dictate that Labor's vote split badly for the Democrats. Indiana elected Thomas R. Marshall Governor, but went for Taft; Ohio chose Judson Harmon but voted against Bryan.

Yet the campaign Bryan made was wonderfully effective, and so gallant and clean that when defeated even his opponents felt and expressed sympathy and admiration for him, and the support he had received was almost equal to a victory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Popular Vote</th>
<th>Electoral Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>7,670,000</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>6,969,100</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>420,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition</td>
<td>283,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>83,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taft's majority over all was 479,000, over Bryan 1,270,000. But Bryan's vote exceeded by more than that Parker's vote of four years before. He had apparently brought back more than a million into the Democratic fold. In a dignified statement made after the election he announced that he would not again be a candidate.

There was a Presidency in the making all during Taft's administration. A new leader of Democracy was emerging, Woodrow Wilson.

CHAPTER XXIX

TAFT—THE 1912 CONVENTION—WILSON


The Democratic Party at different times had been pronounced as dead as slavery, as dead as free trade, as dead as free silver. After the 1908 defeat numerous obituaries of the party appeared in Republican publications and were pronounced in Republican speeches. The political coroners were many and positive.

Taft's platform had promised tariff revision to correct some inequalities. The Payne bill, of the sixty-first Congress, amended by the Senate in 847 items and become the Payne-Alrich bill, was the most thoroughgoing and highest tariff measure ever enacted by Congress. Taft, after ensuring many features of it, characterizing the wool schedule as "indefensible," signed it. Later he called it the "best tariff bill ever passed."

The Democrats controlling the House in the sixty-second Congress, with the aid of La Follette and other insurgents in the Senate, passed the Underwood-La Follette tariff bills, reducing the duties on woolen and cotton goods and establishing the "Farmers' Free List," all of which Taft vetoed. There had been many alliances between Tariff Democrats and Republicans; this was the first combination between Democrats and Tariff Reform Republicans. The Democratic House passed the wool and steel bills over the veto, but the Senate would not. Another policy of the Taft administration had a great political effect. This was the handling by Ballinger; Secretary of the Interior, of our public lands. His predecessor under Roosevelt, James A. Garfield, Jr., had withdrawn from entry 1,500,000 acres conserving water power sites; Ballinger restored 2,200,000 of these.

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acres to private entry, claiming that the 300,000 acres still withheld was ample to retain water power rights. Following that, R. L. Glavis, a very zealous officer of the Land Office, was summarily discharged for resisting the granting of extensive claims to rich coal mines in Alaska to some of Ballinger's former clients, lands containing enormous coal deposits, much timber and important water power sites, the real beneficiaries appearing to be the Guggenheims, themselves. Roosevelt's intimate friend, Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forestry Bureau, took Glavis' part, and he too was driven from the service. Taft stood firmly by his cabinet officer. Thus he not only revoked one of Roosevelt's favorite policies—Conservation—but rebuked Roosevelt's friend and fellow in this work. A personal coolness, too, arose about this time between these two men, having a certain political effect later.

There was nothing new in either the public land or tariff policy of the Taft administration. One of the first questions our government had to deal with was our public domain. In 1790 Hamilton made a report on the subject. Characteristically he favored selling the land in large quantities to "the moneyed class" and allowing the benefit to trickle down through them to the common people who would live on it and work it. He was then partisanship accused of wishing to keep labor in the manufacturing districts where it could be exploited by capital. He advised sales of public lands ten miles square—a square, while requiring cash for small tracts to settlers. Jefferson and Gallatin were supporters of sales to actual settlers. In 1804, under Jefferson, a law was passed allowing sales to settlers of tracts as small as 160 acres. Benton stated the Democratic doctrine—"This is a Republic, not a monarchy; the public lands belong to the People, not to the Federal Government."

The Democratic policy had always been to sell at a low price to actual settlers. No grant of land had been made by Congress to a corporation under a Democratic administration. But the grants to railroads by the Republicans soon amounted to 181,000,000 acres, and through them syndicates and wealthy individuals, some foreign, acquired vast tracts—the Holland Land Company, 4,500,000 acres; Sir Richard Reid and syndicate, 2,000,000; an English syndicate, 1,800,000; Marquis of Tweeddale, 1,750,000; Philips, Marshall & Company of London, 1,300,000; a German syndicate, 1,100,000; Duke of Sutherland, 700,000 acres. Nearly 20,000,000 acres in such large tracts were held by syndicates and speculators in 1871. It was an achievement the Democrats boasted of, that under Cleveland's first administration Lamar recovered 100,000,000 acres of this public land which had been forfeited.

Therefore Ballinger in the Taft administration in facilitating the acquisition of public lands by the Guggenheims and other captains of industry, and Fall and his associates in the Harding administration in transferring Elk Hills and Teapot Dome to DuPont's and Sinclair's hands, were all pursuing the policy of Hamilton and of the Republican Party. Corruption, of course, was no part of that policy.

The record of the Democratic House of the Sixty-second Congress was a source of strength to the party; it laid a solid foundation for Democratic victories in 1912. Among its achievements was the revulsion of the House rules ridding it of caucuses, the passage of various tariff reduction bills, the adoption of a resolution to amend the Constitution so as to secure the popular election of Senators, the bill for publicity of campaign contributions, the law against the abuse of the writ of injunction, the law for an eight-hour day for workmen in the government employ, support of the navy, economy and other sound service, such as the Pujo House committee investigation of the money trust. This investigation developed facts supporting the Carlisle-Eckels elastic asset currency theory, and was one of the steps in the evolution of the Democratic triumph—the Federal Reserve System.

So it was that in 1912 when the split came in the Republican Party the Democrats were in fine position to take advantage of it.

Another thing that gave life and inspiration to the party was the appearance in the national field of a new leader, one who, many thought, measured up to the standard of the party's best traditions—Woodrow Wilson.

For more than a year before the 1912 convention four leading men were prominently before the party as candidates for the Presidential nomination—Speaker of the House Champ Clark of Missouri, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Oscar Underwood of Alabama, leader in the House, and Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio. The two first were regarded as Progressives, the two last as Conservatives; some classed them as reactionaries.

Wilson as Governor had won national fame for progressive legislation and by bold and successful opposition to boss rule in New Jersey. Clark, in the Seventy-third Congress, had long been a popular and distinguished member of Congress; he was famous for political and oratorical ability.
Democrat in the eyes of the public most conspicuously identified with resolution; he asked that they join in opposing this selection, by the full National Committee and the convention. Clark, Underwood and Harmon were very properly declined to interfere; Wilson with equal propriety, and consistently with his political principles and methods, replied, "You are quite right." The convention, he continued, was to be a convention of Progressives, and Bryan was entirely within his rights as a delegate in his demand.

When Parker's name was presented to the convention, Bryan, without criticizing Parker or even naming him, proposed Kern for temporary chairman. This convention, he said, in closing a powerful speech, should not be opened by a paralyzing speech from a Wall Street Conservative.

Kern, expressing great esteem and regard for Parker, suggested that both Parker and he withdraw and join in selecting O'Gorman, Culberson, Clayton, Luke Lea, Governor Campbell, Folk, Shively or Ollie James. Receiving no sign of acceptance, he said, that if there was to be a contest, there was but one man who should lead the Progressives and that man was William Jennings Bryan.

The vote was Parker, 579; Bryan, 508. The Underwood and Harmon delegates voted generally for Parker; the Clark support divided. The Wilson delegations from Pennsylvania, Texas and New Jersey went practically solid for Bryan. The selection was made unanimous. The Wilson leaders were not discouraged at Bryan's defeat; the result was close in the first place, and in the second place it was regarded by some as removing one great danger to Wilson's success—Bryan's possible nomination—leaving Wilson the one unquestioned Progressive candidate. However, Wilson's opponents got great comfort out of Bryan's defeat, regarding it as showing definitely that he could not control the convention.

Parker's speech was broad and able, and put no brakes onProgressivism. Bryan was offered the permanent chairmanship but declined and Senator Ollie James was chosen.

The rules of the last convention were adopted. There had been rumors of abolishment of the two-thirds rule, but nothing was attempted. At Bryan's request the rules committee reported in favor of nomination of candidates before adoption of platform and the convention so ordered.

The rules committee reported that all delegations instructed by state conventions or by Presidential primaries should follow instructions so long as a majority of such delegations thought them.
obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the `privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.'

"Be it further resolved, That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above named interests."

Said Bryan in support of his resolution: Courts took judicial notice of established facts, and the American people could be assumed to know certain things; there was not a delegate present who did not know that the effort was being made to sali the Democratic Party into bondage to predatory interests, and that the men named in the resolution were three of the men connected with the great money trust, despotic and merciless. He was not willing that they come to the convention with their paid attorneys, and that no sense of politeness or courtesy should prevent him from protecting his party from them. He refused to take the responsibility, he said, of nominating a candidate who represented them. He was willing, he declared, to withdraw the latter section of the resolution if the New York delegation, on a poll of it recorded and printed, did not ask for the withdrawal of Belmont, or Virginia, similarly, ask Ryan's withdrawal. Bryan finally withdrew the second section of the resolution and the first section was adopted 883 to 201, New York voting aye with a magnanimous heart, but the convention was too tense to appreciate. The nays came from Georgia and Maine voting solidly, and California, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Tennessee giving appreciable support.

The people of New York, judging by the newspapers, were at first infuriated at Bryan's action and voiced their indignation. Bryan's resolution was charged to be the result of a plot concocted with emissaries of Roosevelt, some of whom were conspicuous around convention hall, and looked to the formation of a Roosevelt-Bryan new party. But as the convention proceeded, sentiment changed greatly. Leading Democrats all over New York came out for Wilson. Bryan's act was extraordinary and its effect extraordinary; it raised a storm of abuse and a storm of applause all over the land. Instead of disrupting the party it seemed to unite the rank and file, not for Bryan, however, but for Woodrow Wilson. Telegrams from every part of the country poured into Baltimore urging delegates to "Vote for Wilson." An irreconcilable division in the convention was avoided only by the party fealty of the Conservatives.

Bryan was accused of a selfish object, of seeking to obtain the
The policy of the Democratic Party is to promote the interests of the working class, to promote social and economic justice, and to promote the welfare of all citizens.

The mission of the Democratic Party is to work for a society in which all people have the opportunity to participate fully in the democratic process and to have a voice in shaping the future of this country.

The Democratic Party is committed to advancing the interests of workers, the elderly, children, and families, and to promoting policies that protect the environment, promote racial and gender equality, and ensure access to affordable health care.
THE STORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Our party, the Democratic Party, was founded in 1828. It was formed to promote the principles of liberty and equality. The party's founders, including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, believed in a strong government that could protect the rights of the people. Over the years, the Democratic Party has played a key role in shaping American politics and has been home to some of the country's most influential leaders. Today, the Democratic Party continues to work towards a better future for all Americans.