

How the Candidates for President of the United States Are Nominated

EVERY fourth year the national committee of the great political parties meet, usually in Washington and usually in the month of December, to formulate the calls for the presidential nominating conventions. Almost before the meeting of the calls for these conventions are dry the state committees and the district committees of the various parties are called together to arrange for state and district conventions to select national convention delegates.

As soon as the calls for these state and district conventions are out the party committees of the different counties, or other subdivisions of the state, get together and provide for the choice of delegates from their respective counties to the different state and congressional conventions. The calls of the county committees are issued to the different precinct committees or precinct heads, who in turn summon the voters of their respective voting districts to assemble in caucus or at primary election to choose the delegates who are to speak for them, and to instruct them how they want them to vote.

The promulgation of the calls of the national committees, therefore, like the pressing of an electric button, starts up the whole gigantic machinery of party organization, communicating the motion from the top down, from wheel to wheel and cog to cog until it reaches the individual elector of each party, who in theory, at least, decides the destinies of candidates as well as of the nation.

Every intelligent American citizen knows that he never casts a vote for president or vice president. He knows that the president and vice president are chosen by some sort of unwritten law to vote for the nominees of their respective parties. But few realize just how the force of public opinion is centered and fixed to bring about this result; namely, that all the republican presidential electors are chosen for the same man, and that all the democratic electors shall vote for one and the same man. The power behind this unwritten law is the party organization representing the great political divisions of the people, made effective by their nominating conventions.

When the national committee meets, it is the board of directors, of one of these great political parties convenes to arrange the details of the nominating convention, great emphasis is laid upon the fact that the republicans are to meet in Chicago on June 16, or that the democrats are to meet in Denver on July 7, yet the time and place of holding the convention are the least important points to be determined.

The National Convention: An American Institution.

These nominating conventions of the great political parties are institutions peculiar to our American republic, gradually evolved to meet the exigencies of the time. The method provided by our constitution for choosing a new president and a new vice president every four years. Our first presidents were not formally nominated at all, but received the votes of the presidential electors of their respective parties by a sort of spontaneous consent. Later the nominating machinery consisted of resolutions of endorsement of a "favorite son" by the legislature of his state, or its delegation in congress, emphasized by repetition in other legislatures or mass meetings, and still later it consisted of a caucus to which all the members of the nation of the same political affiliation were invited. The congressional caucus could be best poorly represent the rank and file of the party, because it included only members from those states and districts which were represented in congress by members of that political party, and left out the vast majority of the states and districts whose congressional delegations were made up of members of other political parties. That these crude methods of choosing a party standard-bearer should prove unsatisfactory and eventually break down was inevitable.

The genesis of our national nominating convention, modeled after similar conventions in the states, dates from 1825, when the first democratic national convention was held, in which each state was given representation and was allowed the same number of votes as was accorded to it in the electoral college. The first republican convention was held in 1832, without any uniformity of representation or manner of choosing delegates—in reality a mass convention with few of the southern states participating. Not until the convention of 1840 did the republicans give a voice to the territories and the District of Columbia, which were still excluded from the democratic organization. Today both the great political parties are truly national organizations to the extent of participation by all who profess allegiance to their principles without regard to residence in the states of the union, which alone have voice in the electoral college.

Basin of Representation.

It will be found, however, on close inspection, that the theories of organization back of the two great political parties differ precisely as do their theories of government. The republican party is centralized in structure, yet with individual responsibility, while the democratic party places emphasis upon state sovereignty and leaves to the subordinate organizations of the different states a large measure of autonomy. Mere reading of the calls issued by the national committees will show, in spite of similarity in the apportionment of delegates, a certain significant divergence. The ratio of apportionment adopted by the republicans is four delegates-at-large from each state, two delegates for each representative-at-large in congress, two delegates from each congressional district, each of the territories, each of the insular possessions, and the District of Columbia. The democratic apportionment entitles each state to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and each territory, the District of Columbia and insular possessions, except the Philippines, to six delegates. This makes the membership of the coming republican convention consist of 302 delegates, with 61 the necessary majority to nominate, and the membership of the coming democratic conven-

Nebraska Delegates-at-Large to the Republican National Convention



GEORGE L. SHELDON, Cass.

VICTOR ROSEWATER, Douglas.

ALLEN W. FIELD, Lancaster.

NORRIS BROWN, Buffalo.

tion to consist of 1,092 delegates, with 663 the necessary two-thirds majority to nominate.

This basis of representation has never been completely satisfactory, and is admittedly open to serious criticism. This is particularly true with respect to the republicans, because, in almost all the states known as the "solid south," the republican organization is chiefly a paper organization, maintained by federal officeholders, together with a few negro republicans, who are not permitted to cast a ballot in the election. It has been mathematically computed that the vote of a republican in certain southern districts in its proportionate influence upon the party nominations is equal to from ten to fifty republican votes in the northern states. This situation is likewise prolific of double-headers and contests, and charges and counter-charges of corruption, which would be largely avoided if the basis of representation were more in conformity with the numerical strength of the party in the different states and districts.

Repeated but unsuccessful attempts have been made to remedy these defects by changing the basis of representation. The most serious attempt came in the meeting of the republican national committee held in 1853, where two propositions were presented for consideration, retaining the four delegates-at-large for each state and one delegate for each congressional district, and giving an additional delegate for each congressional district, and giving an additional delegate for a certain number of votes for the republican candidate at the preceding presidential election; the other, retaining the four delegates-at-large and one delegate for each congressional district, and giving an additional delegate for each republican member of congress. The last proposal of this kind was submitted at the meeting of the committee in 1869, but it was not pressed, and the committee four years later took another step toward further reform by increasing the representation of the territories and the insular possessions from two delegates to six delegates—a step which was retracted by the committee at its meeting last December.

It should be explained that the proportionate representation thus contemplated for prevails in both parties within the states in the makeup of state conventions, although no party has had the courage to apply it to its national convention. It should further be explained that the defense of the present disproportionate representation is based upon the fact that the states and districts where the party is in the minority participation in the conventions is the only privilege which its members enjoy, and that in this way alone are able, by directly influencing the selection of the party nominee, to have anything to say in the choice of a president.

The unit of representation in the democratic national councils is the state, and each state is left untrammelled to choose its delegates as it pleases and to subject them to such instruction as may be desired. The state is the unit of representation in the republican convention—only the delegates-at-large and the congressional district is the unit of representation for the district delegates. The republicans, furthermore, insist that whatever method of choosing delegates may be adopted, the republican electors of each congressional district must be permitted to choose the delegates to represent their district without interference by republicans of other districts.

The "Unit Rule."

All this was fought out and definitely established in the republican convention of 1860, when what is called the "unit rule," which has prevailed in democratic conventions from the first, was rejected, and the principle of individual responsibility affirmed. Resolutions of instruction, therefore, adopted by a republican state convention apply only to delegates-at-large, chosen by that convention, and not to the delegates chosen to represent the various congressional districts of the same state, who are subject only to the instructions duly given by the republican electors of their respective districts. While the delegate-at-large or the district delegates are answerable to the republicans of their respective states or districts for fidelity to instructions, the republican national convention will not assume to enforce obedience to instructions by any delegate who seeks to break away from them. In a word, a delegate to the republican national convention may vote his personal preference on any question and have it so recorded irrespective of conditions imposed

upon him by his constituents.

In the democratic national convention precisely the opposite rule prevails, and the convention itself will require the execution of any mandate properly given by the democratic state convention by which the delegates are commissioned. To be more explicit, the unit rule which governs in the democratic organization requires all the votes of any state, which has so ordered, to be cast as a unit as the majority of the delegates may decide, and the only record which an individual delegate is entitled to

have is the record of the poll of the delegation that determines whether he is in the majority or in the minority.

Time and Manner of Choosing Delegates.

Almost as important as the time fixed for the meeting of the convention is the time fixed for the election of the delegates. Before the convention system was fully developed, and even in its early stages, there was no time limit to the projection of presidential candidates. The president-

ial electors in the early days were in many cases not chosen by the people at all, but were appointed by the legislatures of the different states with great irregularity as to time. There was no uniform day for choosing presidential electors until a law enacted by congress in 1845 settled upon the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November preceding the expiration of the presidential term, and made it the same for the whole country. South Carolina appointed its presidential electors by its legislature up to and including 1850, and

even as late as 1878 Colorado, which had just been admitted into the union, was permitted to make legislative appointment of its electors because it became a state too late to submit a choice to the people that year. For a long time, too, presidential electors used to be chosen in some states by districts, but since 1874, although in no way required by the constitution, complete uniformity has been effected whereby the presidential electors are all chosen at large in each state at a popular election held on the same day throughout the union.

Nebraska Delegates to Republican National Convention

NEBRASKA will be represented at the Chicago convention by sixteen delegates, four chosen at large and twelve from the congressional districts. A similar number of alternates have been chosen, in order to ensure full representation for the state at the convention. The delegates chosen to represent the state at large are: Governor George L. Sheldon, Senator Norris Brown, Victor Rosewater and Allen W. Field. The alternates-at-large are A. C. Rankin, I. G. Bartlett, M. R. Hopewell and Paul H. Marley. The delegates from the congressional districts are:

First—Senator Elmer J. Burkett, J. H. Arends, alternates, J. A. McPherson, Norman Musselman.

Second—M. L. Learned, A. C. Smith; alternates, J. E. Wilson, John White.

Third—W. N. Huse, Frank P. Voter; alternates, J. C. Elliott, John Wright.

Fourth—J. Williams, Sammie Rinkler; alternates, W. D. Galbraith, John Siskner.

Fifth—A. W. Sterns, J. C. Gammill; alternates, A. J. Jensen, C. W. Kaley.

Sixth—O. O. Snyder, W. A. George; alternates, T. H. Doran, H. J. Wisner.

George Lawson Sheldon, governor of Nebraska, is a native of the state of which he is the chief executive. He was born near Nehawka, Neb., May 31, 1870. He was brought up on a farm, receiving his early education in the schools of Nemaha county, and subsequently attended the Nebraska State university, from which he was graduated in 1897. He later took a post-graduate course at Harvard. He was twice elected to the state senate from his native county, and always took a foremost part in the politics of his county and state. He was nominated for governor of Nebraska in August, 1906, and was elected to that high office by an overwhelming majority. He was a member of Company B, Third Nebraska volunteers, during the Spanish-American war, and was elected captain of the company.

United States Senator Norris Brown of Kearney is a native born Iowan. He was born in Jackson county in 1863 at Maquoketa. He graduated from the Iowa State university in 1883, receiving the bachelor's degree, and two years later the master's degree. He was admitted to the practice of law in Iowa in October, 1883; moved to Kearney, Neb., in the spring of 1888, and there served as county attorney of Buffalo county from 1892 to 1896; as deputy attorney general of Nebraska, 1900 to 1904; and as attorney general, 1904 to 1906, when he was elected to the United States senate. His term of service will expire March 3, 1913.

Victor Rosewater is a native of the city of Omaha, having been born here in the

year 1871. He is the son of the late Edward Rosewater. He was graduated from the Omaha High school in 1887, and is also a graduate of Columbia university. He began newspaper work on The Bee in 1893, and in 1896 was made managing editor of the paper. At the death of his father he became editor of The Bee. In 1897 he was a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska. He was for many years a member of the Omaha Public Library board. He is a member of the American Economic association, American Library association, Nebraska Historical society, National Civic federation, president of the Columbia University Alumni association, special lecturer on municipal finance of the University of Wisconsin and author of numerous works on political and municipal economy.

Allen W. Field of Lancaster county was born in LaSalle, Ill., November 20, 1833. He removed at an early age to Tabor, Ia., where he attended the common schools. Removing to Nebraska, he entered the Nebraska State university, graduating there from in 1877. He took up the study of law and was admitted to practice in 1879. He was elected to the lower house of the Nebraska legislature in 1882 and was re-elected in 1884, and served as speaker of the lower house during his last term. He was appointed city attorney of Lincoln in 1888, and in 1887 he was appointed to the district bench by Governor Thayer. He was elected district judge that same fall and served for four years. He was again re-elected, but resigned, to enter the race for congress in 1892. He was defeated, and then resumed the practice of his profession. He is a member of the law firm of Field & Brown of Lincoln.

United States Senator Elmer Jacob Burkett of Lincoln is a native of Iowa, having been born in Mills county in 1867 on a farm. He is a graduate of Tabor college, Iowa; of the Nebraska State University College of Law and received the degree of L. L. M. from the latter institution, beginning the practice of law at Lincoln, in 1893. He was elected a member of the Nebraska legislature in 1896 and was elected representative to the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth congresses, resigning after the latter election to succeed C. H. Dietrich in the United States senate, taking his seat March 8, 1905. His term will expire March 3, 1911.

J. H. Arends of Syracuse was born in Germany, but came to America in 1855 and to Nebraska ten years later. Thirty years ago he moved from Nebraska City, where he lived when first coming to the state, to Syracuse and engaged in the mercantile

business, in which he is still engaged. Mr. Arends has always been a republican and has invariably taken an interest in local politics. He was elected to the state senate in 1898 and re-elected two years following, and made an enviable record while serving the four years in the upper house of the state assembly.

Myron Leslie Learned was born February 13, 1856, at South Vernon, Vt., and went to the public schools at Northampton, Mass., until he was 15 years of age and received his diploma from the Boston University Law School in 1877, taking the two years course in one year. He hung out his shingle to practice law in Northampton, where he remained for one year until the call of the west brought him to Omaha to go into partnership with John L. Kennedy, which he did in July, 1888. This firm was together until last year, when they dissolved partnership, Mr. Kennedy going into the Brandeis bank and Mr. Learned retaining his offices in the Bee building. Mr. Learned has been chairman of the Douglas county central committee and a member of the state committee.

Arthur Crittenden Smith was born in Cincinnati, Courtland county, New York, October 12, 1863, and moved to Council Bluffs in 1888 at the age of 25 years. He attended the public schools of Council Bluffs until 1879, when he went to Phillips academy at Andover, Mass., being graduated in June, 1883. He was graduated from Harvard in 1887 and then returned to Omaha, where he has been connected with the M. E. Smith Dry Goods company ever since. Mr. Smith is one of the public spirited men of Omaha, who give freely of their time and money for the public weal. He was presidential elector from Nebraska in 1904 when Roosevelt was elected, and is at present a colonel on Governor Sheldon's staff.

W. N. Huse of Norfolk was born in New York, came west, first to Minnesota and then to Nebraska, locating at Ponca, thirty-six years ago. He assisted his father in the establishing of the Ponca Journal shortly after reaching that town, and in 1888 moved to Norfolk and bought the Daily News, which he has since edited. He is also the editor of the Nebraska Workman, official paper of the Ancient Order United Workmen for the state. Mr. Huse has been a life long republican, but his political experience has consisted entirely in supporting the candidates of the party and in upholding the principles of republicanism. He has never asked any political preferment and has never been

(Continued on Page Three.)



E. J. BURKETT, Lincoln, Neb.



J. H. ARENDS, Syracuse, Neb.



MYRON L. LEARNED, Omaha.



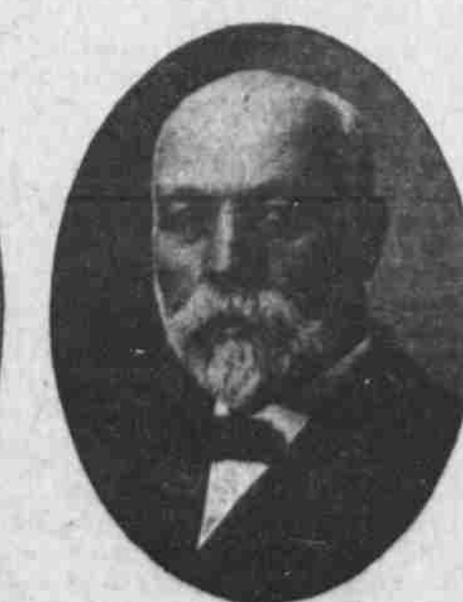
ARTHUR C. SMITH, Omaha.



W. N. HUSE, Norfolk, Neb.



F. P. VOTER, Laurel, Neb.



T. E. WILLIAMS, Aurora.



A. W. STERNS, Grand Island, Neb.



O. O. SNYDER, Buffalo, Neb.



W. A. GEORGE, Broken Bow, Neb.

suggested by these new laws of far-reaching moment and full of future possibilities. At the meeting of the republican national committee this question was referred to a special committee, consisting of three eminent lawyers of national reputation. After careful investigation these lawyers unanimously reached the conclusion that the national nominating conventions are entirely extra-legal institutions, in no way subject to legislative control by either state or federal governments. They take the view that the only personage officially known to the law or the constitution in connection with the choice of president and vice president is the presidential elector, and that the delegate to a national nominating convention holds no official position, has no legal status and no enforceable responsibility except as that responsibility may be enforced by party discipline. They admit that the officers of the different party committees and party organizations within the several states are subject to the legislative and judicial jurisdiction of those states, and that the compilation of the party machinery, which usually joins together the choices of national convention delegates and the nomination of candidates for office, makes exemption from state control difficult, if not impracticable, and for this reason the national committee put it back to the state and congressional committees to determine how far the manner of choosing national convention delegates should conform with the laws of their respective states.

Even as it is, it will be impossible to give strict observance to some of these state laws if the conditions of the call for the republican convention are to be made paramount. In Mississippi, for example, the lawmakers alternate between all national convention delegates shall be chosen at large in one state convention. This state law would not only contravene the republican unit of representation, which is the congressional district, but would permit combinations to give all the representation to one or two districts and disfranchise the republicans in all the other districts. In Wisconsin, again, the law provides for the election of all the delegates by direct primary vote in the state or district, as the case may be, and the appointment of all the alternates by the state committee of each political party. Inasmuch as the alternates may upon contingencies become the principals, this method would permit the naming of alternates who could never be otherwise elected, or who might all live in one district, thus making possible the disfranchisement of the republicans of one or more districts. Under the call the lawmakers alternate between Wisconsin can be put on the temporary roll of the coming republican national convention unless their credentials show that they have been chosen by the republican electors of the district which they claim to represent.

If the state law governing nominations and primary elections were uniform from one end of the nation to the other, the consequences of these conflicts would be avoided. Yet the fact remains that, although a large number of states have already put upon their statute books laws to regulate the nomination of candidates for office, almost all of them expressly exempt from their provisions the choosing of delegates to national nominating conventions, and leave it to the political committees to arrange for choosing these delegates as their party custom and precedent require. Even in states like Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Oregon and Washington, which have gone farthest in the movement toward primary elections, the regular primary election is set for a date coming after the usual time for presidential nominations, with a view to separating as far as possible the choice of candidates for state and local offices from national politics. In still other states national convention delegates are chosen by direct primary in one form or another, as imposed by the political committees or as provided for by the state for use at the option of such committees. This is what is being done in California and in certain districts of Ohio, while the state primary in Ohio was to take the place of the regular primary in one form or another, as imposed by the political committees or as provided for by the state for use at the option of such committees. This is what is being done in California and in certain districts of Ohio, while the state primary in Ohio was to take the place of the regular primary in one form or another, as imposed by the political committees or as provided for by the state for use at the option of such committees. 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