November 1, 1919.

Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman, The Republican National Committee, 452 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In his Life of Roosevelt, William Roscoe Thayer thus describes a National Convention.

"The Convention was assembled in the great Coliseum at Chicago on June 18th, but for ten days the host had been coming in; one delegation after another; the hotels were packed; each committee had its special quarters; crowds of sight-seers, shouters and supporters, swelled the multitude. The Republican National Committee met; the managers of each candidate met; the committees which had not yet an official standing conferred unofficially. Rumours floated from every room; there were secret conferences; attempts to win over delegates; promises to trade votes and even efforts of conciliation. Night and day this wild current of excitement rushed on.

"A spectator from Mars might have remarked, "But for so important a business as the choice of a candidate who may become President of the United States you ought to have quiet, deliberation, free-play, not for those who can shout the loudest but for those who can speak the wisest."

"And to this remark, the howling and whirling dervishes who attended the Convention might have replied, if they had waited long enough to hear it through, by yelling,

"Hail, Hail the gang's all here", and would have darted off to catch up with their fellow-bacchanals. A smell of cocktails and whiskey was ubiquitous and a dense pall of tobacco smoke prevaded the committee rooms. Out of doors the clang of brass bands drowned even the incessant noise of the throngs. There was no night for the myriads of electric lights made shadows but no darkness and you wondered where these strange creatures slept.

"Such saturnalia did not begin with the convention of 1912. Most of those who took part in them hardly thought it a paradox that these should be the conditions under which the Americans nominated their candidate for President."

If these conditions were strange for the nomination of a president, they were still more strange for working out and formulating the principles and planks of a political platform.

A political platform would surely have more clearness if thought out in the libraries and studies of great scholars of the country than in the turmoil and noise of a political convention; it would have more consistency if made away from its jarring elements; it would have fewer evasions and ambiguities if not made under the pressure of its clashing interests, and the great organic truths of sociology and economics for the guidance of a party could be more effectively considered and surcharged particularly with the expressed.

**There never has been a time when the two great*

parties have differed so fundamentally in principles as now, differences that go to the very foundation of society; never a time when so many brands of quack medicine have been so energetically hawked about as cures for the distempers of the state, and therefore never a time when an honest platform of straight thinking, holding out no false hopes and promising no short cuts to the millennium, is more important than now.

For these reasons,

Committee with the suggestion that it be used to offer three prizes, one of \$6,000 for the first, one of \$3,000 for the second and one of \$1,000 for the third, for the best Republican platform, the competition to be open to the graduates of the classes of 1915 of the universities of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, John Hopkins, Michigan, Wisconsin, California, University of Virginia, University of Kansas, University of Pennsylvania and University of Texas.

Should this idea appeal to you to the extent that you will give it your sanction it will be necessary for you to assume the responsibility of furnishing the machinery and expense required for reading the manuscripts submitted. If it is thought possible to broaden the competition I have no objection.

Of course it is not expected that such a platform would be adopted by the National Convention but the educative effect upon the people at large might have a beneficial

Indirect result, and may aid you in your well directed efforts to interest young people in politics.

I would suggest that Dr. David Jayne Hill, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, and Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, be requested to act as judges of the merits of the platforms presented, and that they be assisted in their work by a corps of young scholars. I have reason to believe that They was not young scholars.

The platform may contain at most twice the number of words used in the last platform of the Republican National Convention of 1916 in order to give space to suggest or explain the reasons for the different planks. In 1916 the platform contained ----- words.

Should you decide on the three judges I mention,

I suggest that you require all competitors to submit four

copies of their manuscripts — one signed and three unsigned,

Please also designate the address to which all manuscripts

Please also designate the last date upon which they will be should be sent and the last date upon which they will be received.

Very truly yours,

Truxtun Beale,

28 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

(The North American Review shall have the right of first publication of any manuscript passed upon by the judges).

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