

# FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION



Compiled under the direction of  
**EDWIN A. HALSEY**  
Secretary of the United States Senate



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**This information is compiled to serve Senators in the senatorial  
and Presidential campaign in 1940.**

**EDWIN A. HALSEY.**

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## RECORD OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 1876-1936

Year	Candidate	Party	Electoral vote	Popular vote
1876 <sup>1</sup>	Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Republican...	185	4, 033, 950
	Samuel J. Tilden.....	Democrat.....	184	4, 284, 855
1880	James A. Garfield.....	Republican...	214	4, 449, 053
	Winfield S. Hancock.....	Democrat.....	155	4, 442, 030
1884	Grover Cleveland.....	do.....	219	4, 911, 017
	James G. Blaine.....	Republican...	182	4, 848, 334
1888	Benjamin Harrison.....	do.....	223	5, 444, 337
	Grover Cleveland.....	Democrat.....	168	5, 540, 050
1892	Grover Cleveland.....	do.....	277	5, 554, 414
	Benjamin Harrison.....	Republican...	145	5, 190, 802
	James B. Weaver.....	Populist.....	22	1, 027, 329
1896	William McKinley.....	Republican...	271	7, 035, 638
	William J. Bryan.....	Democrat.....	176	6, 467, 946
1900	William McKinley.....	Republican...	292	7, 219, 530
	William J. Bryan.....	Democrat.....	155	6, 358, 071
1904	Theodore Roosevelt.....	Republican...	336	7, 628, 834
	Alton B. Parker.....	Democrat.....	140	5, 084, 491
1908	William H. Taft.....	Republican...	321	7, 679, 006
	William J. Bryan.....	Democrat.....	162	6, 409, 106
1912	Woodrow Wilson.....	Democrat.....	435	6, 286, 214
	William H. Taft.....	Republican...	8	3, 483, 922
	Theodore Roosevelt.....	Progressive...	88	4, 126, 020
1916	Woodrow Wilson.....	Democrat.....	277	9, 129, 606
	Charles E. Hughes.....	Republican...	254	8, 538, 221
1920	Warren G. Harding.....	Republican...	404	16, 152, 200
	James M. Cox.....	Democrat.....	127	9, 147, 353
1924	Calvin Coolidge.....	Republican...	382	15, 725, 016
	John W. Davis.....	Democrat.....	136	8, 386, 503
	Robert M. La Follette.....	Progressive...	13	4, 822, 856
1928	Herbert Hoover.....	Republican...	444	21, 392, 190
	Alfred E. Smith.....	Democrat.....	87	15, 016, 443
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt.....	Democrat.....	472	22, 821, 857
	Herbert Hoover.....	Republican...	59	15, 761, 841
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt.....	Democrat.....	523	27, 476, 673
	Alfred M. Landon.....	Republican...	8	16, 679, 583

<sup>1</sup> Congress set up a special electoral commission to decide the returns from several States.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

President	Native of—	Elected from—	Vice President	Native of—	Elected from—	Service
George Washington	Virginia	Virginia	John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Apr. 30, 1789—Mar. 3, 1797
John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Virginia	Mar. 4, 1797—Mar. 3, 1801
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Virginia	Aaron Burr	New Jersey	New York	Mar. 4, 1801—Mar. 3, 1805
Do	do	do	George Clinton	New York	do	Mar. 4, 1805—Mar. 3, 1809
James Madison	do	do	do	do	do	Mar. 4, 1809—Mar. 3, 1813
Do	do	do	Elbridge Gerry	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Mar. 4, 1813—Mar. 3, 1817
James Monroe	do	do	Daniel D. Tompkins	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1817—Mar. 3, 1825
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina	South Carolina	Mar. 4, 1825—Mar. 3, 1829
Andrew Jackson	South Carolina	Tennessee	do	do	do	Mar. 4, 1829—Mar. 3, 1833
Do	do	do	Martin Van Buren	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1833—Mar. 3, 1837
Martin Van Buren	New York	New York	Richard M. Johnson	Kentucky	Kentucky	Mar. 4, 1837—Mar. 3, 1841
William H. Harrison	Virginia	Ohio	John Tyler	Virginia	Virginia	Mar. 4, 1841—Apr. 4, 1841
John Tyler	do	Virginia	George M. Dallas	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Apr. 6, 1841—Mar. 3, 1845
James K. Polk	North Carolina	Tennessee	Millard Fillmore	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1845—Mar. 3, 1849
Zachary Taylor	Virginia	Louisiana	do	do	do	Mar. 5, 1849—July 9, 1850
Millard Fillmore	New York	New York	William R. King	North Carolina	Alabama	July 10, 1850—Mar. 3, 1853
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	do	do	do	Mar. 4, 1853—Mar. 3, 1857
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	John C. Breckinridge	Kentucky	Kentucky	Mar. 4, 1857—Mar. 3, 1861

Abraham Lincoln	Kentucky	Illinois	Hannibal Hamlin	Maine	Maine	Mar. 4, 1861–Mar. 3, 1865
Do	do	do	Andrew Johnson	North Carolina	Tennessee	Mar. 4, 1865–Apr. 15, 1865
Andrew Johnson	North Carolina	Tennessee				Apr. 15, 1865–Mar. 3, 1869
Ulysses S. Grant	Ohio	Illinois	Schuyler Colfax	New York	Indiana	Mar. 4, 1869–Mar. 3, 1873
Do	do	do	Henry Wilson	New Hampshire	Massachusetts	Mar. 4, 1873–Mar. 3, 1877
Rutherford B. Hayes	do	Ohio	William A. Wheeler	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1877–Mar. 3, 1881
James A. Garfield	do	do	Chester A. Arthur	Vermont	do	Mar. 4, 1881–Sept. 19, 1881
Chester A. Arthur	Vermont	New York				Sept. 20, 1881–Mar. 3, 1885
Grover Cleveland	New Jersey	do	Thomas A. Hendricks	Ohio	Indiana	Mar. 4, 1885–Mar. 3, 1889
Benjamin Harrison	Ohio	Indiana	Levi P. Morton	Vermont	New York	Mar. 4, 1889–Mar. 3, 1893
Grover Cleveland	New Jersey	New York	Adlai E. Stevenson	Kentucky	Illinois	Mar. 4, 1893–Mar. 3, 1897
William McKinley	Ohio	Ohio	Garret A. Hobart	New Jersey	New Jersey	Mar. 4, 1897–Mar. 3, 1901
Do	do	do	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1901–Sept. 14, 1901
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	New York				Sept. 14, 1901–Mar. 3, 1905
Do	do	do	Charles W. Fairbanks	Ohio	Indiana	Mar. 4, 1905–Mar. 3, 1909
William H. Taft	Ohio	Ohio	James S. Sherman	New York	New York	Mar. 4, 1909–Mar. 3, 1913
Woodrow Wilson	Virginia	New Jersey	Thomas R. Marshall	Indiana	Indiana	Mar. 4, 1913–Mar. 3, 1921
Warren G. Harding	Ohio	Ohio	Calvin Coolidge	Vermont	Massachusetts	Mar. 4, 1921–Aug. 2, 1923
Calvin Coolidge	Vermont	Massachusetts				Aug. 3, 1923–Mar. 3, 1925
Do	do	do	Charles G. Dawes	Ohio	Illinois	Mar. 4, 1925–Mar. 3, 1929
Herbert Hoover	Iowa	California	Charles Curtis	Kansas	Kansas	Mar. 4, 1929–Mar. 3, 1933
F. D. Roosevelt	New York	New York	John N. Garner	Texas	Texas	Mar. 4, 1933–

## QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN STATES

A voter must be at least 21 years of age; a citizen, not a convict; able to read or write; must be registered.

In some States paupers are ineligible.

### PREVIOUS RESIDENCE REQUIRED

State	In State	In county	In precinct
Alabama	2 years	1 year	3 months.
Arizona	1 year	30 days	30 days.
Arkansas	do	6 months	do.
California	do	90 days	40 days.
Colorado	do	do	10 days.
Connecticut	do	6 months	
Delaware	do	3 months	30 days.
Florida	do	6 months	do.
Georgia	do	do	
Idaho	6 months	30 days	
Illinois	1 year	90 days	do.
Indiana	6 months	60 days	do.
Iowa	do	do	10 days.
Kansas	do	30 days	30 days.
Kentucky	1 year	6 months	60 days.
Louisiana	2 years	1 year	3 months.
Maine	3 months		
Maryland	1 year	6 months	1 day.
Massachusetts	do		6 months.
Michigan	6 months	20 days	20 days.
Minnesota	do		10 days.
Mississippi	2 years	1 year	1 year.
Missouri	1 year	60 days	60 days.
Montana	do	6 months	
Nebraska	6 months	40 days	10 days.
Nevada	do	30 days	do.
New Hampshire	do		6 months.
New Jersey	1 year	5 months	
New Mexico	do	90 days	30 days.
New York	do	4 months	do.
North Carolina	do		4 months.
North Dakota	do	90 days	30 days.
Ohio	do	30 days	28 days.
Oklahoma	do	6 months	30 days.
Oregon	6 months		
Pennsylvania	1 year	2 months	2 months.

## QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN STATES—Continued

State	In States	In county	In precinct
Rhode Island	2 years	6 months	
South Carolina	do	1 year	4 months.
South Dakota	1 year	90 days	30 days.
Tennessee	do	6 months	
Texas	do	do	6 months.
Utah	do	4 months	60 days.
Vermont	do	3 months	3 months.
Virginia	do	6 months	30 days.
Washington	do	30 days	10 days.
West Virginia	do	60 days	
Wisconsin	do	10 days	10 days.
Wyoming	do	60 days	do.

[Reprinted from World Almanac, 1939]



## VOTING STRENGTH OF STATES AT NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND ELECTORAL COLLEGE IN 1936

State	Democratic convention	Republican convention	Electoral college
Alabama.....	22	13	11
Arizona.....	6	6	3
Arkansas.....	18	11	9
California.....	44	44	22
Colorado.....	12	12	6
Connecticut.....	16	19	8
Delaware.....	6	9	3
Florida.....	14	12	7
Georgia.....	24	14	12
Idaho.....	8	8	4
Illinois.....	58	57	29
Indiana.....	28	28	14
Iowa.....	22	22	11
Kansas.....	18	18	9
Kentucky.....	22	22	11
Louisiana.....	20	12	10
Maine.....	10	13	5
Maryland.....	16	16	8
Massachusetts.....	34	33	17
Michigan.....	38	38	19
Minnesota.....	22	22	11
Mississippi.....	18	11	9
Missouri.....	30	30	15
Montana.....	8	8	4
Nebraska.....	14	14	7
Nevada.....	6	6	3
New Hampshire.....	8	11	4
New Jersey.....	32	32	16
New Mexico.....	6	6	3
New York.....	94	90	47
North Carolina.....	26	23	13
North Dakota.....	8	8	4
Ohio.....	52	52	26
Oklahoma.....	22	21	11
Oregon.....	10	10	5
Pennsylvania.....	72	75	36
Rhode Island.....	8	8	4
South Carolina.....	16	10	8
South Dakota.....	8	8	4
Tennessee.....	22	17	11
Texas.....	46	25	23

**VOTING STRENGTH OF STATES AT NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND ELECTORAL COLLEGE IN 1936—Continued**

State	Democratic convention	Republican convention	Electoral college
Utah.....	8	8	4
Vermont.....	6	9	3
Virginia.....	22	17	11
Washington.....	16	16	8
West Virginia.....	16	16	8
Wisconsin.....	24	24	12
Wyoming.....	6	6	3
Alaska.....	6	3	-----
District of Columbia.....	6	3	-----
Hawaii.....	6	3	-----
Philippine Islands.....	6	2	-----
Puerto Rico.....	6	2	-----
Canal Zone.....	6	-----	-----
Virgin Islands.....	2	-----	-----
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1, 100</b>	<b>1, 003</b>	<b>531</b>

The majority nominates in both Democratic and Republican conventions.

The majority elects in the electoral college.

Democratic rule: That all questions, including the question of nominations of candidates for President of the United States and Vice President of the United States, shall be determined by a majority vote of the delegates to the convention. (Rule adopted by 1936 Democratic convention.)

Republican rule: When it appears, at the close of the roll call, that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the convention, the chairman of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" (Rule adopted by 1936 Republican convention.)

## UNITED STATES SENATORS WHOSE TERMS EXPIRE IN 1941

Name	Party	Residence
Andrews, Charles O.....	Democrat.....	Orlando, Fla.
Ashurst, Henry F.....	do.....	Prescott, Ariz.
Austin, Warren R.....	Republican.....	Burlington, Vt.
Barbour, W. Warren.....	do.....	Locust, N. J.
Bilbo, Theodore G.....	Democrat.....	Poplarville, Miss.
Burke, Edward R.....	do.....	Omaha, Nebr.
Byrd, Harry Flood.....	do.....	Berryville, Va.
Chandler, A. B <sup>1</sup> .....	do.....	Versailles, Ky.
Chavez, Dennis.....	do.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Connally, Tom.....	do.....	Marlin, Tex.
Donahey, Vic.....	do.....	Huntsville, Ohio.
Frazier, Lynn J.....	Republican.....	Hoople, N. Dak.
Gerry, Peter G.....	Democrat.....	Warwick, R. I.
Guffey, Joseph F.....	do.....	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Hale, Frederick.....	Republican.....	Portland, Maine.
Holt, Rush D.....	Democrat.....	Weston, W. Va.
Johnson, Hiram W.....	Republican.....	San Francisco, Calif.
King, William H.....	Democrat.....	Salt Lake City, Utah.
La Follette, Robert M., Jr.....	Progressive.....	Madison, Wis.
McKellar, Kenneth.....	Democrat.....	Memphis, Tenn.
Maloney, Francis T.....	do.....	Meriden, Conn.
Mead, James M.....	do.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
Minton, Sherman.....	do.....	New Albany, Ind.
O'Mahoney, Joseph C.....	do.....	Cheyenne, Wyo.
Pittman, Key.....	do.....	Tonopah, Nev.
Radcliffe, George L.....	do.....	Baltimore, Md.
Schwellenbach, Lewis B.....	do.....	Neppel, Wash.
Shipstead, Henrik.....	Farmer-Labor.....	Miltona, Minn.
Slattery, James L <sup>1</sup> .....	Democrat.....	Chicago, Ill.
Townsend, John G., Jr.....	Republican.....	Selbyville, Del.
Truman, Harry S.....	Democrat.....	Independence, Mo.
Vandenberg, Arthur H.....	Republican.....	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Walsh, David I.....	Democrat.....	Clinton, Mass.
Wheeler, Burton K.....	do.....	Butte, Mont.

<sup>1</sup> Appointed by the Governor.

## DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMMITTEES

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### OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Address: National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Chairman.*—James A. Farley, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Acting treasurer.*—Oliver A. Quayle, Jr., National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Secretary.*—L. W. Robert, Jr., Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

*Sergeant at arms.*—Edwin A. Halsey, Secretary of the Senate, United States Capitol, Washington, D. C.

*Director of women's division.*—Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Assistant director of women's division.*—Mrs. May Thompson Evans, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Director of publicity.*—Charles Michelson, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

*Vice chairmen.*—John Nance Garner, Uvalde, Tex.; Lynn Brod-  
rick, 1000 Broadway, Marysville, Kans.; David Fitzgerald, New  
Haven, Conn.; James P. Aylward, 1215 Commerce Building, Kansas  
City, Mo.; C. E. Broughton, 315 Erie Avenue, Sheboygan, Wis.;  
Louis M. Jiggitts, 808 New Merchants Bank Building, Jackson, Miss.;  
Charles Sawyer, 1218 Union Central Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio;  
Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Wolf Creek Farm, Slippery Rock, Pa.;  
Mrs. Lucretia del Valle Grady, The Highlands, Washington, D. C.;  
Miss Helen N. Hanson, box 264, Calais, Maine; Mrs. Samuel M.  
Ralston, Hoosier Home, Rural Route No. 17, Indianapolis, Ind.; A. B.  
Chandler, Versailles, Ky.; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, 1800 Foxhall  
Road, Washington, D. C.; Frank Hague, City Hall, Jersey City, N. J.;  
Mrs. Douglas W. Brown, Huntington, W. Va.

**MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES**

State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Alabama.....	Marion Rushton..... Bell Bldg., Montgomery.		Gessner T. McCorvey, Merchants Bank Bldg., Mobile.
Arizona.....	Wirt G. Bowman..... Nogales.	Mrs. Samuel White..... 102 W. Almeria, Phoenix.	Louis B. Whitney, 703 Luhrs Tower, Phoenix.
Arkansas.....		Mrs. E. W. Frost..... 212 State National Bank Bldg., Texarkana.	W. S. Atkins, Hope.
California.....	Wm. G. McAdoo..... 311 California St., San Francisco.	Mrs. Lucretia de Valle Grady..... The Highlands, Washington, D. C.	Paul Peek, 608 Insurance Bldg., Sacramento.
Colorado.....	James A. Marsh..... 703 Ernest & Cranmer Bldg., Denver.	Mrs. Marguerite P. Thompson..... 546 F. St. Salida.	
Connecticut.....	David E. Fitzgerald..... 185 Church St., New Haven.	Miss Mary Coughlin..... 3007 Main St., Stratford.	J. Francis Smith, 65 Benedict St., Waterbury.
Delaware.....	James M. Tunnell..... Georgetown.	Mrs. Marguerite Bodziak..... 839 Delaware Trust Bldg., Wilmington.	Josiah Marvel, Delaware Trust Bldg., Wilmington.
Florida.....	H. H. Wells..... Tallahassee.	Mrs. Hortense K. Wells..... Tampa.	T. T. Turnbull, Monticello.
Georgia.....	E. D. Rivers (Governor)..... Atlanta.	Mrs. Virginia P. Price..... Louisville.	Jim L. Gillis, Winecoff Hotel, Atlanta.

Idaho.....	Ramsay M. Walker..... Coeur d'Alene.	Mrs. Emma Alexander Simons..... 1019 North 9th St., Boise.	B. W. Davis, Box 1049, Pocatello.
Illinois.....	Patrick A. Nash..... Morrison Hotel, Chicago.	Mrs. Eliz. A. Conkey..... 7649 Yates Ave., Chicago.	Harry B. Hershey, 602½ E. Capitol St., Springfield.
Indiana.....	Frank M. McHale..... Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Indianapolis.	Mrs. Samuel M. Ralston..... Rural Route No. 17, Hoosier Home, Indianapolis.	Fred F. Bays, 203 Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis.
Iowa.....	Hubert Utterback..... 605 Southern Surety Bldg., Des Moines.	Mrs. Flora C. Etter..... 411 Pleasant Valley St., Sigourney.	E. H. Birmingham, Hotel Fort Des Moines, Des Moines.
Kansas.....	Lynn Brodrick..... 1000 Broadway, Marysville.	Mrs. Georgia N. Clark..... Richland.	C. M. Fitzwilliams, Allis Hotel, Wichita.
Kentucky.....	A. B. Chandler..... Versailles, or U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Sam L. Connor..... Bardstown, or Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.	Robert Humphreys, Frankfort.
Louisiana.....	Allen J. Ellender..... Houma, or U. S. Senate,, Washington, D. C. -	Mrs. Emile Bienvenue..... 419 Jung Hotel, New Orleans.	Wade O. Martin, 509 Main St., St. Martinville.
Maine.....	F. Harold Dubord..... 101 Main St., Waterville.	Miss Helen N. Hanson..... Box 264, Calais.	Fred H. Lancaster, 110 Lisbon St., Lewiston.
Maryland.....	Howard Bruce..... P. O. Box 987, Baltimore.	Mrs. Elizabeth Menefee..... 712 Maryland Ave., Cumberland.	Joshua N. Warfield, 10 E. Fayette St., Baltimore.
Massachusetts.....	Joseph McGrath..... 10 Caspian Way, Boston.	Mrs. Eliz. L. McNamara..... 239 Upland Rd., Cambridge.	William H. Burke, Jr., Room 105 Bellevue Hotel, Boston.

## MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES—Continued

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FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Michigan	Edmund C. Shields Olds Tower Bldg., Lansing.	Mrs. Clara D. Van Auken 1047 Van Dyke Ave., Detroit.	Charles S. Porritt, 212 S. Grand Ave., Lansing.
Minnesota	John P. Erickson 110 E. First St., Duluth.	Mrs. Ida McCabe Kayser 1550 Hague Ave., St. Paul.	Joseph N. Moonan, Waseca.
Mississippi	Louis M. Jiggitts 808 New Merchants Bank Bldg., Jackson.	Mrs. Mary Louise Kendall Natchez.	Herbert Holmes, Senatobia.
Missouri	James P. Aylward 1215 Commerce Bldg., Kansas City.		James P. Aylward, 1215 Commerce Bldg., Kansas City.
Montana	O. S. Warden Great Falls Tribune, Great Falls.	Mrs. Edith R. Battey 306 Clarke Ave., Billings.	Arthur F. Lamey, Montana National Bank Bldg., Havre.
Nebraska	James C. Quigley Valentine.	Mrs. Evelyn A. Ryan 206 S. Lincoln Ave., Grand Island.	James C. Quigley, Valentine.
Nevada	Edward W. Clark First State Bank Bldg., Las Vegas.	Mrs. J. Emmett Walsh Carson City.	George L. Swartz, post office box 648, Elko.
New Hampshire	Alvin A. Lucier Second National Bank Bldg., Nashua.	Mrs. Agnes Collins Dunn 21 Merrimack St., Concord.	Robert C. Murchie, Phenix Hotel, Concord.

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New Jersey	Frank Hague City Hall, Jersey City.	Mrs. James Billington 2614 Boulevard, Jersey City.	
New Mexico	A. T. Hannett 820 First National Bank Bldg., Albuquerque.		Benj. D. Luchini, Salmon Building, Santa Fe.
New York	Edward J. Flynn 2728 Spuyten Duyvil Park, Bronx.	Mrs. William H. Good 880 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.	James A. Farley, 331 Madison Ave., New York City.
North Carolina	A. D. Folger Mount Airy, or House of Rep- resentatives, Washington, D. C.	Miss Beatrice Cobb Morganton.	R. Gregg Cherry, Gastonia.
North Dakota	Charles J. Vogel Post-office box 1045, Fargo.	Miss Gertrude Dwire Minot.	Charles J. Vogel, Post-office box 1045, Fargo.
Ohio	Charles Sawyer 1218 Union Central Bank Bldg., Cincinnati.	Mrs. Mildred R. Jaster 1339 Lincoln Rd., Columbus.	Arthur L. Limbach, 247 Neil House, Columbus.
Oklahoma	Scott Ferris Cotton Exchange Bldg., Oklahoma City.	Mrs. John Catlett 2626 South St. Louis Ave., Tulsa.	France Paris, 30 East Woodrow Pl., Tulsa.
Oregon	Howard F. Latourette Suite 617, Corbett Bldg., Portland.	Mrs. Emily F. Edson 1104 Guardian Bldg., Portland.	Frank Tierney, 718 West Burnside St., Portland.
Pennsylvania	George H. Earle Haverford.	Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller Wolf Creek Farm, Slippery Rock.	David L. Lawrence, 705 Benedum-Trees Bldg., Harrisburg.
Rhode Island	Theo. Francis Green Providence, or U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Margaret M. Sullivan 73 Armstrong Ave., Providence.	John P. Hartigan, 1011 Turks Head Bldg., Providence.

FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION



## MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES—Continued

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FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
South Carolina	O. D. Johnston Whitney Hts., Spartanburg.	Mrs. L. H. Jennings Columbia.	Taylor H. Stukes, Manning.
South Dakota	W. W. Howes 1635 Myrtle St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Esther Jones 528 Main St., Redfield.	A. W. Powell, Sisseton.
Tennessee	Edward H. Crump Memphis.	Mrs. Lyon Childress 3524 West End Ave., Nashville.	Wardlaw Steele, Ripley.
Texas	John Nance Garner Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., or Uvalde, Tex.	Mrs. Clara Driscoll Box 169, Corpus Christi.	E. B. Germany, Continental Bldg., Dallas.
Utah		Mrs. J. R. Rawlins Draper.	C. W. Rawlings, Parlor L, Newhouse Hotel, Salt Lake City.
Vermont	Frank H. Duffy Rutland.	Miss Mary Mahoney 288 Maple St., Burlington.	Park H. Pollard, Proctorsville.
Virginia	Harry F. Byrd Berryville, or U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. R. C. Watts 2137 Rivermont Ave., Lynchburg.	J. M. Hooker, Stuart.
Washington	Ed. A. Carroll Wenatchee.	Mrs. Eileen Baumgarten 371 Prospect, Seattle.	D. Elwood Caples, Vancouver Arts Bldg., Vancouver.
West Virginia	Gory Hogg Lewisburg.	Mrs. Douglas W. Brown Huntington.	R. C. Andrews, P. O. Box 1210, Charleston.

Wisconsin.....	Chas. E. Broughton..... % Sheboygan Press, Sheboygan.	Mrs. Geo. N. Givan..... 2750 N. Shepard Ave., Milwaukee.	Wm. D. Carroll, Prairie du Chien.
Wyoming.....	Dr. J. R. Hylton..... 315 Center St., Douglas.	Mrs. T. S. Taliaferro, Jr..... 106 Cedar St., Rock Springs.	Platt Wilson, 609 Pine, Kemmerer.
Alaska.....	J. A. Hellenthal..... Juneau.	Mrs. Wm. A. Holzheimer..... Box 1691, Juneau.	
Canal Zone.....	Daniel McGrath..... Hay-Adams House, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. L. O. Keen..... Box 425, Balboa.	
District of Columbia.....	Malcolm S. McConihe..... 716 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.	Mrs. J. Borden Harriman..... 1800 Foxhall Road, Washington, D. C.	
Hawaii.....	John H. Wilson..... Box 2744, Honolulu.	Mrs. L. L. McCandless..... Honolulu.	
Philippine Islands.....	Robert E. Manly..... Naga, Camerines, Sur.	Miss Bessie A. Dwyer..... Manila.	
Puerto Rico.....	Benj. J. Horton..... Potomac Hotel, Washington, D. C.		
Virgin Islands.....	Halvor Berg..... Fredricksted, St. Croix.	Mrs. Norman E. Mack..... 1100 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.	

(Furnished by the Democratic National Committee)

## REPUBLICAN PARTY COMMITTEES

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### OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Address: 718 Jackson Place NW, Washington, D. C.

*Chairman.*—John Hamilton, 718 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

*Vice chairmen.*—Ralph E. Williams, 1202 Porter Building, Portland, Oreg.; Daniel E. Pomeroy, Englewood, N. J.; Mrs. John E. Hillman, Delta, Colo.; Mrs. Worthington Scranton, 800 Linden Street, Scranton, Pa.

*Secretary.*—Harold W. Mason, Brattleboro, Vt.

*Treasurer.*—C. B. Goodspeed, 619 Railway Exchange Building, Chicago, Ill.

*Treasurer, eastern division.*—Sinclair Weeks, 426 Statler Building, Boston, Mass.

*General counsel.*—Henry P. Fletcher, Annandale Road, Newport, R. I. (Winter address: 563 Park Avenue, New York City.)

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(In addition to officers who are ex officio members)

Robert P. Burroughs, New Hampshire	Mrs. Margaret Wyeth, Missouri
Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Massachusetts	Mrs. Horace H. Sayre, Oklahoma
Mrs. Paul FitzSimons, Rhode Island	R. B. Creager, Texas
Walter S. Hallanan, West Virginia	Mrs. Bertha D. Baur, Illinois
Harrison E. Spangler, Iowa	Ezra R. Whitla, Idaho
	S. F. Pryor, Jr., Connecticut
	F. F. Taggart, Ohio
	Harvey Jewett, Jr., South Dakota
	Daniel O. Hastings, Delaware

**MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES**

State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Alabama	B. L. Noojin Gadsden.	Mrs. Pearl Wates Route 5, box 37a, Birmingham.	Dr. Joseph C. Swann, Wedowee.
Arizona	Ned Creighton 601 Luhrs Bldg., Phoenix.	Mrs. Robert Lincoln Hoyal 1553 12th St., Douglas.	Charles McQuillan, 511 W. 4th St., Winslow.
Arkansas	Wallace Townsend Commerical National Bank Bldg., Little Rock.	Mrs. A. C. Remmel 22 Armistead Rd., Little Rock.	Osro Cobb, 825 Southern Bldg., Little Rock.
California	Wm. F. Knowland Oakland.	Mrs. Edith Van de Water 4130 Chestnut Ave., Long Beach.	Bradford M. Melvin, Balfour Bldg., San Francisco.
Colorado	Charles R. Enos 622 Midland Savings Bldg., Denver.	Mrs. John E. Hillman Delta.	J. Edgar Chenoweth, Brown Palace Hotel, Denver.
Connecticut	Samuel F. Pryor, Jr Greenwich.	Miss Katherine Byrne Heublein Hotel Bldg., Hartford.	Benjamin Harwood, Chester.
Delaware	Daniel O. Hastings Wilmington.	Mrs. F. G. Tallman 1401 West 10th St., Wilmington.	Ebe W. Chandler, 270-1 Delaware Trust Bldg., Wilmington.
Florida	J. Leonard Replogle Paramount Bldg., Palm Beach.	Mrs. Myra Brown Route 5, box 819, Tampa.	C. H. McNulty, Melbourne.

FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

## MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES—Continued

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FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Georgia	James W. Arnold Athens.	Mrs. Bertha M. Field Marietta.	Clint W. Hagèr, 412 Atlanta National Bank Bldg., Atlanta.
Idaho	Ezra R. Whitla Coeur d'Alene.	Mrs. Emma Clouchek Twin Falls.	Tom Heath, Owyhee Hotel, Boise.
Illinois	Hill Blackett 221 N. La Salle St., Chicago.	Mrs. Bertha D. Baur 1511 Astor St., Chicago.	A. K. Stiles, Sycamore.
Indiana	Wm. G. Irwin Columbus.	Mrs. Grace B. Reynolds Cambridge City.	Arch N. Bobbitt, 1154 Consolidated Bldg., Indianapolis.
Iowa	Harrison E. Spangler Merchant's National Bank Bldg., Cedar Rapids.	Miss Martha McClure Mount Pleasant.	Harry Swan, Atlantic.
Kansas	John Hamilton New England Bldg., Topeka; or 718 Jackson Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Ralph A. Harris 424 Elm St., Ottawa.	Walter S. Fees, 626 Kansas Ave., Topeka.
Kentucky	John M. Perkins Frankfort.	Mrs. Christine Bradley South Frankfort.	Thomas S. Yates, Grayson.
Louisiana	John E. Jackson 1442 Canal Bank Bldg., New Orleans.	Mrs. Julia Grimmet Fortson Ricou-Brewster Bldg., Shreveport.	Philip H. Mecom, Slattery Bldg., Shreveport.

Maine.....	William S. Linnell..... Canal Bank Bldg., 192 Middle St., Portland.	Miss Marion E. Martin..... 166 Webster Ave., Bangor; or 718 Jackson Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.	J. Fred O'Connell, 16 State St., Bangor.
Maryland.....	O. E. Weller..... Munsey Bldg., Baltimore.	Mrs. Edmonia Lawson..... 4016 Main Ave., Baltimore.	W. David Tilghman, Jr., 100 N. Eutaw St., Baltimore.
Massachusetts.....	Joseph W. Martin, Jr..... North Attleboro; or House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Margaret A. Green..... 84 Park Slope, Holyoke.	George W. Schryver, Williamstown.
Michigan.....	James E. Davidson..... Bay City.	Mrs. Jacob Steketee..... 304 Grand Rapids Trust Bldg., Grand Rapids.	James F. Thomson, Lansing.
Minnesota.....	Roy E. Dunn..... 1001 Pioneer Bldg., St. Paul.	Mrs. Chris Carlson..... Blue Earth.	Dr. R. C. Radabaugh, Hastings.
Mississippi.....	Perry W. Howard..... Jackson; or 613 F. St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Mary C. Booze..... Mound Bayou.	Dr. S. D. Redmond, Jackson.
Missouri.....	Arthur M. Curtis..... Springfield.	Mrs. Margaret Wyeth..... 2916 Frederick Blvd., St. Joseph.	Barak T. Mattingly, 418 Olive St., St. Louis.
Montana.....	Dan Whetstone..... Cut Bank.	Mrs. Orvis Evans..... Hennessey Bldg., Butte.	E. K. Cheadle, Jr., Shelby.
Nebraska.....	Hugh A. Butler..... Grain Exchange Bldg., Omaha.	Mrs. Curry W. Watson..... Lincoln.	Lyle E. Jackson, Neligh.

## MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES—Continued

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State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Nevada.....	Lester D. Summerfield..... 404-408 First National Bank Bldg., Reno.	Mrs. Oline C. Stewart..... Tonopah.	Forrest W. Eccles, 432 Virginia St. N., Reno.
New Hampshire.....	Robert P. Burroughs..... Manchester.	Mrs. Edward D. Toland..... Ashbrook Farm, Concord.	Wm. J. Britton, 13 Capitol St., Concord.
New Jersey.....	Daniel E. Pomeroy..... Englewood.	Mrs. Edna B. Conklin..... 133 Prospect Ave., Hackensack.	Clayton E. Freeman, 83 Ridgewood Ave., Glen Ridge.
New Mexico.....	Cyrus McCormick..... Santa Fe.	Mrs. E. L. Moulton..... 129 S. 14th St., Albuquerque.	J. J. Emmons, Franciscan Hotel, Albuquerque.
New York.....	Kenneth F. Simpson..... 54 W. 40th St., New York City.	Mrs. Ruth Baker Pratt..... 435 E. 52d St., New York City.	William S. Murray, 41 E. 42d St., New York City.
North Carolina.....	Charles A. Jonas..... Lincolnton.	Mrs. Lindsay Patterson..... Robert E. Lee Hotel, Winston-Salem.	Jake F. Newell, Charlotte.
North Dakota.....	William Stern..... Dakota National Bank, Fargo.	Mrs. V. E. Stenersen..... Minot.	John Gray, Bismarck.
Ohio.....	F. F. Taggart..... 7047 Ohio Merchants Trust Bldg., Massillon.	Mrs. Katharine Kennedy Brown..... P. O. Box 324, Dayton.	Ed D. Schorr, 33 N. High St., Columbus.

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Oklahoma	Wm. G. Skelly Tulsa.	Mrs. Horace H. Sayre Ardmore.	T. R. Blaine, Kingfisher.
Oregon	Ralph E. Williams 1202 Porter Bldg., Portland.	Mrs. Charles E. Runyon 3838 NE. Alameda, Portland.	Kern Crandall, 801 Corbett Bldg., Portland.
Pennsylvania	G. Mason Owlett Wellsboro.	Mrs. Worthington Seranton 800 Linden St., Scranton.	James F. Torrance, Front and Market Sts., Harrisburg.
Rhode Island	Jesse H. Metcalf Providence.	Mrs. Paul FitzSimons Post-office box 403, Newport.	I. Thornton Sherman, Middletown.
South Carolina	Joseph W. Tolbert Ninety Six.	Miss Julia Elizabeth Tolbert Post-office box 592, Greenwood.	Joseph W. Tolbert, Ninety Six.
South Dakota	Harvey Jewett, Jr Aberdeen.	Mrs. Paul Rewman Pierre.	J. D. Coon, 125 S. Maine Ave., Sioux Falls.
Tennessee	B. Carroll Reece Johnson City, or House or Representatives, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Ruby Roach McLane 3708 Richland Ave., Nashville.	W. I. Davis, Tazewell.
Texas	R. B. Creager Brownsville.	Mrs. Lena Gay More Brownsville.	Hugh E. Exum, Amarillo.
Utah	George Snyder Felt Bldg., Salt Lake City.	Mrs. Jesse F. Cannon 1437 Gilmer Drive, Salt Lake City.	David J. Wilson, Eccles Bldg., Ogden.
Vermont	Harold W. Mason Brattleboro.	Miss Consuelo Northrop Burlington.	Harry G. Hunter, East Corinth.
Virginia	Henry A. Wise Kiptopeke.	Mrs. Murray Boocock Keswick.	Clarence R. Ahalt, Arlington Court House, Arlington.



## MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMEN OF THE STATE COMMITTEES—Continued

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State	National committeeman	National committeewoman	State chairman
Washington	Miller Freeman 1128 Vance Bldg., Seattle.	Mrs. J. T. Urquhart 311 Linden Way, Yakima.	Tom Oakshott, Colville.
West Virginia	Walter S. Hallanan 1017 Kanawha Valley Bldg., Charleston.	Mrs. Cara L. Ebert Post-office box 132; or 430 Juliana St., Parkersburg.	Robert H. C. Kay, Charleston National Bank Bldg., Charleston.
Wisconsin	P. J. E. Wood Janesville.	Mrs. Harry E. Thomas 1229 North 4th St., Sheboygan.	Dr. F. L. Gullickson, Lorraine Hotel, Madison.
Wyoming	Frank O. Horton Buffalo, or House of Represent- atives, Washington, D. C.	Mrs. James Reynolds Sheridan.	James B. Griffith, Post-office box 909, Cheyenne.
Alaska	E. A. Rasmuson Skagway.	Mrs. Margaret E. White Juneau.	Elton Engstrom, Douglas.
District of Columbia	E. F. Colladay 2d National Bank Bldg., 1333 G St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Mrs. Virginia W. Speel 2101 N St. NW., apt. 5, Washington, D. C.	James C. Wilkes, 1010 Vermont Ave. NW., Washington, D. C.
Hawaii	James P. Winne c/o Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., Honolulu.	Mrs. Muriel Shingle Amalu Post-office box 2161, Honolulu.	
Philippine Islands	John W. Haussermann Manila.	Miss Marguerite Wolfson Manila.	
Puerto Rico	Juan B. Huyke San Juan.		

(Furnished by the Republican National Committee)

FACTUAL CAMPAIGN INFORMATION

## DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1936

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a representative government is its ability to promote the safety and happiness of the people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican leadership left our Nation sorely stricken in body, mind, and spirit; and that 3 years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and restored the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that this 3-year recovery in all the basic values of life and the reestablishment of the American way of living has been brought about by humanizing the policies of the Federal Government as they affect the personal, financial, industrial, and agricultural well-being of the American people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are:

- (1) Protection of the family and the home.
- (2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity for all the people.
- (3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through 12 years of the old leadership, have once more been recognized by American Government. Under the new leadership they will never be neglected.

### FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

(1) We have begun and shall continue the successful drive to rid our land of kidnapers and bandits. We shall continue to use the powers of government to end the activities of the malefactors of great wealth who defraud and exploit the people.

### SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT

(2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other people's savings, by requiring truth in the sale of securities; by putting the brakes upon the use of credit for speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of prices in stock and commodity markets; by curbing the overweening power and unholy practices of utility holding companies; by insuring 50 million bank accounts.

## OLD AGE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

(3) We have built foundations for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment and old age; for the orphaned, the crippled, and the blind. On the foundation of the Social Security Act we are determined to erect a structure of economic security for all our people, making sure that this benefit shall keep step with the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

## CONSUMER

(4) We will act to secure to the consumer fair value, honest sales, and a decreased spread between the price he pays and the price the producer receives.

## RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

(5) This administration has fostered power-rate yardsticks in the Tennessee Valley and in several other parts of the Nation. As a result electricity has been made available to the people at a lower rate. We will continue to promote plans for rural electrification and for cheap power by means of the yardstick method.

## HOUSING

(6) We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford. In the last 3 years the Federal Government, having saved more than 2 million homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meager incomes. We believe every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise, and that the Government should steadily extend its housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessities to live in unhealthy and slum conditions.

## VETERANS

(7) We shall continue just treatment of our war veterans and their dependents.

## FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRACY OF OPPORTUNITY

## AGRICULTURE

We have taken the farmers off the road to ruin.

We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The farmer is no longer suffering from 15-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 2½-cent beef at the farm, 5-cent wool, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton, and 3-cent sugar.

By Federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness and doubled his net income. In cooperation with the States and through the farmer's own committees, we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity and good roads to his home.

We will continue to improve the soil-conservation and domestic-allotment program with payments to farmers.

We will continue a fair-minded administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We recognize the gravity of the evils of farm tenancy, and we pledge the full cooperation of the Government in the refinancing of farm indebtedness at the lowest possible rates of interest and over a long term of years.

We favor the production of all the market will absorb, both at home and abroad, plus a reserve supply sufficient to insure fair prices to consumers; we favor judicious commodity loans on seasonal surpluses; and we favor assistance within Federal authority to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit to the farmers.

We favor encouragement of sound, practical farm cooperatives.

By the purchase and retirement of 10 million acres of submarginal land, and assistance to those attempting to eke out an existence upon it, we have made a good beginning toward proper land use and rural rehabilitation.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

#### LABOR

We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republican's dinner pail full of promises. We have increased the worker's pay and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers; we have provided Federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of all commodities, including coal and water power and other natural-resource products.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

#### BUSINESS

We have taken the American businessman out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cutthroat competition.

The American businessman has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

#### YOUTH

We have aided youth to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened the door to opportunity which 12 years of Republican neglect had closed.

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them on that road.

## MONOPOLY AND CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

Monopolies and the concentration of economic power, the creation of Republican rule and privilege, continue to be the master of the producer, the exploiter of the consumer, and the enemy of the independent operator. This is a problem challenging the unceasing effort of untrammelled public officials in every branch of the Government. We pledge vigorously and fearlessly to enforce the criminal and civil provisions of the existing antitrust laws, and to the extent that their effectiveness has been weakened by new corporate devices or judicial construction, we propose by law to restore their efficacy in stamping out monopolistic practices and the concentration of economic power.

## AID TO THOSE OVERTAKEN BY DISASTER

We have aided and will continue to aid those who have been visited by wide-spread drought and floods and have adopted a Nation-wide flood-control policy.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

We believe that unemployment is a national problem, and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way. Due to our stimulation of private business, more than 5 million people have been reemployed, and we shall continue to maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment in private industry at adequate wages. Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided in cooperation with State and local governments on useful public projects, to the end that the national wealth may be increased, the skill and energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained, and the unemployed assured the opportunity to earn the necessities of life.

## THE CONSTITUTION

The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate States. We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclusively by 48 separate State legislatures, 48 separate State administrations, and 48 separate State courts. Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow State boundaries call for both State and Federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within the Constitution.

If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the State and Federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety, and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

## THE MERIT SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT

For the protection of government itself and promotion of its efficiency we pledge the immediate extension of the merit system through the classified civil service—which was first established and fostered under Democratic auspices—to all nonpolicy-making positions in the Federal service.

We shall subject to the civil-service law all continuing positions which, because of the emergency, have been exempt from its operation.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

We shall continue to guard the freedom of speech, press, radio, religion, and assembly which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

## GOVERNMENT FINANCE

The administration has stopped deflation, restored values, and enabled business to go ahead with confidence.

When national income shrinks, Government income is imperiled. In reviving national income, we have fortified Government finance. We have raised the public credit to a position of unsurpassed security. The interest rate on Government bonds has been reduced to the lowest point in 28 years. The same Government bonds which in 1932 sold under 83 are now selling over 104.

We approve the objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value which injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand, and wage earners and creditors on the other, a currency which will permit full utilization of the country's resources. We assert that today we have the soundest currency in the world.

We are determined to reduce the expenses of government. We are being aided therein by the recession in unemployment. As the requirements of relief decline and national income advances, an increasing percentage of Federal expenditures can and will be met from current revenues, secured from taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay. Our retrenchment, tax, and recovery programs thus reflect our firm determination to achieve a balanced budget and the reduction of the national debt at the earliest possible moment.

## FOREIGN POLICY

In our relationship with other nations, this Government will continue to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. We reaffirm our opposition to war as an instrument of national policy, and declare that disputes between nations should be settled by peaceful means. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking, or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas, and embargoes which

have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but continue as in the past to give adequate protection to our farmers and manufacturers against unfair competition or the dumping on our shores of commodities and goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

#### THE ISSUE

The issue in this election is plain. The American people are called upon to choose between a Republican administration that has and would again regiment them in the service of privileged groups and a Democratic administration dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people.

We have faith in the destiny of our Nation. We are sufficiently endowed with natural resources and with productive capacity to provide for all a quality of life that meets the standards of real Americanism.

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose equally the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism.

We hold this final truth to be self-evident—that the interests, the security, and the happiness of the people of the United States of America can be perpetuated only under democratic government as conceived by the founders of our Nation.

## REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1936

America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity, and their character as free citizens, which today for the first time are threatened by government itself.

For 3 long years the New Deal administration has dishonored American traditions and flagrantly betrayed the pledges upon which the Democratic Party sought and received public support.

The powers of Congress have been usurped by the President.

The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flaunted.

The rights and liberties of American citizens have been violated.

Regulated monopoly has displaced free enterprise.

The New Deal administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the States and to the people.

It has insisted on the passage of laws contrary to the Constitution.

It has intimidated witnesses and interfered with the right of petition.

It has dishonored our country by repudiating its most sacred obligations.

It has been guilty of frightful waste and extravagance, using public funds for partisan political purposes.

It has promoted investigations to harass and intimidate American citizens, at the same time denying investigations into its own improper expenditures.

It has created a vast multitude of new offices, filled them with its favorites, set up a centralized bureaucracy, and sent out swarms of inspectors to harass our people.

It has bred fear and hesitation in commerce and industry, thus discouraging new enterprises, preventing employment, and prolonging the depression.

It secretly has made tariff agreements with our foreign competitors, flooding our markets with foreign commodities.

It has coerced and intimidated voters by withholding relief from those opposing its tyrannical policies.

It has destroyed the morale of many of our people and made them dependent upon government.

Appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance.

To a free people these actions are insufferable. This campaign cannot be waged on the traditional differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. The responsibility of this election transcends all previous political divisions. We invite all Americans, irrespective of party, to join us in defense of American institutions.



## CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

We pledge ourselves—

1. To maintain the American system of constitutional and local self-government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, the final protector of the rights of our citizens against the arbitrary encroachments of the legislative and executive branches of government. There can be no individual liberty without an independent judiciary.

2. To preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity, and to seek its constant betterment in the interests of all.

## REEMPLOYMENT

The only permanent solution of the unemployment problem is the absorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture. To that end we advocate—

Removal of restrictions on production.

Abandonment of all New Deal policies that raise production costs, increase the cost of living, and thereby restrict buying, reduce volume, and prevent reemployment.

Encouragement instead of hindrance to legitimate business.

Withdrawal of Government from competition with private pay rolls.

Elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations.

Adoption of such other policies as will furnish a chance for individual enterprise, industrial expansion, and the restoration of jobs.

## RELIEF

The necessities of life must be provided for the needy, and hope must be restored pending recovery. The administration of relief is a major failure of the New Deal. It has been faithless to those who most deserve our sympathy. To end confusion, partisanship, waste, and incompetence we pledge—

1. The return of responsibility for relief administration to non-political local agencies familiar with community problems.

2. Federal grants-in-aid to the States and Territories while the need exists upon compliance with these conditions: (a) a fair proportion of the total relief burden to be provided from the revenues of State and local governments; (b) all engaged in relief administration to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness; (c) adequate provision to be made for the encouragement of those persons who are trying to become self-supporting.

3. Undertaking of Federal public works only on their merits and separate from the administration of relief.

4. A prompt determination of the facts concerning relief and unemployment.

## SECURITY

Real security will be possible only when our productive capacity is sufficient to furnish a decent standard of living for all American families and to provide a surplus for future needs and contingencies. For the attainment of that ultimate objective we look to the energy,

self-reliance, and character of our people, and to our system of free enterprise.

Society has an obligation to promote the security of the people by affording some measure of protection against involuntary unemployment and dependency in old age. The New Deal policies, while purporting to provide social security, have, in fact, endangered it.

We propose a system of old-age security, based upon the following principles:

1. We approve a pay-as-you-go policy, which requires of each generation the support of the aged and the determination of what is just and adequate.

2. Every American citizen over 65 should receive the supplementary payment necessary to provide a minimum income sufficient to protect him or her from want.

3. Each State and Territory, upon complying with simple and general minimum standards, should receive from the Federal Government a graduated contribution in proportion to its own, up to a fixed maximum.

4. To make this program consistent with sound fiscal policy the Federal revenues for this purpose must be provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed. All will be benefited and all should contribute.

We propose to encourage adoption by the States and Territories of honest and practical measures for meeting the problems of unemployment insurance.

The unemployment insurance and old-age annuity sections of the present Social Security Act are unworkable and deny benefits to about two-thirds of our adult population, including professional men and women and all those engaged in agriculture and domestic service and the self-employed, while imposing heavy tax burdens upon all. The so-called reserve fund estimated at \$47,000,000,000 for old-age insurance is no reserve at all, because the fund will contain nothing but the Government's promise to pay, while the taxes collected in the guise of premiums will be wasted by the Government in reckless and extravagant political schemes.

#### LABOR

The welfare of labor rests upon increased production and the prevention of exploitation. We pledge ourselves to—

Protect the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source.

Prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor.

Support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages, and working conditions. We believe that this can be done within the Constitution as it now stands.

#### AGRICULTURE

The farm problem is an economic and social, not a partisan, problem, and we propose to treat it accordingly. Following the wreck of the restrictive and coercive A. A. A., the New Deal administration

has taken to itself the principles of the Republican policy of soil conservation and land retirement. This action opens the way for a nonpolitical and permanent solution. Such a solution cannot be had under a New Deal administration which misuses the program to serve partisan ends, to promote scarcity and to limit by coercive methods the farmer's control over his own farm.

Our paramount object is to protect and foster the family type of farm, traditional in American life, and to promote policies which will bring about an adjustment of agriculture to meet the needs of domestic and foreign markets. As an emergency measure, during the agricultural depression, Federal benefit payments or grants-in-aid when administered within the means of the Federal Government are consistent with a balanced Budget.

We propose—

1. To facilitate economical production and increased consumption on a basis of abundance instead of scarcity.

2. A national land-use program, including the acquisition of abandoned and nonproductive farm land by voluntary sale or lease, subject to approval of the legislative and executive branches of the States concerned, and the devotion of such land to appropriate public use, such as watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, recreation, and conservation of wildlife.

3. That an agricultural policy be pursued for the protection and restoration of the land resources, designed to bring about such a balance between soil-building and soil-depleting crops as will permanently insure productivity, with reasonable benefits to cooperating farmers on family-type farms, but so regulated as to eliminate the New Deal's destructive policy toward the dairy and livestock industries.

4. To extend experimental aid to farmers developing new crops suited to our soil and climate.

5. To promote the industrial use of farm products by applied science.

6. To protect the American farmer against the importation of all livestock, dairy, and agricultural products, substitutes therefor, and derivatives therefrom, which will depress American farm prices.

7. To provide effective quarantine against imported livestock, dairy, and other farm products from countries which do not impose health and sanitary regulations fully equal to those required of our own producers.

8. To provide for ample farm credit at rates as low as those enjoyed by other industries, including commodity and livestock loans, and preference in land loans to the farmer acquiring or refinancing a farm as a home.

9. To provide for decentralized, nonpartisan control of the Farm Credit Administration and the election by national farm loan associations of at least one-half of each board of directors of the Federal land banks, and thereby remove these institutions from politics.

10. To provide in the case of agricultural products of which there are exportable surpluses, the payment of reasonable benefits upon the domestically consumed portion of such crops in order to make the tariff effective. These payments are to be limited to the production level of the family-type farm.

11. To encourage and further develop cooperative marketing.

12. To furnish Government assistance in disposing of surpluses in foreign trade by bargaining for foreign markets selectively by countries both as to exports and imports. We strenuously oppose so-called reciprocal treaties which trade off the American farmer.

13. To give every reasonable assistance to producers in areas suffering from temporary disaster, so that they may regain and maintain a self-supporting status.

#### TARIFF

Nearly 60 percent of all imports into the United States are now free of duty. The other 40 percent of imports compete directly with the product of our industry. We would keep on the free list all products not grown or produced in the United States in commercial quantities. As to all commodities that commercially compete with our farms, our forests, our mines, our fisheries, our oil wells, our labor, and our industries, sufficient protection should be maintained at all times to defend the American farmer and the American wage earner from the destructive competition emanating from the subsidies of foreign governments and the imports from low-wage and depreciated-currency countries.

We will repeal the present reciprocal-trade-agreement law. It is futile and dangerous. Its effect on agriculture and industry has been destructive. Its continuation would work to the detriment of the wage earner and the farmer.

We will restore the principle of the flexible tariff in order to meet changing economic conditions here and abroad and broaden by careful definition the powers of the Tariff Commission in order to extend this policy along nonpartisan lines.

We will adjust tariffs with a view to promoting international trade, the stabilization of currencies, and the attainment of a proper balance between agriculture and industry.

We condemn the secret negotiation of reciprocal-trade treaties without public hearing or legislative approval.

#### MONOPOLIES

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. It menaces and, if continued, will utterly destroy constitutional government and the liberty of the citizen.

We favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws, as well as the civil laws, against monopolies and trusts and their officials, and we demand the enactment of such additional legislation as is necessary to make it impossible for private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We will employ the full powers of the Government to the end that monopoly shall be eliminated and that free enterprise shall be fully restored and maintained.

#### REGULATION OF BUSINESS

We recognize the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary. The authority to regulate should be vested in an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards.

Their determinations on law and facts should be subject to review by the courts. We favor Federal regulation, within the Constitution, of the marketing of securities to protect investors. We favor also Federal regulation of the interstate activities of public utilities.

#### CIVIL SERVICE

Under the New Deal official authority has been given to inexperienced and incompetent persons. The civil service has been sacrificed to create a national political machine. As a result the Federal Government has never presented such a picture of confusion and inefficiency.

We pledge ourselves to the merit system, virtually destroyed by New Deal spoilsmen. It should be restored, improved, and extended.

We will provide such conditions as offer an attractive permanent career in Government service to young men and women of ability, irrespective of party affiliations.

#### GOVERNMENT FINANCE

The New Deal administration has been characterized by shameful waste and general financial irresponsibility. It has piled deficit upon deficit. It threatens national bankruptcy and the destruction through inflation of insurance policies and savings-bank deposits.

We pledge ourselves to—

Stop the folly of uncontrolled spending.

Balance the Budget—not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately.

Revise the Federal tax system and coordinate it with State and local tax systems.

Use the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes.

#### MONEY AND BANKING

We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards.

The first requisite to a sound and stable currency is a balanced budget.

We oppose further devaluation of the dollar.

We will restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof by repealing all the laws delegating this authority to the Executive.

We will cooperate with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our national interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

We pledge ourselves to promote and maintain peace by all honorable means not leading to foreign alliances or political commitments.

Obedient to the traditional foreign policy of America and to the repeatedly expressed will of the American people, we pledge that America shall not become a member of the League of Nations nor of the World Court, nor shall America take on any entangling alliances in foreign affairs.

We shall promote, as the best means of securing and maintaining peace by the pacific settlement of disputes, the great cause of international arbitration through the establishment of free, independent tribunals, which shall determine such disputes in accordance with law, equity, and justice.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

We favor an Army and Navy, including air forces, adequate for our national defense.

We will cooperate with other nations in the limitation of armaments and control of traffic in arms.

#### BILL OF RIGHTS

We pledge ourselves to preserve, protect, and defend, against all intimidation and threat, freedom of religion, speech, press, and radio; and the right of assembly and petition and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures.

We offer the abiding security of a government of laws as against the autocratic perils of a government of men.

#### FURTHERMORE

1. We favor the construction by the Federal Government of head-water storage basins to prevent floods, subject to the approval of the legislative and executive branches of the government of the States whose lands are concerned.

2. We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies, and the civil service.

We condemn the present New Deal policies which would regiment and ultimately eliminate the colored citizen from the country's productive life and make him solely a ward of the Federal Government.

3. To our Indian population we pledge every effort on the part of the National Government to ameliorate living conditions for them.

4. We pledge continuation of the Republican policy of adequate compensation and care for veterans disabled in the service of our country and for their widows, orphans, and dependents.

5. We shall use every effort to collect the war debt due us from foreign countries, amounting to \$12,000,000,000—one-third of our national debt. No effort has been made by the present administration even to reopen negotiations.

6. We are opposed to legislation which discriminates against women in Federal and State employment.

#### CONCLUSION

We assume the obligations and duties imposed upon government by modern conditions. We affirm our unalterable conviction that, in the future as in the past, the fate of the Nation will depend not so much on the wisdom and power of government as on the character

and virtue, self-reliance, industry, and thrift of the people and on their willingness to meet the responsibilities essential to the preservation of a free society.

Finally, as our party affirmed in its first platform in 1856: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among our citizens we oppose all legislation tending to impair them", and "we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared."

The acceptance of the nomination tendered by this convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth.