# Semi-Centennial of Republican Party Celebrated

JACKSON, Mich., July 6.—Nearly 10,000 persons assembled in a picturesque oak grove in the outskirts of Jackson today to celebrate the semi-centennial anniversary of the Republican party. It was in a small oak grove at the opposite end of Jackson, that, 50 years ago today, the first State Convention that was held under the name of "Republican" took place. There the first Republican State ticket was then placed in nomination.

Secretary of State John Hay was the orator of the day, and Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, Republican candidate for Vice-President, and Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of the National House of Representatives, also delivered addresses.

On the platform was seated a representative delegation of the Republican party of Michigan, headed by Senators Alger and Burrows. Senator Burrows presided over the afternoon session, and Senator Alger was the last speaker of the afternoon.

Behind the speaker's platform rose a wall of bright-colored bunting with immense pictures of John C. Fremont, the first Republican nominee for President, and Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican to occupy the White House, fastened to it. Straight ahead, and to the right and left over the heads of the assembled multitude, towered scores of splendid oaks.

In the front rows of the audience were nearly 1000 men who voted for John C. Fremont for President, some of whom had participated in the original "under the oaks" convention 50 years ago. To this venerable company special reference was paid.

Secretary Hay, Senator Fairbanks and Senator Alger were met at the station on their arrival from Detroit by a delegation of citizens and escorted to a hotel. Speaker Cannon arrived last night.

The day's programme began with a sunrise gun and band concert, preceding the opening of the morning exercises at the park.

Secretary Hay was greeted with tremendous cheers when he stepped forward in response to Chairman Burrows' introduction and began his oration.

Senator Fairbanks was the next speaker, and he also received cordial greeting.

Speaker Cannon spoke extemporaneously.

"Here at Jackson," he said, "you made the declaration many years ago that we could not have slaves and free men working side by side, and that was right."

The Republican party, he declared, had made labor free, and America would elevate and keep labor above the level of the laboring man in any other country in the world.

Senator Fairbanks spoke, in part, as follows:

Fifty years is a brief period when compared with the life of the elder nations, yet it embraces the entire life of the Republican party, a party whose achievements are among the most lasting and luminous of the deeds done by any party since the beginning of the Government.

The span of the last 50 years, is, indeed, the golden age of the Republic. During the greater part of that period, the Republican party was in the ascendancy. Its principles and its policies were in full operation in the Nation, and our country advanced as never before. Its growth during the existence of the Republican party verges upon the marvelous. While the tremendous progress that has been made cannot be ascribed, of course, entirely to the wisdom and beneficence of its policies, yet it has contributed immeasurably to the results which have been attained. No duty has been laid on it, no matter how sudden or grave, but that it has met it wisely and bravely.

The Republican party has given to history many statesmen of great eminence whose names have become a part of the immeasurable glory of the Republic. We will enter upon the half-century, which opens before us with such hopeful promise, under a brave, patriotic, wise American, whose ideals are in harmony with the best traditions of the Republic and whose ambition is to lead our countrymen and our country in the paths of peace, prosperity and honor—Theodore Roosevelt.

### Address of Secretary Hay.

The address of Secretary Hay, which aroused great enthusiasm, was as follows:

A century is but a moment of history; it has often happened that several of them have passed away, since men began to record their deeds, with little change in the physical aspect or the moral progress of the world. But at other times—of intense action and spiritual awakening—a single generation may form an epoch; and few periods of equal duration in political annals have been so crowded with great events as the 50 years we celebrate today.

Under the oaks of Jackson, on the 6th of July, 1854, a party was brought into being and baptized, which ever since has answered the purposes of its existence with fewer follies and failures and more magnificent achievements than ordinarily fall to the lot of any institution of mortal origin. And even the beginning of the end is not yet. This historic party is only now in the full maturity of its power and its capacity for good. We look back upon a past of unparalleled usefulness and glory with emotions of thankfulness and pride; we confront the future and its exacting problems with a confidence born of the experience of difficulties surmounted and triumphs achieved in paths more thorny and ways more arduous than any that are likely to challenge the courage and the conscience of the generation which is to follow us. It is meet that at this stage of our journey we should review the past and read its lessons, and in its light take heart for what lies beyond.

The Republican party had a noble origin. It sprang directly from an aroused and indignant National conscience. Questions of finance, of political economy, of orderly administration, passed out of sight for the moment, to be taken up and dealt with later on. But in 1854 the question that brought the thinking men together was whether there should be a limit to the aggressions of slavery; and in 1861 that solemn inquiry turned to one still more portentous, Should the Nation live or die? The humblest old Republican in America has the right to be proud that in the days of his youth in the presence of these momentous questions he judged right; and if he is sleeping in his honored grave, his children may justly be glad of his decision.

### Power of Slave Party.

It was not so easy 50 years ago to take sides against the slave power as it may seem today. Respect for the vested rights of the Southern people was one of our most sacred traditions. It was founded on the compromises of the Constitution, and upon a long line of legal and legislative precedents. The men of the Revolution made no defense of slavery in itself; Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin deplored its existence, but recognized the necessity of compromise until the public mind might rest in the hope of its ultimate extinction. But after they had passed away, improvements in the culture and manufacture of cotton made this uneconomic form of labor (for the time profitable, and what had been merely tolerated as a temporary necessity began to be upheld as a permanent system. Slavery entrenched itself in every department of our public life. Its advocates dominated Congress and the state legislatures; they even invaded the pulpit and grotesquely wrested a few texts of scripture to their purpose. They gave the tone to society; even the Southern accent was imitated in our schools and colleges.

If the slaveholders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled our political and social world. It was natural for the conservative people of the North to say: "We deplore the existence of slavery, but we are all to blame for it; we should not cast upon our brethren in the South the burdens and perils of its abolition. We must bear with the unfortunate condition of things and take our share of its inconveniences." But the slaveholding party could not rest content. The ancients said that madness was the fate of those judged by the gods. Continual aggression is a necessity of a false position. They felt instinctively that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything. They rent in twain the compromises which had protected them so long. They tore down the bulwarks which had at once restricted and defended them; and confiding in their strength and our patience they boldly announced and inaugurated the policy of the indefinite extension of their "peculiar institution."

Once embarked upon this fatal enterprise they left nothing undone which could contribute to the catastrophe upon which they were rushing. The Whig party had gone to ruin in 1852 on account of the impossibility of combining the scattered elements of opposition to the party of pro-slavery aggression; but they themselves furnished the weapon which was to defeat them. In May, 1854, after several months of passionate debate, to which the country listened with feverish interest, Congress passed the bill organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, omitting the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise which excluded slavery from them. This action at once precipitated the floating anti-slavery sentiment of the country. A mighty cry of resolute indignation arose from one end of the land to the other. The hollow truce, founded upon the legitimate compromises which had been observed in good faith by one side and ruthlessly violated by the other, was at an end. Men began to search their consciences instead of the arguments of political expediency.

A discussion of the right and wrong of slavery became general; the light was let in, fatal to darkness. A system which degraded men, dishonored women, deprived little children of the sacred solace of home, was doomed from the hour it passed into the arena of free debate. And even if we shut our eyes to the moral aspects of that heartless system, and confined ourselves to the examination of its economic merits, it was found to be wasteful and inefficient. The Americans are at once the most sentimental and the most practical of peoples—and when they see that an institution is morally revolting, and, besides, does not pay, its fate is sealed.

### Kept Fight Within Constitution.

Yet the most wonderful feature of that extraordinary campaign which then began, and which never ceased until the land was purged of its deadly sin, was that even in the very "tempest and whirlwind of their passion" the great leaders of the Republican party kept their agitation strictly within the limits of the Constitution and the law. There was no general demand for even an amendment to the organic instrument. They pleaded for the repeal of unjust statutes as inconsistent with the Constitution, but did not advocate their violation. Only among the more obscure and ardent members of the party was there any demand for the abolition of slavery, but the whole party stood like a rock for the principle that the damnable institution must be content with what it had already got, and must not be allowed to pollute another inch of free soil. On this impregnable ground they made their stand; and the mass convention which assembled here in 1854, while the vibrations of the thunder of the guns and the shoutings of the birthday of Liberty yet lingered in the air, gave a nucleus and a name to the new party, destined to a great and beneficent career. Before the month ended the anti-slavery men of five more great states adopted the name "Republican," and under that banner Congress was carried and two years later a National party assembled at Pittsburg and nominated Fremont and Dayton, who failed by a few votes of sweeping the North.

Who of us that was living then will ever forget the ardent enthusiasm of those days? It was one of those periods, rare in the life of any nation, when men forget themselves and in spite of habit, of interest, and of prejudice, follow their consciences wherever they may lead. In the clear, keen air that was abroad the best men in the country drew deeper breaths and rose to a moral height they had not before attained. The movement was universal. Sumner in the East, Seward in New York, Chase in Ohio, Bates in Missouri, Blair in Maryland, all sent forth their identical appeal to the higher motive; and in Illinois, where the most popular man in the state boldly and cynically announced, "I don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," a voice, new to the Nation, replied, "There are some of us who do care. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong"—and Abraham Lincoln came upon the field not to leave it until he was triumphant in death.

I have no right to detain you at this hour in recounting the history of those memorable days. Two incidents of the long battle will never be forgotten. One was the physical and political contest for the possession of Kansas, carried on with desperate courage and recklessness of consequences by the pro-slavery party on the one side, and, on the other, by the New England farmers whose weapons of aggression were Bible texts and the words of Jefferson, and whose arms of defense were Sharpe's rifles. With words that ring even now when we read them, like the clashing of swords, the Slave State men claimed Kansas as their right and the Free State men replied in the words of the prophet before Herod, It is not lawful for you to have her. And when the talking sharpened to the physical clinch, the praying men fought with the same ferocity as the men who cursed. In the field of political discussion the most dramatic incident of the fight was the debate between Lincoln and Douglas.

Not many of you saw that battle of the strong, where each of the gladiators had an adversary worthy of his steel, where the audiences were equally divided, where the combatants were fairly matched in debating skill and address, and where the superiority of Lincoln was not so much personal as it was in the overwhelming strength of his position. He was fighting for freedom and could say so; Douglas was fighting for slavery and could not avow it. The result of the contest is now seen to have been inevitable. Douglas was re-elected to the Senate, but had gained also the resentful suspicion of the South, which two years later disowned him and defeated his lifelong ambition. Lincoln became at once the foremost Republican of the West, and a little later the greatest political figure of the century.

### Pride of Party in Lincoln.

If there is one thing more than another in which we Republicans are entitled to a legitimate pride it is that Lincoln was our first President; that we believed in him, loyally supported him while he lived, and that we have never lost the right to call ourselves his followers. There is not a principle avowed by the Republican party today which is out of harmony with his teachings or inconsistent with his character. We do not object to our opponents quoting him, praising him—even claiming him as their own. If it is not sincere, it is still a laudable tribute to acknowledge excellence. If it is genuine, it is still better, for even a Nebraska Populist who reads his Lincoln is in the way of salvation. But only those who believe in human rights and are willing to make sacrifices to defend them; who believe in the Nation and its beneficent power; who believe in the American system of protection championed by a long line of our greatest and best, running back from McKinley to Washington, and, as Senator Dolliver so truthfully said, "to the original sources of American common sense"; only those who believe in equal justice to labor and to capital; in honest money and the right to earn it, have any title to name themselves by the name of Lincoln, or to claim moral kinship with that august and venerated spirit. I admit it would be little less than sacrilege to try to trade upon that benignant Renown, whose light "folds in this orb o' the earth." But we who have always tried to walk in the road he pointed out cannot be deprived of the tender pride of calling ourselves his disciples, and of doing in his name the work allotted to us by Providence. And I hope I am violating neither the confidence of a friend nor the proprieties of an occasion like this when I refer to the ardent and able young statesman who is now, and is to be, our President, to let you know that in times of doubt and difficulty the thought oftenest in his heart is, "What, in such a case, would Lincoln have done?"

As we are removed further and further from the founders of our party and their mighty work, their names and their fame rise every year higher in the great perspective of history. The clamor of hatred and calumny dies away. The efforts made to weaken the hands of Lincoln and his associates are forgotten. The survivors of those who so bitterly attacked him and his cause, which was the cause of the country, are now themselves astonished when confronted with the words they then uttered. But it was against a political opposition not less formidable and efficient than the armed force beyond the Potomac that the Union men of that day, and their President, had to struggle. It was not merely the losses in battle, the waste of our wealth, the precious blood of our young men, that filled Lincoln's heart with anguish and made him old before his time, but it was the storm of partisan hostility that raged against him, filling the air with slanders and thwarting his most earnest and unselfish efforts for the country's good. But in spite of it all he persevered, never for a moment tempted by the vast power he wielded to any action not justified by the moral and the organic law.

I have always liked the inscription on the medal which the workmen of France, by one cent subscriptions, caused to be struck after his death: "Abraham Lincoln, the honest man. Waged war. Abolished slavery. Twice elected President without veiling the face of liberty." This was an achievement new to the world: that a man and a party, armed with an authority so unquestioned and so stupendous, in the very current of a vast war, should have submitted themselves so rigidly to the law—and never have dreamed there was anything meritorious about it. Then, if never before, we proved we were as fit to be free as the men who achieved our freedom.

### Example to the World.

The world learned other lessons in swift succession. We disbanded our army—sent them home to earn their livings as simple citizens of the land they had saved, without terms or conditions; they asked none; they wanted peace; they were glad to get to work. And there were no reprisals, not a man punished for rebellion or treason; not an act of violence sullied the glory of victory. The fight had been fierce, but loyal; we at least wished the reconciliation to be perfect. Then came the paying of our debts. To whom is the credit due of that enormous task, that sublime effort of common honesty, if not to the party which against every assault of open and covert repudiation stood by the country's honor and kept it free from stain?

Let me hurriedly enumerate a few of the events in the long and fruitful career of the Republican party which seem to us to entitle it to the confidence of the country and the final approval of history. After the war was ended and peace re-established with no damage to the structure of the Government, but, on the contrary, with added strength and with increased guaranties of its perpetuity, it remained to be shown whether the power and success of the Republican party were to be permanent, or whether, born of a crisis, it was fitted to cope with the problems of daily National life. It had destroyed slavery, or, perhaps we might better say, it had created the conditions by which slavery had committed suicide. In the absence of this great adversary, could the party hold together against the thousand lesser evils that beset the public life of modern peoples—the evils of ignorance, corruption, avarice and lawlessness, the prejudices of race and of class, the voices of demagogues, the cunning of dishonest craft, the brutal tyranny of the boss, the venality of the mean? I think it is not too much to say that the last 40 years have given an answer, full of glory and honor, to that question. The Republican party, in the mass and in detail, has shown its capacity to govern. By the homestead law, with equal generosity and wisdom, it distributed the immense National domain among the citizens who were willing to cultivate it and who have converted wide stretches of wilderness into smiling homes. It built the Pacific Railroad, which has bound the Union together from East to West by bands of steel and made the states beyond the mountains among our most loyal and prosperous commonwealths. It redeemed our paper currency and made all our forms of money of exactly equal value, and our credit the best in the world. By persistent honesty in our finances—in the face of obstacles which might have daunted the hardiest statesmen—it has reduced our interest charges so that in any mart on earth we can borrow money cheaper than any other people. In the financial revulsions to which all communities are subject we are able, thanks to our laws and our administrative system, to meet and pass the most violent crises without lasting damage to our prosperity. We have, by the patient labor of years, so succeeded in reforming and regulating our civil service that patronage has almost ceased to cast its deadly blight upon the work of our public servants. Human nature is weak and offenses happen; but they are almost always found out and are punished without mercy when detected. By persistent adherence to the policy of protection we have given to our industries a development which the fathers of the Republic never dreamed of; which, besides supplying our home market, has carried our manufactures to the uttermost ends of the earth.

### Prosperity of Republican Rule.

History affords no parallel to the vast and increasing prosperity which this country has enjoyed under Republican rule. I hasten to say we do not claim to have invented seedtime and harvest, and industry and thrift. We are a great people and success is our right; God is good to those who behave themselves. But we may justly claim that the Republican party has been in power during these years of marvelous growth, and we can at least bring proof that we have not prevented it—and this is no slight honor for a party to claim. I will not at this moment speak of the important acquisitions of territory we have made, which render us in many ways the predominant power in the Pacific. But out of the territory we already possessed, 14 new states have entered the Union. The census of 1850 gave us 23,000,000 of population—the last one 76,000,000. The number of our farms—the total of our cultivated acreage—has increased fourfold. Our corn crop is five times what it was; our wheat crop, six times. The capital invested in manufacturing has grown from five hundred millions to ten billions; where it employed less than a million artisans, it now employs more than five millions; and while the number of workingmen has increased five times, their wages have increased tenfold. The value of manufactured property is 13 times what it was when the Republicans of Michigan met under the oaks. The real and personal wealth of the country has grown in this amazing half century from seven thousand millions to ninety-four thousand millions. Our railroads have grown from a mileage of 16,000 to one of 200,000. Our imports and exports have gone up by leaps and bounds to the same monstrous proportions. And finally, let us hasten to say, as the other side will say it for us, instead of the $47,000,000 which supplied our modest needs in 1850 we now collect and spend some $700,000,000 annually. I can only add what Speaker Reed replied to a Democratic statesman who complained of a billion-dollar Congress: "Well! this is a billion-dollar country."

Of course our opponents, who have got far enough from the men and the events of the great war period to admit they were not without merit, will say—for they must say something—that we have fallen away from that high level. Now, I am grieved to confess that I am old enough to have seen something of the beginning, as well as of the present, of Republican Administrations, and I venture to say that no eight years of government in our history have been purer from blame or have conferred greater benefits upon the country than the eight years of McKinley and Roosevelt which claim your approval today. I need not hesitate to refer to it, although I have been associated with both Administrations, so little of their merit is mine that I may speak of them without false modesty. Our National finances have never in our history been so wisely and successfully administered; our credit never stood on a basis so broad and so strong. Our two per cents command a premium in all markets—no other country on earth can say as much.

We paid abroad the other day fifty millions of gold in a single transaction without producing a ripple in exchange. The vast expenditure made necessary by our enormous increase in every element of National growth is collected with the utmost ease and expended with perfect honesty. Our protective system, loyally and intelligently carried out and improved in the last seven years, not only fills our treasury with the means of National expenditure, but has carried our industries and our commerce to a height of prosperity which is the wonder and envy of our neighbors, who are trying to emulate our progress. In the relations between labor and capital, always a subject of deep concern in democratic governments, we have improved both in the letter and the spirit. How could it be otherwise when labor knows that McKinley and Roosevelt have watched over its interests as a brother might, and capital knows that its rights will be sacredly guarded so long as it is true to its duties?

### Our Place Among Nations.

As to our place in the world, it has simply followed and naturally complemented the steady improvement in our domestic condition. A country growing so fast must have elbow-room—must have its share of the sunshine. In the last seven years, without aggression, without undue self-assertion, we have taken the place that belonged to us. Adhering with religious care to the precepts of Washington and the traditions of a century, and avoiding all entangling alliances, professing friendship to all nations and partiality to none, McKinley and Roosevelt have gone steadily forward protecting and extending American interests everywhere and gaining, by deserving it, the good will of all the world. Their advice has been constantly sought and sparingly given. By constant iteration their policy has been made plain. We do not covet the territory nor the control of any other people. We hold ourselves absolutely apart from any combinations or groups of powers. We favor no National interests but our own. In controversies among our neighbors we take no part, not even tendering good offices unless at the request of both parties concerned. When our advice is given, it is always on the side of peace and conciliation. We have made, it is true, great acquisitions, but never of set purpose nor from greed of land. In the case of Hawaii, the will of the people of those islands coincided with the important interests we have to guard in the Pacific. In the Samoan treaty we freed ourselves from a useless and dangerous entanglement, and in place of an undesirable condominium we gained possession of the best harbor in the South Seas, retaining, at the same time, all our commercial rights in the archipelago.

The diplomacy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been directed principally to our present and future interests in the Pacific, on whose wide shores so much of the world's work is to be done. They have constantly kept in view the vast importance of that opening field of our activities. The long negotiations for the "open door" in China; the steadfast fight we made for the integrity of that ancient empire; President McKinley's attitude throughout the Boxer troubles, so severely criticised at the time and so splendidly approved by the result; the position President Roosevelt has since held and now holds in regard to the neutrality of China in the present war—have all been dictated by one consistent policy, of taking care that our interests receive no detriment in the Pacific, that while we wish no harm to anyone else, we shall see that no damage is done to our people, no door is shut in our face.

The negotiations begun by McKinley and successfully completed by Roosevelt for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which impeded our freedom of action in building an Isthmian canal, was a part of the same general plan of opening a field of enterprise in those distant regions where the Far West becomes the Far East. In this matter we were met in the most frank and friendly spirit by the British government, as also in the matter of the Alaskan boundary, which was settled for all time by a high judicial tribunal, removing a cloud upon our title to another great Pacific possession. And to close this record of success—monotonous because gained by appeals to reason rather than force, without parade or melodrama—came the treaty with Panama, by which we finally gained the pathway across the Isthmus by a perpetual grant, insuring the construction of an American canal under American control, built primarily for American needs, but open on equal terms to all the people of good-will the world over.

All the foreign policy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been marked with the same stamp of honesty and fair dealing, confessedly in American interests, but treating our friends with equity and consideration. They have made more treaties than any two preceding Presidents; and the conclusion of the whole matter is that we stand today in independent though amicable relations to all the rest of the world—without an ally and without an enemy.

### Expansion of the Nation.

If the Government for the last seven years had done nothing else, it would have entitled itself to an honorable place in history by the manner in which it has handled the questions of the islands whose destiny has been so interwoven with our own. The war with Spain was carried through with incredible swiftness and energy, without a shadow of corruption, without a moral or a technical fault. A hundred days sufficed for the fighting. Diplomacy then did its work, and our commissioners brought home a treaty so just and so beneficial that it was impossible to unite the opposition against it. Then came the far more difficult and delicate task of administration. You remember the doleful prophecies of evil with which the air was filled; that we had not the habit nor the ability to govern outlying possessions; that the islands would be cesspools of jobbery and fraud; that the enterprise was conceived in violence and would go out in disaster.

And now you know the result. The Republic never is in default of men to serve it worthily when the Chief of the State is honest and able; when he has the eye and the will to choose the best men and will be satisfied with no less. So in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines we got the best we had. Wood, Allen and Hunt, and Taft have each in his place wrought a great work and gained a righteous fame. Cuba and Porto Rico are free and enjoying—the one under her own banner, the other under the Stars and Stripes—a degree of prosperity and happiness never known before in all their troubled story. As to the Philippines, the work done there by Judge Taft and his associates will rank among the highest achievements of colonial administration recorded in history. Never since their discovery has there been such general peace and order; so thorough a protection of the peaceable and restraint of evil doers; so wide a diffusion of education; so complete a guaranty to industry of the fruit of its labors. And when they see his energetic and efficient government carried on, free from the venality and bribery which formerly seemed to them a necessity of existence, then, indeed, they are like them that dream.

The principal evil from which they still suffer has its origin here. Some well-meaning people—and others not so well meaning—are constantly persuading them that they are oppressed, and that they will be given their liberty, as they choose to call it, as soon as the Republican party is overthrown in this country. These are the true enemies of the Filipinos, and not the men who are striving with whole-hearted energy and with consummate success to ameliorate their condition and to make them fit for self-government and all its attendant advantages. The so-called anti-imperialists confound in their daily speeches and writings two absolutely unrelated ideas—the liberty, the civil rights, the self-government which we have given the Filipinos, and the independence which the best of them do not want and know they are unable to maintain. To abandon them now, to cast them adrift at the mercy of accident, would be an act of cowardice and treachery which would gain us the scorn and reproach of civilization.

### Debt to the Democrats.

Our opponents sometimes say we have no right to claim the credit of the great deeds of the last half century—that we could not have accomplished them without the aid of Democrats. Nothing truer was ever said; and it is one of the chief glories of our annals, and it forms the surest foundation of our hopes for the future. The principles upon which our party is built are so sound, they have so irresistible an attraction to patriotic and fair-minded men, that whenever a time of crisis comes, when the National welfare is clearly at stake, when voters must decide whether they shall follow their prejudices or their consciences, we draw from other parties their best men by thousands. Bright among the brightest of those who founded our party shine the names of Democrats; and when the war came on the picked men of that party rallied to the colors. Douglas, shortly before he died, declared his unfaltering support of Lincoln.

The sun would go down before I could name the Democrats who fought like heroes for the country. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Dix, Sickles, Logan—in short, an innumerable host, Democrats all, rushed into the field and thereafter fought and worked with the Republicans while life lasted. And that vast majority of Lincoln's in 1864 would have been impossible had not myriads of Democrats, casting their life-long associations to the winds, listened to the inward monitor which said, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve."

As it was then, so it has been in after years. When the attempt was made to repudiate, in whole or in part, the National debt; or to abolish the system of protection to American industries, founded by Washington and Hamilton, and approved by the experience of a hundred years; or to degrade our currency at the demand of mere ignorance and greed—in all these cases we saw proof of the homely adage that you may lead a horse to the water, but may not make him drink. In spite of organizations and platforms, in spite of the frantic adjurations of gifted orators, hosts of patriotic Democrats walked quietly to the polls and voted as their consciences dictated, in the interests of the public welfare, rather than of a party. Even in so lofty and restricted an arena as our Senate, we have seen the ablest and most adroit organizer of his party fail in the most energetic effort of his life to induce his party to reject a great National benefit because it was offered by Republican hands. Half the Democratic Senators said this was no question for pettifogging politics voted for an American canal across the isthmus.

We are not claiming that we monopolize the virtue or the patriotism of the country. There are good men in all parties. I know far better men than I am who are Democrats. But we are surely allowed, in a love feast like this, to talk of what has been done by the family and at least to brag a little of the Democrats who have helped us. We get their votes for one reason only—because we started right and in the main have kept right. We invite accessions from the ranks of our patriotic opponents, and we shall get them in the future, as we have in the past, whenever we deserve them. We shall get them this year because this year we desire them. We come before the county in a position which cannot be successfully attacked in front, or flank, or rear. What we have done, what we are doing, and what we intend to do—on all three we confidently challenge the verdict of the American people. The record of 50 years will show whether as a party we are fit to govern; the state of our domestic and foreign affairs will show whether as a party we have fallen off; and both together will show whether we can be trusted for a while longer.

### The Republican Platform.

Our platform is before the country. Perhaps it is lacking in novelty. There is certainly nothing sensational about it. It is substantially the platform on which we won two great victories in the name of McKinley, and it is still sound and serviceable. Its principles have been tested by eight years of splendid success and have received the approval of the country. It is in line with all our platforms of the past, except where prophecy and promise in those days have become history in these. We stand by the ancient ways which have proved good.

It would take a wizard to guess what a dainty dish our adversaries will set before the sovereign people tomorrow. Their state conventions have given them a rich variety to choose from. As to money, they range all the way from Bedlam to Belmont; as to tariff, the one wing in Maryland is almost sane, the other wants raving free trade and dynamite for the custom-houses. When they discuss our island possessions, some want to scuttle away and abandon them out of hand; others agree with that sensible Southerner who said: "What's the use talking about expansion. Great Scott! we've done expanded!" One thing is reasonably sure: They will get as near to our platform as they possibly can and they will by implication approve everything McKinley and Roosevelt have done in the last four years. They will favor sound finance and a tariff which will not disturb business; rigid honesty in administration and prompt punishment of the dishonest; the Monroe Doctrine and an isthmian canal. To be logical they ought to go on and nominate the Republican candidates who are pledged to all these laudable policies.

But they will not be logical. They do not care to oppose our policy; they merely deny our sincerity in avowing it. They cannot deny the soundness of our principles; they pretend themselves to hold them. But the function of an opposition is to oppose, and as they are otherwise destitute of an issue they seek to make a few by attributing to us principles we have never dreamed of holding and policies which are abhorrent to us. And distrusting the effect of these maneuvers in advance, they announce their plan of campaign to be not pro-anything, but anti-Roosevelt. This is a mere counsel of desperation, and the Republicans will gladly accept the issue.

Even on this narrow issue they will dodge most of the details. Ask them, Has the President been a good citizen, a good soldier, a good man in all personal relations? Is he a man of intelligence, of education? Does he know this country well? Does he know the world outside? Has he studied law, history and politics? Has he had great chances to learn, and has he improved them? Is he sound and strong in mind, body, and soul? Is he accessible and friendly to all sorts and conditions of men? Has he the courage and the candor, and the God-given ability to speak to the people and tell them what he thinks? To all these questions they will answer, Yes. Then what is your objection to him? They will either stand speechless or they will answer with the parrot cry which we have heard so often: He is unsafe!

### Roosevelt Unsafe to Lawbreaker.

In a certain sense we shall have to admit this to be true. To every grade of lawbreaker, high or low; to a man who would rob a till or a ballot box; to the sneak or the bully; to the hypocrite and the humbug, Theodore Roosevelt is more than unsafe; he is positively dangerous.

But let us be serious with these good people. What are the coefficients of safety in a Chief of State? He should have courage; the wisest coward that ever lived is not fit to rule. And intelligence; we want no blunderheaded hero in the White House. And honesty; a clever thief would do infinite mischief. These three are the indispensables. With them a man is all the more safe if he has a sense of proportion, a sense of humor, a wide knowledge of men and affairs; if he seeks good counsel; and, finally, if he is a patriot, if he loves his country, believes in it, and seeks in all things its interest and its glory. Any man may make mistakes; but such a man as this will make few, and no grave ones.

Such a man is our President and our candidate. He is prompt and energetic, but he takes infinite pains to get at the facts before he acts. In all the crises which he has been accused of undue haste, his action has been the result of long meditation and well-reasoned conviction. If he thinks rapidly, that is no fault; he thinks thoroughly, and that is the essential. When he made peace between the miners and the operators, it was no sudden caprice, but the fruit of serious reflection, and this act of mingled philanthropy and common sense was justified by a great practical result. When he proclaimed anew the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuela case his action was followed by the most explicit acceptance of that saving policy which has ever come to us from over seas. He acted very swiftly, it is true, in Mississippi, when the best citizens of a town threatened the life of a postmistress for no fault but her color. He simply said: "Very well, gentlemen; you may get your letters somewhere else for a while."

And as to the merger suits, now that people have come to their senses they see that his action in that case was as regular as the equinox. He was informed through legal channels that a statute had been violated. He did not make the statute, but he was bound by his oath to execute it. He brought the proceeding which it was his duty to bring. The courts, from the lowest to the highest, sustained his action. He did what it would have been a high misdemeanor not to have done. The laws in this country are made to be obeyed, whether it is safe or not. It is always unsafe to disobey them.

But there has been more noise made over his audacious on the Isthmus of Panama than elsewhere. It is difficult to treat this charge with seriousness. The President had made a treaty with Colombia at her own solicitation, which was infinitely to her advantage, to inaugurate an enterprise which was to be for the benefit of the world. He waited with endless patience while Bogota delayed and trifled with the matter, and finally rejected it, and suggested new negotiations for a larger sum. Panama, outraged by this climax of the wrongs she had already suffered, declared and established her independence.

### President's Hand in Panama.

The President, following an unbroken line of precedents, entered into relations with the new Republic, and, obeying his duty to protect the transit of the Isthmus as all other Presidents had done before him, gave orders that there should be no bloodshed on the line of the railway. He said, like Grant, "Let us have peace," and we had it. It will seem incredible to posterity that any American could have objected to this. He acted wisely and beneficently, and all some people can find to criticise in his action is that he was too brisk about it. If a thing is right and proper to do, it does not make it criminal to do it promptly. No, gentlemen! That was a time when the hour and the man arrived together. He struck while the iron was white hot on the anvil of opportunity and forged as perfect a bit of honest statecraft as this generation has seen.

We could desire no better fortune, in the campaign upon which we are entering, than that the other side should persist in their announced intention to make the issue upon President Roosevelt. What a godsend to our orators! It takes some study, some research, to talk about the tariff, or the currency, or foreign policy. But to talk about Roosevelt! It is as easy as to sing "the glory of the Graeme." Of gentle birth and breeding, yet a man of the people in the best sense; with the training of a scholar and the breezy accessibility of a ranchman; a man of the library and a man of the world; an athlete and a thinker; a soldier and a statesman; a reader, a writer, and a maker of history; with the sensibility of a poet and the steel nerve of a rough rider; one who never did, and never could, turn his back on a friend or an enemy. A man whose merits are so great that he could win on his merits alone; whose personality is so engaging that you lose sight of his merits. Make their fight on a man like that! What irreverent caricaturist was it that called them the Stupid party?

In our candidate for the Vice-Presidency we have gone back to the old and commendable custom of the Republic and have nominated a man in every way fit for the highest place in the Nation, who will bring to the Presidency of the Senate an ability and experience rarely equaled in its history.

I have detained you too long; yet as I close I want to say a word to the young men whose political life is beginning. Any one entering business would be glad of the chance to become one of an established firm with years of success behind it, with a wide connection, with unblemished character, with credit founded on a rock. How infinitely brighter the future when the present is so sure, the past so glorious. Everything great done by this country in the last 50 years has been done under the auspices of the Republican party. Is not this consciousness a great asset to have in your mind and memory? As a mere item of personal comfort, is it not worth having? Lincoln and Grant, Hayes and Garfield, Harrison and McKinley—names secure in the heaven of fame—they all are gone, leaving small estates in worldly goods, but what vast possessions in principles, memories, sacred associations! It is a start in life to share that wealth.

### Party That Does Things.

Who now boasts that he opposed Lincoln? who brags of his voting against Grant? though both acts may have been from the best motives. In our form of government these must be two parties, and tradition, circumstances, temperament, will always create a sufficient opposition. But what young man would not rather belong to the party that does things, instead of one that opposes them; to the party that looks up, rather than down; to the party of the dawn, rather than of the sunset? For 50 years the Republican party has believed in the country and labored for it in hope and joy; it has reverenced the flag and followed it; has carried it under strange skies and planted it on far-receding horizons. It has seen the Nation grow greater every year and more respected; by just dealing, by intelligent labor, by a genius for enterprise, it has seen the country extend its intercourse and its influence to regions unknown to our fathers. Yet it has never abated one jot or tittle of the ancient law imposed on us by our God-fearing ancestors. We have fought a good fight, but also we have kept the faith. The Constitution of our fathers has been the light to our feet; our path is, and will ever remain, that of ordered progress, of liberty under the law. The country has vastly increased, but the great-brained statesmen who preceded us provided for minute growth. The discoveries of science have made miraculous additions to our knowledge. But we are not daunted by progress; we are not afraid of the light. The fabric our fathers builded on such sure foundations will stand all shocks of fate or fortune. There will always be a proud pleasure in looking back on the history they made; but, guided by their example, the coming generation has the right to anticipate work not less important, days equally memorable to mankind. We who are passing off the stage bid you, as the children of Israel encamping by the sea were bidden, to Go Forward; we pass it on to you that its clear light may show the truth to the ages that are to come.

## SECRETARY HAY ON REPUBLICANISM, PAST AND FUTURE

The Republican party had a noble origin. It sprang directly from an aroused and indignant National conscience.

Respect for the vested rights of the Southern people was one of our most sacred traditions.

If the slaveholders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled our political and social world.

If there is one thing more than another in which we Republicans are entitled to a legitimate pride, it is that Lincoln was our first President; that we believed in him, loyally supported him while he lived, and that we have never lost the right to call ourselves his followers.

History affords no parallel to the vast and increasing prosperity which this country has enjoyed under Republican rule.

We are a great people and success is our right; God is good to those who behave themselves.

We do not covet the territory nor the control of any other people. We hold ourselves absolutely apart from any combinations or groups of powers. We favor no National interests but our own.

We are not claiming that we monopolize the virtue or the patriotism of the country. There are good men in all parties.

The record of 50 years will show whether as a party we are fit to govern. For 50 years the Republican party has believed in the country and labored for it in hope and joy.

The Constitution of our fathers has been the light to our feet; our path is, and will ever remain, that of ordered progress, of liberty under the law.

## SECRETARY HAY REVIEWS ITS SERVICES TO THE NATION

### Homeseekers Continue to Pour In.

BONESTEEL, S. D., July 6.—When the registration office opened this morning there were less than 25 people in line. All night a cold rain fell, and homeseekers refused to leave their rooms, but few being provided with overcoats or raincoats. But when the sun came out homeseekers appeared on the streets, and at 11 o'clock there were several hundred in the row.

The early morning train from the East brought in about 600 men and women. Other hundreds are arriving by every train.


SCROFULA

Swollen glands, tumors, white swelling, sores, pustular or scaly skin eruptions, flabby muscles, brittle bones, weak digestion, emaciated, illy-nourished bodies, are some of the well-known earmarks of Scrofula. Scrofula is inherited. Parents too closely related by the ties of blood, or tainted with consumption or blood poison, may look for signs of Scrofula in their children. The middle-aged often have it, but children are the chief sufferers. Scrofula breaks down the vital forces, and the blood becomes so weak and poor that it does not nourish the body. The remedy in all scrofulous affections must be one that purifies the diseased blood, builds up the weak digestion, increases the appetite and gives new energy and strength to all life's forces. No medicine has won so much fame as a blood purifier as S. S. S., and its tonic effects upon the system are not equaled by any other remedy. It makes the weak, tainted blood rich and strong, and drives out of the circulation all tubercular deposits and morbid matter that cause the glandular swelling, sores, abscesses, tumors and other horrible symptoms that make Scrofula so dreaded and dangerous.

Cleveland, Ohio, August 11, 1903.
I inherited Scrofula from my parents, and this means, of course, weak, impure blood and a run-down, debilitated condition of the system. I have been under treatment of physicians for quite a period at different times, but their treatment did not do me anything like the good S. S. S. did last winter when I took it. It promotes appetite and digestion, gives strength and energy, builds up the general health in every way, and in addition to being an excellent blood purif