

# Political Platforms of the Last Forty Years; Declaration of Principles of the Two Great Parties

**T**HE presidential conventions are near at hand, and the voice of the platform maker, both professional and amateur, is again heard in the land. At such a time it may be interesting to recall briefly some of the platforms adopted by the two great political parties in the past, together with a few of the less important ones belonging to the other political divisions.

The year 1860 was a great year for parties and platforms. In view of the sectional aspect of the political situation, it is not likely that the northern element of the Democratic party would have chosen Charleston as its convention city, but the location had been fixed four years before. The convention assembled April 23 and at once appointed a platform committee, one member from each state. It was agreed that no ballot for candidates should be taken until the platform had been fixed. On April 27 three platforms were reported—the southern, the Douglas and the Butler. The southern platform contained seven resolutions and the Douglas six. Four of both were alike and advocated protection of citizens at home and abroad; approved a Pacific railroad, favored the acquisition of Cuba and condemned any attempt to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law. The distinctive southern resolutions were to the effect that congress could not prohibit slavery in a territory and that the question of slavery could only be settled by a state. The other Douglas resolutions declared that the Democratic doctrines of the past were "unchangeable," but that the party would abide by the decisions of the United States supreme court. The northern delegates were willing to accept the Dred Scott decision temporarily, but the southern element wanted the party to accept it for all time to come. The Butler platform was the same as that of 1856. It was ignored. The Douglas document was adopted by a free state majority. The minority was the slave state vote, with Oregon, California and part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. On the following day the southern delegates withdrew, to reassemble at Richmond on June 11. The original convention adopted the two-thirds rule and began to ballot. But the convention, though it had accepted the platform, could not then make up its mind to endorse its chief exponent. It adjourned, to meet again at Baltimore on June 18. There it nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois to lead the ticket. Some time afterward the national committee chose Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for its running mate. On June 23 the separatists at Richmond adopted the southern platform and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon.

May 9 of that same year the Constitutional Union party, the northern remnant of the Whigs, met at Baltimore and nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. The platform denounced platforms in general and asserted that patriotism should recognize only the constitution, union of states and the enforcement of law. It carried Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia.

The Republican platform for that year, adopted at Chicago May 16, was much like the document of the previous campaign, though it dropped the conjunction of polygamy and slavery, demanded a homeostatic law and protection for domestic manufactures and denounced threats of secession. It also reasserted its opposition to slavery, to the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the refusal to admit Kansas as a free state. It declared for a Pacific railroad. Its candidates—Abraham

Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine—obtained the votes of all the free states except three from New Jersey.

The Democratic platform of 1854, adopted at Chicago Aug. 29, contained six resolutions, all but one attacking the management of the war. It affirmed the party's adherence to the Union and demanded a cessation of hostilities. It likewise denounced national interference with elections, the suspension of

with the president's friends and the war Democrats in a national gathering at Philadelphia, Aug. 14. This was called the "arm in arm" convention, from the manner in which the Massachusetts and South Carolina delegates entered the hall. The attempted impeachment of President Johnson was one of the incidents of this remarkable period.

The national Democratic convention of July 4, 1868, at New York adopted a series of resolutions concerning the

Massachusetts was named for second place. In this year the Liberal Republicans assembled in Cincinnati and nominated Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri. This element was composed of disaffected Republicans who believed that the national police power had been exercised too freely in the south.

The Democrats at Baltimore on June 9 reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform and accepted its candidates.

attention. The currency matter came actively to the front. Silver had been falling steadily. Gold was the only specie of the country except for subsidiary coinage. Finally the Bland bill to make the silver dollar legal tender for all debts was passed by both houses and over the veto of President Hayes.

The St. Louis Democratic platform of 1876 accepted the three constitutional amendments, denounced the tariff and demanded that custom house taxation should be for revenue only. It also advised due preparation for the resump-

Chester A. Arthur of New York was chosen for second place. During this campaign the famous forgery known as the Morey letter, which purported to be written by Garfield in favor of Chinese immigration, appeared. The terms "stalwart" and "antislavery" came into active use. The platform affirmed that the boundary between powers delegated and those reserved should be determined by national and not by state tribunals; that duties levied for revenue should favor American labor; that no further grant of public land should be made to railroads or other corporations, and that polygamy must cease in the territories.

The Democratic platform of 1880, formulated at Cincinnati on June 23, declared for home rule, honest money and a tariff for revenue only. The remainder

ultimately fate. The vice president, Chester A. Arthur, succeeded.

The Republican national political creed for 1884 was adopted at Chicago, June 3. It was reported by William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio. It urged the establishment of an international money standard and advocated civil service reform. Mr. Blaine was chosen on the fourth ballot. John A. Logan of Illinois was made his running mate.

The Democrats that year met at Chicago and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. The platform termed the Republican party "a mere reminiscence." It advocated modified free trade, honest money of gold and silver, pledged itself to reform taxation, favored civil service reform and promised public improvement. It is worthy of mention that at the convention General Benjamin F. Butler returned a minority report favoring protection.

At least four more platforms were adopted in 1884—the Antimonopoly, Greenback-Labor, People's and Prohibition. As already intimated, their names go far toward revealing their political principles. This period was marked by the remarkable growth of the independent vote. Mugwump, to use a term applied in derision to non-partisans by the stalwarts, became an active force, and its influence was apparent in the platforms of the time.

Mr. Cleveland had no opposition in 1888 at St. Louis. Allen G. Thurman was nominated for second place. The platform was a practical reaffirmation of the principles of its predecessor.

The Republican platform of 1888, adopted at Chicago, June 19, came out unreservedly for protection, declared its hostility to alien labor and Chinese immigration, condemned the demonetizing of silver and recommended the increase of the navy. Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Levi P. Morton of New York were named, and they were elected.

The tenth national platform of the Republican party was launched at Minneapolis, June 7, 1892. It declared for protection in stronger terms than ever, advocated reciprocity, bimetalism, free ballot, postoffice reform, the isthmian canal, increased pensions, etc. President Harrison was renominated, and Whitelaw Reid of New York was made his mate.

The Democratic document for that year, issued from Chicago, June 21, denounced protection, condemned the McKinley tariff law, favored civil service reform, pensions, the isthmian canal and the improvement of waterways. Mr. Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot, and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was named for vice president. The most notable tendency of that period was the growth of the People's party. Many other political elements also put forth platforms that year.

In 1896 the Democratic platform, adopted at Chicago, July 3, insisted upon the paramount importance of the money question. It condemned the demonetization act of 1873 and demanded the unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the co-operation of any other nation. William J. Bryan of Nebraska and Arthur Sewall of Maine were the nominees of the convention.

On June 19 of that year the Republicans at St. Louis declared against the unlimited coinage of silver, reiterated former views on the tariff and expressed sympathy for Cuba. William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey became the candidates. They were elected. Mr. Hobart died in office.

The Democratic convention of 1900 at Kansas City reaffirmed the Chicago platform, came out against "imperialism" and renominated Mr. Bryan. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was chosen for his mate.

The Republicans that year at Philadelphia, June 20, held to their last declaration of principles and renominated Mr. McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt of New York was given second place.

THEODORE J. BROWN.



PHYSICIANS AND PATIENT.

the writ of habeas corpus in states not in insurrection and the refusal to exchange prisoners. The most important resolution read as follows:

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, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that an immediate effort be made for a cessation of hostilities, to the end that at the very earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states.

George D. McClellan of New Jersey and George H. Pendleton of Ohio were nominated.

May 31 of that year a convention of "radicals" met at Cleveland and nominated John C. Fremont and John Cochrane. The platform demanded a more vigorous prosecution of the war, confiscation of southern property and its distribution among soldiers and actual settlers. The candidates accepted, but withdrew later.

In 1865 a curious political situation arose. The assassination of Lincoln April 14 brought the vice president, Andrew Johnson, into the political forefront. His policy, which he lost no time in announcing, was not the doctrine of the party which had elected him. Several state conventions declared against his views of reconstruction and asserted that it must be effected by the lawmaking branch of the government. The Democrats united

situation, expressed sorrow over the lamentable fate of Lincoln and especially criticized the Republican policy of reconstruction. A tariff for revenue on foreign imports was demanded. It also declared against negro suffrage and favored the payment of the national debt in legal tender. Horatio Seymour of New York and Frank P. Blair of Missouri were nominated.

The Chicago Republican platform of 1868 approved the reconstruction plan of congress, declared for liquidation of the public debt and denounced the acts of President Johnson. The tariff was not mentioned. Ulysses S. Grant was nominated on the first ballot. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was made his running mate. Under this administration the fifteenth amendment was passed.

The next Republican national declaration of political faith, made at Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, reviewed the past achievements of the party, demanded liberty and exact equality for all, commended the president and congress for their suppression of disorder in the south and promised to regulate the tariff. This was the first avowal of protectionist ideas since the war. General Grant was renominated by acclamation, and Henry Wilson of Massa-

About 30,000 votes were cast that year for Charles O'Connor of New York and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, nominees of a "straight out" Democratic convention at Louisville, Sept. 3. Both candidates declined to serve. Grant and Wilson were elected.

The Republican national platform of 1876, announced at Cincinnati June 14, was a plea for civil service reform. It recommended a steady progress toward specie payments and denounced polygamy and the "solid south." It also advocated the vigorous exercise of the constitutional powers of the president and congress. James G. Blaine was the favorite at the start. On the seventh ballot his vote was 351. Then the opposition united and transferred its vote to Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. That nominated him, William Almon Wheeler of New York became his companion on the ticket. The ticket won, but it required the famous electoral commission to decide it. Other questions, however, soon appeared to divert the public

tion of specie payments. Before the second ballot was over Samuel J. Tilden of New York was nominated. His leading competitor, Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, was named for vice president.

The Republican platform for 1880 was put forth at Chicago, June 10. It was well understood that an effort would be made to give Grant a third term. In fact, a plurality of the delegates came pledged to support him. Blaine was a strong favorite again, and John Sherman had many friends. On the thirty-fifth ballot Grant had 313 votes and Blaine 237. On the thirty-fourth James A. Garfield of Ohio had the seventeen votes of Wisconsin. On the thirty-sixth the anti-Grant forces stampeded to the Ohio statesman, and he was nominated.

was devoted to a denunciation of the electoral commission's decision. Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania was nominated for president. William H. English of Indiana was named for second place.

In 1880 there were at least three other platforms—the Greenback-Labor, the Prohibition and the anti-Mason. The first was represented by J. B. Weaver of Iowa and B. J. Chambers of Texas. Neal Dow of Maine and A. M. Thompson of Ohio stood for the second. The anti-Masons chose J. W. Phelps of Vermont and Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas. The leading features of the respective platforms are plainly indicated by their names.

Before another call for a presidential convention President Garfield met his

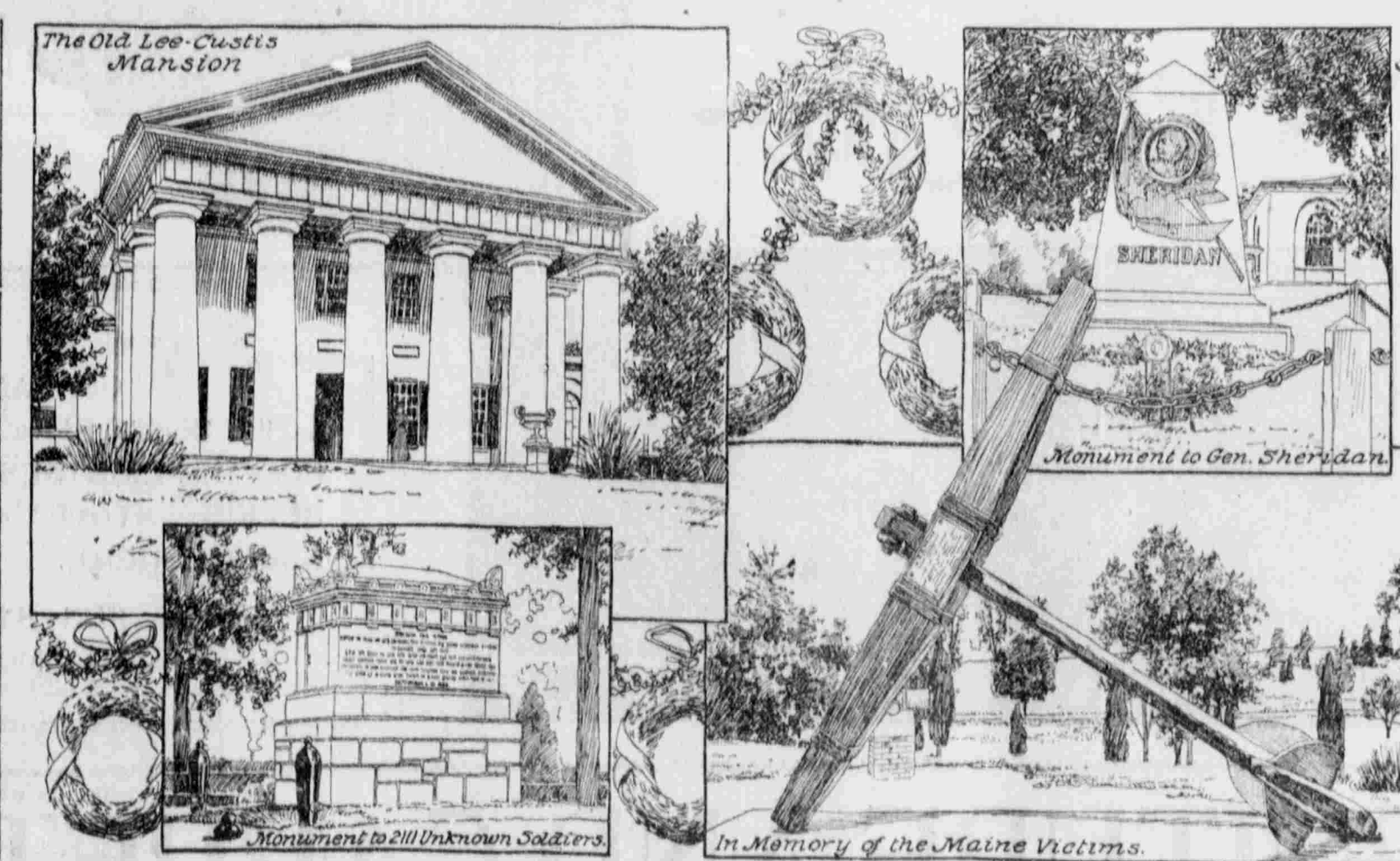
# Arlington Cemetery and Its Memorial Day Services; The Beautiful Spot Where Sleep Thousands of Soldiers

**T**HERE are four national cemeteries within a few miles of the White House. Beyond the Potomac, a mile and a half as the crow flies, is Arlington, the largest and most famous of them all. There on the annual holiday of this memorial day the orator employs his choicest speech in tribute to the virtues of the dead, the well trained military band revivifies the stirring old war songs and flowers are everywhere.

Arlington is one of the show places of the world. From the moment its title passed from Charles II, who claimed to hold it by divine right and the discovery of John Cabot, this estate of 1,100 fertile acres has been making history. It was once the property of Sir William Berkeley, a colonial governor of Virginia. After passing through several hands, on Christmas day, 1775, it came into the possession of the Custis family. John Parke Custis died intestate, leaving four children, one of whom, George Washington Custis, adopted by General Washington, became the owner of Arlington by the law of primogeniture. At his death Custis left this splendid heritage to his only daughter, who became the wife of General Robert E. Lee. It remained in possession of the Lee family until 1864, when it was confiscated by the United States government. In that year, after the battle of the Wilderness, it was first used as a burial place for soldiers.

The government's right to the property was vigorously contested in the courts, and after several years it was decided by the supreme court of the United States that "Uncle Sam's" title was not good. Thus it was that the claimant found himself the proprietor of an extensive graveyard.

Not desiring to undertake further litigation, the owner accepted \$150,000, the sum offered by the government, and the present title of the property seems



SCENES IN ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY.

to rest in the nation, though constitutional lawyers have expressed a doubt as to its absolute validity.

It must have been an ideal home in its day. It was a noble example of a patrician Virginia landed estate. The mansion itself was begun in 1802 by the George Washington Parke Custis whose grandfather became Mrs. Martha

Washington. It is modeled on strictly classical lines and was actually designed from drawings of the temple at Paestum, near Naples. It is an excellent example of the modified Grecian architecture of the period, which had become a craze among builders both great and small, and which nowadays is experiencing a revival under the name

of colonial. It is of generous proportions, the main part being sixty feet in width, the two wings forty feet each, giving a frontage of 140 feet. The imposing portico is twenty-five feet deep and sixty feet long.

At the beginning of the war, when it was still occupied by the hospitable Lees, the premises were filled with most

interesting and valuable mementos of the historic past. These priceless relics are scattered broadcast. It must have been a mighty struggle for General Lee to expatriate himself from this charming domain. It is a matter of history, too, that the alternative was his. In 1861 Montgomery Blair was authorized to offer him the command of the Union

army. He could only affirm that, although he looked upon secession as anarchy, he could not draw his sword against his native state.

In one respect Arlington is unlike any other of our national cemeteries; at the others few interments have been made since the period immediately following the war, but beautiful Arlington every year sees wearers of the blue brought from all parts of the country to swell the forces of the silent army. There are now buried at this national resting place for fallen warriors more than 20,000. Of these 4,611 are nameless on the human record.

Two hundred acres of the estate were set aside for cemetery purposes. To this several additions have been made from time to time. This section is enclosed by a low wall and is entered through four great memorial gates—the McClellan, the Fort Myer, the Ord and Wetzel and the Sheridan, the last named being the main entrance. Near the mansion there has been erected an open circular colonnade surmounted by a dome. This is known as the Temple of Fame. On the cornice are the names of Washington, Lincoln, Grant and Farragut. At the rear of that is the large amphitheater in which the Memorial day services of the Grand Army of the Republic are held. The Sheridan gate is flanked on each side by marble columns taken from the old war department building; They bear the names of Lincoln, Scott, Grant and Stanton.

There are many costly and stately monuments at Arlington, some of them the best examples of modern art. It is doubtful, however, if there is to be found in the whole impressive panorama a more effective ensemble than the vast level of greensward, stretching as far as the eye can reach, marked at regular intervals by rows of headstones, all set in the military precision of a troop awaiting the signal to advance. Near by is the fine monument erected in honor of these unknown though not unreckoned sleepers. Their bodies, two thousand and more, were recovered from the battlefields of Bull Run and the Rappahannock. The greatest efforts at identification were made in

every case, but the identity of many was lost beyond recovery. The graves of the known are arranged in the same symmetrical manner. A simple headstone, uniform in appearance with that used in all the national cemeteries, marked plainly with the name, state and the number he bears on the roll of honor at the war department, is now the measure of the sleeper's earthly fame.

Half a mile south of the mansion are buried the soldiers who fell in the Spanish-American war. A magnificent memorial to their prowess has been raised by the Colonial Dames of America. Close by sleep the victims of the ill fated battleship Maine. On the bluff east of the house is the space set apart for the graves of officers. In front of the building and near the great central flagstaff are the tombs of Philip H. Sheridan and Admiral David D. Porter. Almost adjoining are the graves of General J. H. Baxter, Colonel Hiram Berdan, the noted sharpshooter, and General George Crook. Close at hand sleep Generals Meigs, Ricketts, Burdette, Watkins and Doubleday. The most recent addition to this famous company is General Lawton, who was brought here from the faraway Philippines. Arlington holds also in its tender custody the body of Admiral Sampson.

But nature has done even more for this lovely city of the heroic dead than the willing and grateful hand of man has been able to accomplish. All the efforts of art that have been lavished on the spot are feeble indeed beside the treasures of landscape and wealth of greenery that have long been the region's very own. From the portico of the house the perspective unfolded is one of the noblest pictures in this scenic land. Across the Potomac river, spread out like a mammoth panorama, its foreground the carpet of greensward shadowed by the famous oaks of Arlington, lies Washington, its domes and spires gleaming fairylike in the mellow sunshine of the late Maytime. It is a picture to delight the soul of a painter, though he despair of reproducing it.

ARTHUR W. RHETT.