to the spirit of force and militarism which is shown in ill-advised and vainglorious boasting and, in more harmful ways, in the denial of the rights of man under martial law.

A political democracy and an industrial despotism cannot exist side by side; and nowhere is this truth more plainly shown than in the gigantic monopolies which have bred all sorts of kindred trusts, subverted the governments of many of the states and established their official agents in the national government. We submit that it is better for the government to own the
railroads than for the railroads to own the government; and that one or the other alternative seems inevitable.

We call the attention of our fellow-citizens to the fact that the surrender of both of the old parties to corporate influences leaves the People's party the only party of reform in the nation.

Therefore, we submit the following platform of principles to the American people:

The issuing of money is a function of government, and should never be delegated to corporations or individuals. The Constitution gives to Congress alone power to coin money and regulate its value.

We demand, therefore, that all money shall be issued by the government in such quantity as shall maintain stability in prices, every dollar to be a full legal tender, none of which shall be a debt redeemable in other money.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

We believe in the right of labor to organize for the benefit and protection of those who toil; and pledge the efforts of the People's party to preserve this right inviolate. Capital is organized, and has no right to deny to labor the privilege which it claims for itself. We feel that intelligent organization of labor is essential; that it raises the standard of workmanship and promotes the efficiency, intelligence, independence and character of the wage earner. We believe with Abraham Lincoln that labor is prior to capital, and is not its slave, but its companion; and we plead for that broad spirit of toleration and justice which will promote industrial peace through the observance of the principles of voluntary arbitration.

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage earners, the abolition of child labor, the suppression of sweatshops and of convict labor, in competition with free labor, and the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor.

We favor the shorter workday, and declare that if eight hours constitutes a day's labor in government service that eight hours should constitute a day's labor in factories, work shops and mines.

As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people, we demand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative, referendum and proportional representation, and direct vote for all public officers, with the right of recall.

Land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes; and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

We demand a return to the original interpretation of the Constitution and a fair and impartial enforcement of laws under it; and denounce government by injunction and imprisonment without the right of trial by jury.

To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly, the government should own and control the railroads and those public utilities which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service, the government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems and provide a parcels post.

As to those trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or natural monopolies, we demand that those special privileges which they now enjoy, and which alone enable them to exist, should be immediately withdrawn. Corporations being the creatures of government should be subjected to such governmental regulations and control as will adequately protect the public. We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges, while they remain in private hands, to the extent of the value of the privileges granted.

We demand that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the power and duties of all incorporated companies doing interstate business.
The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, declares its devotion to the essential principles of the Democratic faith which brings it together in party communion. Under them local self-government and national unity and prosperity were alike established. They underlaid our independence, the structure of our free republic and every Democratic extension from Louisiana to California and Texas to Oregon, which preserved faithfully in all the States the tie between taxation and representation. They yet inspire the masses of our people, guarding jealously their rights and liberties and cherishing their fraternity, peace and orderly development. They remind us of our duties and responsibilities as citizens and impress upon us, particularly at this time, the necessity of reform and the rescue of the administration of government from the headstrong, arbitrary and spasmodic methods which distract business by uncertainty and pervade the public mind with dread, distrust and perturbation.

I. The application of these fundamental principles to the living issues of the day is the first step toward the assured peace, safety and progress of our Nation. Freedom of the press, of conscience and of speech; equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury; freedom of the person defended by the writ of habeas corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammeled by sumptuary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well-disciplined militia; the separation of church and state; economy in expenditures; low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence to the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics—these are the doctrines which Democracy has established as proverbs of the Nation, and they should be constantly invoked and enforced.

We favor the enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred" and no less "inalienable" than the rights of capital.

Constitutional guaranties are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished.

We deny the right of any executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official. The military should be used only to support and maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial or for the control of elections.

We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempt in federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between corporate employers and their employes and we favor a strict enforcement of the eight-hour day law on all government work.

We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the water ways of the country. When any water way like the Mississippi River is of sufficient importance to demand special aid of the government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

We oppose the Republican policy of starving home development in order to feed the greed of conquest and the appe-
NATIONAL PLATFORMS OF PARTIES.

I. We propose for national "prestige" and display of strength.

Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military and naval administration as a right of the people too clear to be denied or withheld.

II. We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists without fear or favor or regard to persons. The persistent and deliberate refusal of both the Senate and the House of Representatives to permit such investigation to be made demonstrates that only by a change in the executive and in the legislative departments can complete exposure, punishment and correction be obtained.

We condemn the action of the Republican party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of interstate trade. We believe that one of the best methods of procuring economy and honesty in the public service is to have public officials, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest of them, return as nearly as may be to Jeffersonian simplicity of living.

III. We favor the nomination and election of a President imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it takes refuge in the tyrant's pleas of necessity or superior wisdom.

We favor the preservation, so far as we can, of an open door for the world's commerce in the Orient, without sary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs, and without arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible and absolute government anywhere within our jurisdiction. We oppose, as fervently as did George Washington himself, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom evoked or exercised; we believe with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams that no government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies." All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is; if they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now, upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent to work out their own destiny.

The endeavor of the Secretary of War, by pledging the government's indorsement for "promoters" in the Philippine Islands, to make the United States a partner in speculative legislation of the archipelago, which was only temporarily held up by the opposition of the Democratic senators in the last session will, if successful, lead to entanglements from which it will be difficult to escape.

The Democratic party has been, and will continue to be, the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. This monstrous perversion of those equal opportunities which our
political institutions were established to secure has caused what may once have been infant industries to become the greatest combinations of capital that the world has ever known. These special favorites of the government have, through trust methods, been converted into monopolies, thus bringing to an end domestic competition, which was the only alleged check upon the extravagant profits made possible by the protective system. These industrial combinations, by the financial assistance they can give, now control the policy of the Republican party.

We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the government, economically administered and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed as equally as possible. We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses for the common weal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions and its discriminations, keeping in view the ultimate ends of “equality of burdens and equality of opportunities,” and the constitutional purpose of raising a revenue by taxation, to-wit, the support of the federal government in all its integrity and virility, but in simplicity.

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity, and any trust, combination or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition or fixing prices should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discrimination by transportation companies as the most potent agency, in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade. We demand an enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission, to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief from the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to actually suppress them.

Any trust or unlawful combination engaged in interstate commerce which is monopolizing any branch of business or production should not be permitted to transact business outside of the State of its origin. Whenever it shall be established in any court of competent jurisdiction that such monopolization exists such prohibition should be enforced through comprehensive laws to be enacted on the subject.

We congratulate our Western citizens upon the passing of the law known as the Newlands irrigation act for the irrigation and reclamation of the arid lands of the West; a measure framed by a Democrat, passed in the Senate by a nonpartisan vote and passed in the House against the opposition of almost all the Republican leaders by a vote the majority of which was Democratic.

We call attention to this great Democratic measure, broad and comprehensive as it is, working automatically throughout all time without further action of Congress, until the reclamation of all the lands in the arid West capable of reclamation is accomplished, reserving the lands reclaimed for homeseekers in small tracts, and rigidly guarding against land monopoly, as an evidence of the policy of domestic development contemplated by the Democratic party, should it be placed in power.

The Democracy when intrusted with power will construct the Panama Canal speedily, honestly and economically, thereby giving to our people what Democrats have always contended for—
great interoceanic canal, furnishing shorter and cheaper lines of transportation and broader and less trammeled trade relations with the other peoples of the world.

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties of friendship and commerce; and if, under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor the beginning of negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure by treaties the removal of these unjust discriminations.

We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

We favor the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people.

We favor the admission of the Territories of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States and a territorial government for Alaska and Porto Rico. We hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any territory, as well as that of the District of Alaska, should be bona fide residents at the time of their appointment of the territory or district in which their duties are to be performed.

We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States and the complete separation of church and state in political affairs.

We denounce the ship subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes and a wasteful, illogical and useless attempt to overcome by subsidy the obstructions raised by Republican legislation to the growth and development of American commerce on the sea. We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada, and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining or commerce.

We favor the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine in its full integrity.

We favor the reduction of the army and navy expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.

The Democracy would secure to the surviving soldiers and sailors and their dependents generous pensions, not by an arbitrary executive order, but by legislation which a grateful people stand ready to enact. Our soldiers and sailors who defend with their lives the Constitution and the laws have a sacred interest in their just administration. They must therefore share with us the humiliation with which we have witnessed the exaltation of court favorites, without distinguished service, over the scarred heroes of many battles, or aggrandized by executive appropriations out of the treasuries of a prostrate people in violation of the act of Congress which fixed the compensation and allowances of military officers.

The Democratic party stands committed to the principles of civil service reform, and we demand their honest, just and impartial enforcement.

We denounce the Republican party for its continuous and sinister encroachments upon the spirit and operation of civil service rules, whereby it has arbitrarily dispensed with examinations for office in the interests of favorites and employed all manner of device to overreach and set aside the principles upon which the civil service was established.

The race question has brought count-
less woes to this country. The calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more. To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our common country means confusion, distraction of business, and the reopening of wounds now happily healed. North, South, East and West have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Peking to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny we should share fraternally the common burdens.

We therefore deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago, which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.

The existing Republican administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the Congress, the courts, and upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law. It summoned the Congress into hasty and futile extra session and virtually adjourned it, leaving behind its flight from Washington uncalled calendars and unaccomplished tasks.

It made war, which is the sole power of Congress, without its authority, thereby usurping one of its fundamental prerogatives. It violated a plain statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages and constitutional law and has done so under pretense by executing a great public policy which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally and with honor.

It forced strained and unnatural constructions upon statutes, usurping judicial interpretation, and substituting for congressional enactment its decree.

It withdrew from Congress their customary duties of investigation which have heretofore made the representatives of the people and the states the terror of evil-doers.

It conducted a secretive investigation of its own and boasted of a few sample convictions, while it threw a broad coverlet over the bureaus which had been their chosen field of operative abuses, and kept in power the superior officers under whose administration the crimes had been committed.

It ordered assault upon some monopolies, but, paralyzed by its first victory, it flung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not "run amuck"—leaving its future purposes beclouded by its vacillations.

Conducting the campaign upon this declaration of our principles and purposes, we invoke for our candidates the support not only of our great and time-honored organization, but also the active assistance of all of our fellow citizens who, disregarding past differences upon questions no longer in issue, desire the perpetuation of our constitutional government as framed and established by the fathers of the Republic.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM.
(Adopted at Indianapolis, Ind., June 30, 1904.)

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, at Indianapolis, June 30, 1904, recognizing that the chief end of all government is the establishment of those principles righteousness and justice that have been revealed to men as the will of the ever living God desiring His blessing upon our national life, and believing in the perpetuation of the high ideals of government of the people, by the people and for the people, established by our fathers, makes the following declaration of principles and purposes:

1. The widely prevailing system of the licensed and legalized sale of alcoholic beverages is so ruinous to individual interests, so inimical to public welfare, so destructive to national wealth and so subversive to the rights of great masses of our citizenship, that the destruction of the traffic is, and for years has been, the most important question in American politics.

2. We denounce the lack of statesmanship exhibited by the leaders of the
Democratic and Republican parties in their refusal to recognize the paramount importance of this question and the cowardice with which the leaders of these parties have courted the favor of those whose selfish interests are advanced by the continuation and augmentation of the traffic, until to-day the influence of the liquor traffic practically dominates national, state and local government throughout the Nation.

3. We declare the truth, demonstrated by the experience of half a century, that all methods of dealing with the liquor traffic which recognizes its right to exist, in any form, under any system of license or tax or regulation, have proved powerless to remove its evils and useless as checks upon its growth, while the insignificant public revenues which have accrued therefrom have seared the public conscience against a recognition of its iniquity.

4. We call public attention to the fact, proved by the experience of more than fifty years, that to secure the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory legislation, in which alone lies the hope of the protection of the people from the liquor traffic, it is necessary that the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government should be in the hands of a political party in harmony with the Prohibition principle, and pledged to its embodiment in law and to the execution of those laws.

5. We pledge the Prohibition party wherever given power by the suffrages of the people to the enactment and enforcement of laws prohibiting and abolishing the manufacture, importation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages.

6. We declare that there is not only no other issue of equal importance before the American people to-day, but that the so-called issues upon which the Democratic and Republican parties seek to divide the electorate of the country are, in large part, subterfuges under the cover of which they wrangle for the spoils of office.

7. Recognizing that the intelligent voters of the country may properly ask our attitude upon other questions of public concern, we declare ourselves in favor of:

- The impartial enforcement of all law.
- The safe guarding of the people's rights by rigid application of the principles of justice to all combinations of capital and labor.
- The recognition of the fact that the right of suffrage should depend upon the mental and moral qualifications of the citizen.
- A more intimate relation between the people and government by a wise application of the principles of the initiative and referendum.
- Such changes in our laws as will place tariff schedules in the hands of an omni-partisan commission.
- The application of uniform laws for all our country and dependencies.
- The election of United States senators by vote of the people.
- The extension and honest administration of the civil service laws.
- The safe guarding of every citizen, in every place under the government of the people of the United States, in all the rights guaranteed by the laws and the Constitution.
- International arbitration, and we declare that our Nation should contribute in every manner consistent with national dignity to the permanent establishment of peace between all nations.
- The reform of our divorce laws, the final extirpation of polygamy and the total overthrow of the present shameful system of the illegal sanction of the social evil, with its unspeakable traffic in girls by the municipal authorities of almost all our cities.

RESULT OF THE ELECTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1904</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>7,207,932</td>
<td>7,629,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>6,358,133</td>
<td>5,994,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition</td>
<td>208,014</td>
<td>248,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>87,814</td>
<td>322,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Labor</td>
<td>39,739</td>
<td>33,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's</td>
<td>50,573</td>
<td>124,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td>7,757</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scattering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>13,960,633</td>
<td>13,514,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decrease</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>446,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rep. plurality</strong></td>
<td>849,790</td>
<td>2,526,470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIALIST PLATFORM—1908.

The Socialist National Convention met at Chicago, Ill., May 10-17, 1908, and nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for President, and Benjamin Hanford, of New York, for Vice-President. The following platform was adopted:

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers.

The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertyed classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large num-
bers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society; the small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom, the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the
workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation’s wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called Independence parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the south which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various “reform” movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the
government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5. That occupancy and use of land be the sole title to possession. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.
   (a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
   (b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
   (c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.
   (d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
   (e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and all uninspected factories.
   (f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

8. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to nearness of kin.

9. A graduated income tax.

10. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12. The abolition of the senate.

13. The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15. The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18. The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—1908.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, Ill., June 16, 1908, and nominated William H. Taft of Ohio for President and James S. Sherman of New York for Vice-President. The following platform was adopted:

Once more the Republican party, in national convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization, that destroyed slavery, preserved the union, restored credit,
expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country and gave to the nation its seat of honor in the councils of the world, now meets new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

In this, the greatest era of American advancement, the Republican party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history, in no other period since national sovereignty was won, under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and wealthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and his standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence, and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.

The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law; the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies, the exposure and punishment of evil doers in the public service, the more effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines, the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes, the amelioration of the condition of wage workers everywhere, the conservation of the natural resources of the country, the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guarantees of life, liberty and property. These are the achievements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history; but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration of the government.

Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth today exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born the total wealth of the country was $16,000,000,000. It has leaped to $110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but $50,000,000,000 in 500 years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the greatness of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity, iron the chief basis of all industry, cotton the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her natural wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of 3,000,000 square miles literally bursting with latent treasure still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted into the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers and in all the varied products of the field, the forest and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded and the necessity of promoting the present continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies as
the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance, which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce and manufacturing.

Since the election of William McKinley, in 1896, the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of entrusting to the Republican party through decisive majorities the control and direction of national legislation. The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march to better government.

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill, the appointment of the national monetary commission, the employers and government liability laws, the measures for the greater efficiency of the army and the navy, the widows' pension bill, the child labor law for the District of Columbia, the new statutes for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effecting of schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principles of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries.

We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates, to be administered by the President under limitations fixed under the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the policy of the Republican party being not only to preserve without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products, with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will accord adequate protection to domestic interests.

We approve the emergency measures adopted by the government during the recent financial disturbance and especially commend the passage by Congress at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency. The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs, and the appointment of the national monetary commission by the present Congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose. The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population, multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for movement of crops in the west and south and entailing periodic changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of more elastic and adaptable systems. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business generally; must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and, above all, must be in harmony with that republican doctrine which insists that
every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

The republican party passed the Sherman anti-trust law over democratic opposition and enforced it after democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesale instrument for good in a wise and fearless administration; but the experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the federal government great supervision over and secure publicity in the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

We approve the enactment of the railroad rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statutes against rebates and discriminations as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared; and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate and give publicity to the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever. We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of congress of the employers' liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the government are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present session. But there is further work in this direction to be done and the republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

The same wise policy which has induced the republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight-hour day on the construction of all public works; to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children and later, of employers of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business; to appropriate $150,000, at the recent session of congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in mines; and to amend and strengthen the law forbidding the importation of contract labor will be pursued in every legitimate direction within federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil. The republican party recognizes the special needs of wage workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all.

But more important than all other considerations, is that of good citizenship and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

The republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, state and federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rule of procedure in the federal courts with re-
spect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice except irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as that of the wage earner is that of the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly on the prosperity of agriculture. The republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the national government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established; it now reaches millions of our citizens and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefits of the postal service; we recognize the social and economic advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of state aid and we approve the efforts of the national agricultural department by experiments otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

The republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights and it believes today that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men, without regard for race or color; we declare once more and without reservation for the enforcement of the letter and spirit of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution, which were designed for the advancement and protection of the negro, and we condemn all devices which have for their real aim his disfranchisement, for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

We endorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In line with this splendid undertaking is the further duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of the waterways, harbors and great lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign providence.

The sixtieth congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the army and navy, making the militia of the states an integral part of the national establishment, authorizing joint maneuvers of army and militia, fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations; instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships, and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo boat destroyers, three steam colliers and eight submarines to the strength of the navy. Although at peace with all the world and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this republic ready at all times to defend its traditional doctrines and assure it an appropriate part in prompting permanent tranquility among the nation.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor
of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Under the administration of the republican party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until it has a present annual valuation of approximately $3,000,000,000 and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle. It has inaugurated through the recent visit of the secretary of state to South America and Mexico a new era of pan-American commerce and comity which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics, having a common historical heritage, a republican form of government and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace, signally advanced in The Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the senate of the United States eleven conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractural debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles, and in many ways lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed, and extradition, boundary and neutralization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We endorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of good friendship and good will with all the nations of the world.

We adhere to the republican doctrines of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to national defense; the enlargement of foreign trade and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

Another republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pensions made by the present congress and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more sacred with the passing years.

We reaffirm our former declaration that the civil service laws, enacted, extended and enforced by the republican party shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country, we earnestly favor the establishment of a bureau of mines and mining.

The American government, in republican hands, has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag and begun the construction of the Panama canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining, between that republic and this, imperishable bond of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

In Porto Rico the government of the United States is meeting loyal and patriotic support; order and prosperity prevail, and the well-being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved.

We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws residing in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and Roosevelt are leading the inhabitants step by step to ever increasing measure of home rule.

Time has justified the selection of the
Panama route for the great isthmian canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

We favor the immediate admission of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states in the union.

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years, and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation, by all the people thereof and, especially, by the public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the republican party could be enacted, and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken, under a democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided. The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

In history the difference between democracy and republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience the difference between democracy and republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principles the difference between democracy and republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one stands for obstruction, the other for construction; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work.

The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of democracy is toward socialism, while the republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth; republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession, which would soon leave no one anything to possess; republicanism would give equality of opportunity, which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency, the democratic party of today believes in government ownership, while the republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately democracy would have the nation own the people while republicanism would have the people own the nation.

Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.
DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—1908.

The Democratic National Convention met at Denver, Cal., July 7, 1908, and nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and John W. Kern of Indiana for Vice-President. The following is the platform adopted:

We, the representatives of the Democracy of the United States in national convention assembled, reaffirm our belief in, and pledge our loyalty to, the principles of the party.

We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenseless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power.

The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations; it must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

"Shall the people rule?" is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion.

Coincident with the enormous increase in expenditures is a like addition to the number of office-holders. During the last year 23,781 were added, costing $16,156,000, and in the last six years of the Republican administration the total number of new offices created, aside from many commissions, has been 99,319, entailing an additional expenditure of nearly $70,000,000, as against only 10,279 new offices created under the Cleveland and McKinley administrations, which involved an expenditure of only $6,000,000. We denounce this great and growing increase in the number of office-holders as not only unnecessary and wasteful but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the administration to keep the Republican party in power at public expense by thus increasing the number of its retainers and dependents. Such procedure we declare to be no less dangerous and corrupt than the open purchase of votes at the polls.

The Republican Congress in the session just ended has made appropriations amounting to $1,108,000,000, exceeding the total expenditures of the past fiscal year by $90,000,000, and leaving a deficit of more than $60,000,000 for the fiscal year. We denounce the needless waste of the people's money which has resulted in this appalling increase as a shameful violation of all prudent conditions of government as no less than a crime against the millions of workingmen and women from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods. It is not surprising that, in the face of this shocking record, the Republican platform contains no reference to economical administration or promise thereof in the future. We demand that a stop be put to this frightful extravagance and insist upon the strictest economy in every department compatible with frugal and efficient administration.

The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our government, responsive to the public will.

The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of its members, but has come under the absolute domination of the speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our federal government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members.

Legislative government becomes a failure when one member in the person of the speaker is more powerful than the entire body.

We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of
the people's representatives and not by
the speaker, and we pledge ourselves
to adopt such rules and regulations to
govern the House of Representatives as
will enable a majority of its members to
direct its deliberations and control legis-
lation.

We condemn, as a violation of the
spirit of our institutions, the action of
the present chief executive in using the
patronage of his high office to secure the
nomination of one of his cabinet officers.
A forced succession in the presidency
is scarcely less repugnant to public sen-
timent than is life tenure in that office.
No good intention on the part of the
executive and no virtue in the one se-
lected can justify the establishment of a
dynasty. The right of the people to
freely select their officials is inalienable
and cannot be delegated.

We demand federal legislation forever
terminating the partnership which has
existed between corporations of the
country and the Republican party under
the expressed or implied agreement that
in return for the contribution of great
sums of money wherewith to purchase
elections they should be allowed to con-
tinue substantially unmolested in their
efforts to encroach upon the rights of
the people.

Any reasonable doubt as to the exist-
ence of this relation has been forever
dispelled by the sworn testimony of wit-
nesses examined in the insurance inves-
tigation in New York, and the open
admission unchallenged by the Republi-
can national committee of a single in-
dividual, that he himself at the per-
sonal request of the Republican candi-
date for the presidency raised over a
quarter of a million dollars to be used
in a single state during the closing
hours of the last campaign. In order
that this practice shall be stopped for
all time, we demand the passage of a
statute punishing with imprisonment any
officer of a corporation who shall either
contribute on behalf of, or consent to
the contribution by, a corporation of
any money or thing of value to be used
in furthering the election of a President
or Vice-President of the United States
or of any member of the Congress
thereof.

We denounce the action of the Re-
publican party, having complete control
of the federal government, for its fail-
ure to pass the bill introduced in the
last Congress to compel the publication
of the names of contributors and the
amounts contributed toward campaign
funds, and point to the evidence of
their insincerity when they sought by
an absolutely irrelevant and impossible
amendment to defeat the passage of the
bill. As a further evidence of their in-
tention to conduct their campaign in
the coming contest with vast sums of
money wrested from favor-seeking cor-
porations, we call attention to the fact
that the recent Republican national con-
vention at Chicago refused when the
plank was presented to it to declare
against such practices.

We pledge the Democratic party to
the enactment of a law preventing any
corporation contributing to a campaign
fund and any individual from contribut-
ing an amount above a reasonable maxi-
num and providing for the publication
before election of all such contributions
above a reasonable minimum.

Believing, with Jefferson, in "the sup-
port of the state governments in all their
rights as the most competent adminis-
tration for our domestic concerns and
the surest bulwark against anti-republi-
can tendencies," and in "the preserva-
tion of the general government in its
whole constitutional vigor as the sheet
anchor of our peace at home and safety
abroad," we are opposed to the centrali-
zation implied in these suggestions,
now frequently made, that the powers of
the general government should be ex-
tended by judicial construction. There
is no twilight zone between the nation
and the state in which exploiting inter-
esta can take refuge from both; and
it is necessary that the federal govern-
ment shall exercise the powers delegated
to it as it is the state governments shall
use the authority reserved to them, but
we insist that federal remedies for the
regulation of interstate commerce and
for the prevention of private monopoly
shall be added to, not substituted for,
state remedies.

We welcome the belated promise of
tariff reform now affected by the Repub-
lican party in tardy recognition of the righteousness of the Democratic position on this question; but these people cannot safely intrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican party. We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief was postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican party must have that same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power no action whatever has been taken by the Republican Congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities.

We favor immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list, and material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessaries of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and graduate reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.

Existing duties have given to the manufacturers of paper a shelter behind which they have organized combinations to raise the price of pulp and of paper, thus imposing a tax upon the spread of knowledge.

We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on pulp print paper, lumber, timber and logs and that these articles be placed upon the free list.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We, therefore, favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies we specify three: First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each state to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as 25 per cent of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than 50 per cent of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States; and third, a law compelling such licensed corporation to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for cost of transportation.

We assert the right of Congress to exercise complete control over interstate commerce and the right of each state to exercise like control over commerce within its borders.

We demand such enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission as may be necessary to compel railroads to perform their duties as common carriers and prevent discrimination and extortion.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce, and to this end we recommend the valuation of railroads by the interstate commerce commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, cost of production and all elements of value that will render the valuation made fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will prohibit the railroads from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers, also legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reductions that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service or do injustice to legitimate investments. We heartily approve the laws prohibiting the pass and the rebate, and we favor any further necessary legislation to restrain, control and prevent such abuses.

We favor such legislation as will in-
crease the power of the interstate commerce commission, giving to it the initiative with reference to rates and transportation charges put into effect by the railroad companies and permitting the interstate commerce commission on its own initiative to declare a rate illegal and as being more than should be charged for such service. That the present law relating thereto is inadequate by reason of the fact that the interstate commerce commission is without power to fix or investigate a rate until complaint has been made to it by the shipper.

We further declare that all agreements of traffic or other associations of railway agents affecting interstate rates, service or classification shall be unlawful unless filed with and approved by the interstate commerce commission.

We favor the enactment of a law giving to the interstate commerce commission the power to inspect proposed railroad tariff rates or schedules before they shall take effect, and, if they be found to be unreasonable, to initiate an adjustment thereof.

The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican party had for a decade been in complete control of the federal government, furnishes additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall street that the syndicate sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people. While refusing to rescue the wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited treasury funds, without interest and without competition, in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the 15,000,000 depositors of the country protection in their savings.

We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued, controlled by the federal government and loaned on adequate security to national and state banks. We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guaranty fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank under an equitable system which shall be available to all state banking institutions wishing to use it.

We favor a postal savings bank, if the guaranteed bank cannot be secured, and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in proposing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of rural communities and re-deposit the same while under government charge in the banks of Wall street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative markets.

We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the federal government.

The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished judges, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise false issues respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts. It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people create, and if the laws appear to work economic, social or political injustice it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty and property. If judicial processes may be abused we should guard against abuse.

Experience has proven the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions; and we reiterate the
pledge of our national platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempt in federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

We favor the eight-hour day on all government work.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act covering injury to body or loss of life of employes.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, represented separately in the President's cabinet, which department shall include the subject of mines and mining.

We believe in the upbuilding of the American and merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that the interests of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever their rights may be in jeopardy.

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad and to use all proper methods to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of law and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under our treaty; and if under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor prompt negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure the removal of these unjust discriminations.

We demand that all over the world a duly authorized passport issued by the government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

The laws pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced to the end, that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than services rendered to a political party.

We favor a generous pension policy, alike as a matter of justice to the surviving veterans and their dependents and because it tends to relieve the country of the necessity of maintaining a large standing army.

We advocate the organization of all existing national public health agencies into a national bureau of public health, with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor and other such subjects as are properly within the jurisdiction of the federal government and do not interfere with the power of the states controlling public health agencies.

The Democratic party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical, and industrial education. We, therefore, favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations, the second agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several states.

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms.

We welcome Oklahoma to the brotherhood of states and heartily congratulate it.
The national Democratic party has for the last sixteen years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate states of the federal union, and, recognizing that each possesses every qualification to successfully obtain separate state governments, favors the immediate admission of these territories as separate states.

The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in regard to free grazing upon the public lands outside of forest or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of should be left to the states respectively in which such lands may be situated.

Water furnishes the cheapest means of transportation and the national government, having control of navigable rivers, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every course in the Union, which is justly regarded as the needs of commerce, and, to that end, we favor, when practicable, the connection of the great lakes with the Mississippi River, and navigable rivers with each other, and with the Great Lakes, by artificial canals, with a view to perfecting a system of inland water ways, to be navigated by vessels of standard draught.

We favor the co-ordination of the wa-

We favor federal aid to state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

pledge the Democratic party to enactment of a law to regulate the services of telegraph and telephone companies engaged in the transmission of messages between the states under the jurisdiction of the interstate commerce commission.

We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our national resources contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party; and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for homeseekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly; and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, state and municipal, both separately and in cooperation.

We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserves which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder, and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several states where they are located, which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture, and which shall furnish a system of timber sales available as well to the private citizen as to the larger manufacturer and consumer.

We favor the application of principles of the land laws of the United States to our newly acquired territory, Hawaii, to the end that the public lands of that territory may be held and utilized for the benefit of bona fide homesteaders.

We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in an enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a
stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

We demand for the people of Alaska and Porto Rico the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government, and the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be thoroughly qualified by previous bona fide residence.

We believe the Panama Canal will prove a great value to our country and favor its speedy completion.

The Democratic party recognizes the importance of and advantage of developing closer ties of pan-American friendship and commerce between the United States and her sister nations of Latin America and favors the taking of such steps, consistent with Democratic policies for better acquaintance, greater mutual confidence and larger exchange of trade, as will bring lasting benefit not only to the United States but to this group of American republics having constitutions, forms of government, ambitions and interests akin to our own.

We favor full protection, by both national and state governments within their respective spheres, of all foreigners residing in the United States under treaty, but we are opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who cannot be amalgamated with our population, or whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with oriental powers.

We believe that where an American citizen holding a patent in a foreign country is compelled to manufacture under his patent within a certain time, similar restrictions should be applied in this country to the citizen or subjects of such a country.

The Democratic party stands for Democracy; the Republican has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic.

The Democratic party is the champion of civil rights and opportunities to all, the Republican party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and advancement of the average man; the Republican party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism. We invite the cooperation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and who favor such an administration of the government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM—1908.

The Prohibition party assembled in convention at Columbus, Ohio, July 15-16, 1908, and nominated Eugene W. Chafin, of Illinois, for President and Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The following is the platform adopted:

The Prohibition party of the United States, assembled in convention at Columbus, Ohio, July 15-16, 1908, expressing gratitude to Almighty God for the victories of our principles in the past, for encouragement at present and for the confidence of early and triumphant success in the future, makes the following declaration of principles and pledges their enactment into law when placed in power:

1. The submission by Congress to the several states of an amendment to the federal Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, importation or transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes.

2. The immediate prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes in the District of Columbia, in the territories and all places over which the national government has jurisdiction, the repeal of the internal revenue tax on alcoholic
liquors and the prohibition of the inter-
state traffic therein.
3. The election of United States Sen-
ators by direct vote of the people.
4. Equitable graduated income and
inheritance taxes.
5. The establishment of postal sav-
ings banks and the guaranty of deposits
in banks.
6. The regulation of all corporations
doing an interstate commerce business.
7. The creating of a permanent tariff
commission.
8. The strict enforcement of law, in-
stead of the official tolerance and prac-
tical license of the social evil which
prevails in many of our cities, with its
unspeakable traffic in girls.
9. Uniform marriage and divorce
laws.
10. An equitable and constitutional
employers' liability act.
11. Court review of postoffice depart-
ment decisions.
12. The prohibition of child labor in
mines, workshops and factories.
13. Legislation basing suffrage only
upon intelligence and ability to read and
write the English language.
14. The preservation of the mineral
and forest resources of the country and
the improvement of the highways and
waterways.
Believing in the righteousness of our
cause and the final triumph of our prin-
ciples and convinced of the unwillingness
of the Republican and Democratic parties
to deal with these issues, we invite to
full party fellowship all citizens who are
agreed with us.

INDEPENDENCE PARTY—1908.

The Independence party assembled in
convention at Chicago, July 27-28, 1908,
and nominated Thomas L. Hisgen, of
Massachusetts, for President, and John
Temple Graves, of New York, for Vice-
President. The following platform was
adopted:

We, independent American citizens,
representing the Independence party in
States their privileges and liberties won for them by the founders of this government and to perpetuate the principles and policies upon which the nation’s greatness has been built.

The Independence party is, therefore, a conservative force in American politics, devoted to the preservation of American liberty and independence, to honesty in elections, to opportunity in business and to equality before the law. Those who believe in the Independence party and work with it are convinced that a genuine democracy should exist; that a true republican form of government should continue; that the power of government should rest with the majority of the people, and that the government should be conducted for the benefit of the whole citizenship, rather than for the special advantage of any particular class.

As of first importance, in order to restore the power of government to the people, to make their will supreme in the primaries, in the elections and in the control of public officials after they have been elected we declare for direct nominations, the initiative and referendum and the right of recall.

It is idle to cry out against the evil of bossism while we perpetuate a system under which the boss in inevitable. The destruction of an individual boss is of little value. The people in their politics must establish a system which will eliminate, not only an objectionable boss, but the system of bossism. Representative government is made a mockery by the system of modern party conventions dominated by bosses and controlled by cliques. We demand the natural remedy of direct nominations by which the people not only elect, but, which is far more important, select their representatives.

We believe in the principles of the initiative and referendum and we particularly demand that no franchise grant go into operation until the terms and conditions have been approved by popular vote in the locality interested.

We demand for the people the right to recall public officials from the public service. The power to make officials resides in the people, and in them also should reside the power to unmake and remove from office any official who demonstrates his unfitness or betrays the public trust.

Of next importance in destroying the power of selfish special interests and the corrupt political bosses whom they control is to wrest from their hands their main weapon, the corruption fund. We demand severe and effective legislation against all forms of corrupt practices at elections and advocate prohibiting the use of any money at elections except for meetings, literature and the necessary traveling expenses of candidates. Bidding for votes, the Republican and Democratic candidates are making an outcry about publicity of contributions, although both the Republican and Democratic parties have for years consistently blocked every effort to pass a corrupt practices act. Publicity of contributions is desirable and should be required, but the main matter of importance is the use to which contributions are put. We believe that the dishonest use of money in the past, whether contributed by individuals or by corporations, has been chiefly responsible for the corruption which has undermined our system of popular government.

We demand honest conduct of public office and businesslike and economical administration of public affairs, and we condemn the gross extravagance of federal administration and its appalling annual increase in appropriations. Unnecessary appropriations mean unnecessary taxes, and unnecessary taxes, whether direct or indirect, are paid by the people and add to the ever increasing cost of living.

We condemn the evil of overcapitalization. Modern industrial conditions make the corporation and stock company a necessity, but overcapitalization in corporations is as harmful and criminal as is personal dishonesty in an individual. Compelling the payment of dividends upon great sums that have never been invested, upon masses of watered stock not justified by the property, overcapitalization prevents the better wages, the better public service and the lower cost that should result from American inventive genius and that wide organi-
The Independence party believes that the distribution of wealth is as important as the creation of wealth, and indorses those organizations among farmers and workers which tend to bring about a just distribution of wealth through good wages for workers and good prices for farmers and which protect the employer and the consumer through equality of price for labor and for product and we favor such legislation as will remove them from the operation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

We indorse the eight-hour day, favor its application to all government employees and demand the enactment of laws requiring that all work done for the government, whether federal or state, and whether done directly or indirectly through contractors or sub-contractors, shall be done on an eight-hour basis.

We favor the enactment of a law condemning as illegal any combination or conspiracy to blacklist employees.

We demand protection for workmen through enforced use of standard safety appliances and provision of hygienic conditions in the operation of factories, railways, mills, mines and all industrial undertakings.

We advocate state and federal inspection of railways to secure a greater safety for railway employes and for the traveling public.

We call for the enactment of stringent laws fixing employers' liabilities and a rigid prohibition of child labor through co-operation between the state governments and the national government.

We condemn the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods in the open market in competition with free labor manufactured goods. We demand that convicts be employed direct by the different states in the manufacture of products for use in state institutions and in making good roads, and in no case shall convicts be hired out to contractors or sub-contractors.

We favor the creation of a department of labor, including mines and mining, the head of which shall be a member of the President's cabinet.

The great abuses of grain inspection, by which the producers are plundered,
demand immediate and vigorous correction. To that end we favor federal inspection under a strict civil service law.

The Independence party declares that the right to issue money is inherent in the government and it favors the establishment of a central governmental bank through which the money so issued shall be put into general circulation.

We demand a revision of the tariff, not by the friends of the tariff, but by the friends of the people, and declare for a gradual reduction of tariff duties with just consideration for the rights of the consuming public and of established industry. There should be no protection for oppressive trusts which sell cheaply abroad and take advantage of the tariff at home to crush competition, raise prices, control production and limit work and wages.

The railroads must be kept open to all upon exactly equal terms. Every form of rebate and discrimination in railroad rates is a crime against business and must be stamped out. We demand adequate railroad facilities and advocate a bill empowering shippers in time of need to compel railroads to provide sufficient cars for freight and passenger traffic and other railroad facilities through summary appeal to the courts.

We favor the creation of an Interstate Commerce Court, whose sole function it shall be to review speedily and enforce, summarily, the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Interstate Commerce Commission should have the power to initiate investigation into the reasonableness of rates and practices, and no increase of rates should be put into effect until opportunity or such investigation is afforded. The Interstate Commerce Commission should proceed at once with a physical valuation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce.

We believe that legitimate organizations in business, designed to secure an economy of operation and increased production, are beneficial wherever the public participates in the advantages which result.

We denounce all combinations for restraint of trade and for the establishment of monopoly in all products of labor and declare that such combination are not combinations for production, but for extortion, and that activity in that direction is not industry, but robbery.

In cases of infractions of the anti-trust law or of the Interstate commerce act, we believe in the enforcement of a prison penalty against the guilty and responsible individuals controlling the management of the offending corporations, rather than a fine imposed upon stockholders.

We advocate the extension of the principle of public ownership of public utilities, including railroads, as rapidly as municipal, state or national governments shall demonstrate ability to conduct public utilities for the public benefit. We favor specifically government ownership of the telegraphs, such as prevails in every other civilized country in the world, and demand as an immediate measure that the government shall purchase and operate the telegraphs in connection with the postal service.

The parcels post system should be rapidly and widely extended, and government postal savings banks should be established where the people's deposits will be secure, the money to be loaned to the people in the locality of the several banks and at a rate of interest to be fixed by the government.

We favor the immediate development of a national system of good roads connecting all states and national aid to states in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

We favor a court review of the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the Postoffice Department.

We favor the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to separate statehood.

We advocate such legislation, both state and national, as will suppress the bucket shop and prohibit the fictitious selling of farm products for future delivery.

We favor the creation of a national department of public health to be presided over by a member of the medical profession, this department to exercise such authority over matters of public health, hygiene and sanitation which comes properly within the jurisdiction of the na-
national government and does not interfere with the right of states or municipalities.

We oppose Asiatic immigration, which does not amalgamate with our population, creates race issues and un-American conditions and which reduces wages and tends to lower the high standard of living and the high standard of morality which American civilization has established.

We demand the passage of an exclusion act which shall protect American workingmen from competition with Asiatic cheap labor and which shall protect American civilization from the contamination of Asiatic conditions.

The Independence party declares for peace and against aggression and will promote the movement for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

We believe, however, that a small navy is poor economy, and that a strong navy is the best protection in time of war and the best preventive of war. We therefore favor the speedy building of a navy sufficiently strong to protect at the same time both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States.

We rejoice in the adoption by both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the demand of the Independence party for improved national waterways and the Mississippi Inland Deep Waterways project, to complete a ship canal from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. We favor the extension of this system to the tributaries of the Mississippi, by means of which thirty states shall be served and twenty thousand miles added to the coast line of the United States. The reclamation of arid lands should be continued and the irrigation programme now contemplated by the government extended and steps taken for the conservation of the country's natural resources, which should be guarded not only against devastation and waste, but against falling into the control of monopoly.

The abuses growing out of the administration of our forest preserves must be corrected, and provision should be made for free grazing from public lands outside of forest or other reservation. In behalf of the people residing in arid portions of our Western states we protest vigorously against the policy of the federal government in selling the exclusive use of water and electric power derived from public works to private corporations, thus creating a monopoly and subjecting citizens living in those sections to exorbitant charges for light and power and diverting enterprises originally started for public benefit into channels for corporate greed and oppression, and we demand that no more exclusive contracts be made.

American citizens abroad, whether native born or naturalized, and of whatever race or creed, must be secured in the enjoyment of all rights and privileges under our treaties, and wherever such rights are withheld by any country on the ground of race or religious faith, steps should be taken to secure the removal of such unjust discrimination.

We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both state and federal, and favor a graduated income tax and constitutional amendments necessary to these ends.

Equality and opportunity, the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with equal rights; the overthrow of the rule of special interest and the restoration of government by the majority exercised for the benefit of the whole community—these are the purposes to which the Independence party is pledged, and we invite the co-operation of all patriotic and progressive citizens, irrespective of party, who are in sympathy with these principles and in favor of their practical enforcement.