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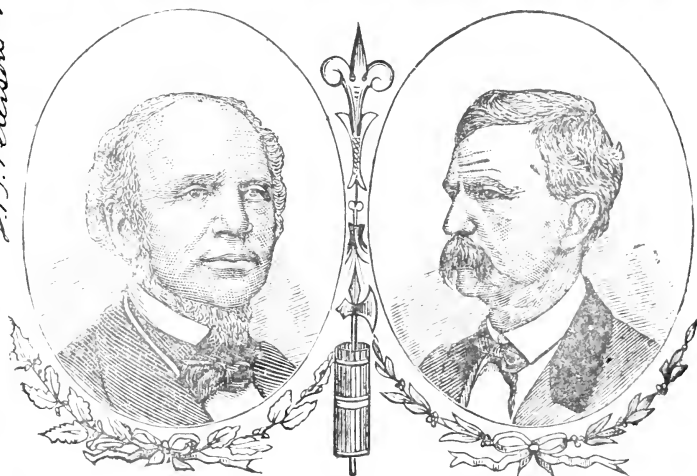
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



SEYMOUR AND BLAIR.—CAMPAIGN EDITION.

THE LIVES OF
HORATIO SEYMOUR
AND
FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

*by Peterson & Co. Proprs
213. Nelson St. N. Y.*



HORATIO SEYMOUR.

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

This book is a complete History of the Lives and Services of Horatio Seymour, of New York, and of Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, from their Birth up to the present time.

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"My Dear Mr. Moore:—

"As your prediction of a year ago has been realized, I have no further objection to your publishing any sketch, more or less full, of my life, you may have prepared. As you were for a dozen years a fellow townsman of mine, and a valued friend, I suppose you know as much about my history as the public would care about knowing; and although my engrossing duties here leave me no time to revise the manuscript, I have no fear that your work will not be a faithful one. Yours, very truly,

"Rev. A. Y. Moore, South Bend, Indiana."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 30, 1868.

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LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
HORATIO SEYMOUR,
THE
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

HORATIO SEYMOUR is a native of the small town of Pompey, Onondaga County, New York. He was born May 31st, 1810, and is, therefore, over fifty-eight years of age. He is a descendant of Richard Seymour, one of the original settlers of Hartford, Connecticut. Major Moses Seymour, the fourth lineal descendant, served in the Revolutionary war, and subsequently represented Litchfield in the Legislature of Connecticut for seventeen years. Of his five sons, Henry, father of Horatio, was born in 1780. He removed to Utica, in New York, served in the Legislature with signal ability, and was, for many years, Canal Commissioner, occupying a prominent position in the politics and legislation of the State. One of his brothers was a distinguished member of the United States Senate from Vermont, for twelve years. Hon. Origen S. Seymour, for some time representative in Congress from the Litchfield district of Connecticut,

was the son of another brother, named Ozias. The maternal grandfather of Mr. Seymour, Colonel Forman, served through the Revolutionary war in the New Jersey line.

Mr. Seymour, in addition to the most superior mental qualifications, has received the benefit of a thorough English and classical education, having passed through, with great credit to himself, some of the finest educational institutions in the country. The peculiar bent of his mind during his earlier years led him to the study of the law, and he made most astonishing headway in mastering the intricacies of that difficult profession. He studied with unrelenting vigor and assiduity, and so rapid was his progress, that he was admitted to practice when only twenty years of age, and his maiden legal laurels were won in the city of Utica, New York. He was, however, obliged to relinquish the practice of his chosen profession, in consequence of the death of his father, because of the great responsibilities that devolved upon him in the settlement of his father's estate.

The death of his wife's father, the late John R. Bleecker, occurring about the same time, added to his numerous cares in the adjustment of important property interests. Some of the best years of Mr. Seymour's life were absorbed in this work, but no doubt his mind was being schooled, as it could not otherwise have been, for the graver responsibilities and duties that were to come in after life. Up to this time Mr. Seymour had acted no prominent part in political life, although from his youth, as were his ancestors before

him, he had always been strongly attached, through sympathy and taste, to the Democratic party.

Mr. Seymour's advent into political life took place in the fall of 1841, when after much solicitation he consented to the use of his name as a Democratic candidate for the Assembly of New York from Utica. As an evidence of his rising popularity, Mr. Seymour was elected by a very flattering majority, notwithstanding the fact that, at that time, the Whigs were in the ascendancy in Utica.

As a member of the State Assembly, Mr. Seymour soon gave evidence of the brilliant talents, sterling integrity, and magnetic personal power, that were destined to so distinguish him in after life. He took a leading position upon the great questions involving the interests of the State, and engaged in the debates with fervor, ability, and great success. He soon made himself felt by his powers of eloquence, and commanding presence, and superior delivery, and his general conduct, while in the Legislature, gave token that he was destined to be a leader of men.

Among his legislative associates were John A. Dix, Michael Hoffman, D. R. Floyd Jones, George R. Davis, Lemuel Stetson, and Calvin T. Hulburd. The Democrats at that time were in the ascendancy in both branches of the Legislature, and the great measure of the session was Michael Hoffman's celebrated bill in relation to finances, which was supported and passed by the Democrats. In the success of this measure, which was destined to restore the depreciated financial credit of the State, Mr. Seymour took an active and sympathetic interest, displaying for the first time the

forensic ability and oratorical powers that have since distinguished him.

Mr. Seymour, in the Spring of 1842, was elected Mayor of the City of Utica, in spite of the active opposition of the then dominant Whig party. As Mayor, he introduced many wholesome reforms in the municipal government, and his administration was characterized by fairness and justice to the community at large.

He was again elected to the State Legislature in the fall of 1843, and was re-elected to serve in the same capacity during the sessions of 1844 and 1845. The session of 1844 was an important and exciting one, the Assembly being agitated with acrimonious contests, chiefly springing from contemplated opposition to the administration of Governor Bouck. The leaders in the debates of the session were Mr. Seymour and Mr. Hoffman, the recognized leader of the Legislature of 1842, and a formidable antagonist in debate, but Mr. Seymour appears to have coped with him successfully, and to have won not only the plaudits of his political associates, but the praises of his constituents likewise. The session of 1845 opened with a changed spirit, based upon the victorious election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency. At the outset of this session, Mr. Seymour was induced by his friends to enter the contest for speakership, to which position he was triumphantly elected, despite a violent factional fight, which seriously threatened his prospects. One of the prominent and important events of this session, was the election of Daniel S. Dickinson to the United States Senate, in which Mr. Seymour took a leading and active part.

He also engaged with fervent spirit in the discussion relative to the call for a convention to amend the Constitution, but voted against the bill providing for that measure. With this session Mr. Seymour's legislative career was brought to a close.

For the succeeding four years, Mr. Seymour was not prominent in public life, having resumed the practice of the law in the city of Utica. By the action of the Legislature of 1850, providing for the enlargement and improvement of the Erie canal, and appropriating the revenues of the State in contravention of the provisions of the Constitution, Mr. Seymour again assumed a leading position in State politics, and most earnestly resisted this effort to override the provisions of a Constitution so recently adopted. On account of his strenuous opposition to that measure, he was that year (1850), for the first time, placed in nomination for Governor of the State of New York, in opposition to Washington Hunt. The result of the election was, for Seymour 214,352 votes; for Hunt 214,614; Mr. Seymour having been defeated by 262 votes.

The Democratic party of his native State again placed Mr. Seymour in nomination for the Gubernatorial chair in 1852, in opposition to Washington Hunt (*Whig*), and Minthorne Tompkins (*Free Soil*), with the following result:

SEYMOUR,.....	264,121.
HUNT,.....	239,736.
TOMPKINS,.....	19,299.

The figures will indicate that he was triumphantly elected, over both his opponents, as Chief Executive officer of the State. His administration was an admi-

rable one in every respect, and was characterized by great ability, consummate tact, and sound judgment. In 1853, he vetoed the obnoxious Maine Law, and the correctness of his views as to the power of the Legislature to pass sumptuary laws was fully established by a formal decision of the Court of Appeals.

In 1854, Mr. Seymour received the Democratic nomination for re-election, and his opponents were Myron H. Clark, (*Republican*,) Daniel Ullman, (*American*,) and Greene C. Bronson, (*Hard Shell Democrat*.) The following was the result of the election :

SEYMOUR,.....	156,495.
CLARK,	156,804.
ULLMAN,.....	122,282.
BRONSON,	33,850.

Although this election resulted in Mr. Seymour's defeat, it demonstrated very satisfactorily his unwaning popularity with the people, and his certainty of success with the party united and working for one candidate. At the conclusion of this contest, Mr. Seymour again resumed the work of his profession at Utica. In every thing appertaining to the success of the Democracy he took an active and sympathetic interest. He attended national and State conventions with great regularity, and was always accorded a leading position in the councils of the same. At the national Democratic convention at Charleston, in 1860, he was proposed by the southern delegates as a compromise candidate between Douglas and Breckenridge, but owing to the opposition of the New York delegation, his name was withdrawn.

Mr. Seymour was for the fourth time placed in

nomination for Governor of New York, in 1862, by the Democrats, against General Wadsworth, the Republican nominee, and he was again triumphantly elected, the vote being

SEYMOUR,306,649.

WADSWORTH,.....295,897.

Mr. Seymour was thus for the second time elected Governor of New York by the handsome majority of 10,752. After an able administration of two years, he was, in 1864, nominated for re-election, this time against R. E. Fenton, by whom he was defeated.

At the national Democratic convention held in Chicago in 1864, Mr. Seymour was with great unanimity chosen its President, and how ably and efficiently he discharged the duties and responsibilities of that important position the records and history of the convention will indisputably show. Since that time, up to the meeting of the national Democratic convention in New York, Mr. Seymour delivered many powerful Democratic speeches in various parts of the country, entering each successive campaign in his own State with his accustomed vigor, fearlessness, and efficiency.

At his home in Utica, as well as throughout the State, he is esteemed and respected with that fervor that springs only from true friendship. He has been from early boyhood a faithful and energetic member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the interest of which he has labored earnestly to promote, both as an individual member and a leader in her legislative councils. He takes especial interest in educational establishments and in the Sunday-school, whose use

fulness and influence he labors zealously to promote and advance.

At the Democratic national convention, which convened on July 4th, 1868, he was nominated as the standard-bearer of the Democratic party for the office of President of the United States, the election for which takes place in November.

Perhaps no man in the United States is better endowed with the intellectual qualities necessary to discharge to the satisfaction of the American people the vastly responsible and onerous duties of chief magistrate of the country, than Mr. Seymour; and no public man throughout the length and breadth of the land, possesses a more consistent and shining record, as far as his fealty to the eternal principles of the Democratic party is concerned, than the subject of this sketch.

Before proceeding further, we will glance at the circumstances that contributed to bring Governor Horatio Seymour forward as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, in opposition to the Republican candidate, General U. S. Grant.

It can be truly said of Mr. Seymour, that the office sought the man, and not the man the office, and a perusal of the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, that presented his name for the suffrages of his fellow-citizens as a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the American people, forcibly brings to mind the words of Mark Antony in Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar :

“You all did see, that on the Supercal,
 I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
 Which he did thrice refuse.”

Mr. Seymour did “thrice refuse” the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, and only consented to receive it at the unanimous bidding of the members of the National Democratic Convention of 1868. But let us look at the action of that convention.

The convention assembled on July 4th, 1868. It was decided by the leaders of the Democratic party, that the Presidential convention of 1868 should be held in the city of New York, and the magnificent new Tammany Hall, situated on Fourteenth street, adjoining the Academy of Music, was selected as the place for holding the convention, the day chosen being the anniversary of American Independence, July 4th.

The convention was called to order at twelve o'clock, by August Belmont, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, who said :

AUGUST BELMONT'S SPEECH TO THE CON- VENTION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—It is my privilege to-day to welcome you here in this hall, constructed with so much artistic taste, and tendered to you by the time-honored society of Tammany. I welcome you to this magnificent temple, erected to the Goddess of Liberty, by her staunchest defenders and most fervent worshippers. I welcome you to this good city of New York, the bulwark of Democracy, which has rolled back the surging waves of Radicalism through

all the storms of the last eight years, and I welcome you, gentlemen, to our Empire State, which last fall redeemed herself from Republican misrule by a majority of nearly fifty thousand votes, and which claims the right to lead the vanguard of victory in the great battle to be fought next November for the preservation of our institutions, our laws, and our liberties.

It is a most auspicious omen that we meet under such circumstances, and are surrounded by such associations, and I share your own confident hope of the overwhelming success of the ticket and the platform which will be the result of your deliberations. For it is to the American people that our appeal lies. Their final judgment will be just. The American people will no longer remain deaf to the teachings of the past. They will remember that it was under successive Democratic administrations, based upon our national principles, the principles of constitutional liberty, that our country rose to a prosperity and greatness unsurpassed in the annals of history; they will remember the days when North and South marched shoulder to shoulder together in the conquest of Mexico, which gave us our golden empire on the Pacific, our California, and our Oregon, now the strongholds of a triumphant Democracy; they will remember the days when peace and plenty reigned over the whole Union, when we had no national debt to crush the energies of the people, when the Federal tax-gatherer was unknown throughout the vast extent of the land, and when the credit of the United States stood as high in the money marts of the world

as that of any other government; and they will remember with a wise sorrow, that with the downfall of the Democratic party in 1860, came that fearful civil war which has brought mourning and desolation into every household, has cost the loss of a million of American citizens, and has left us with a national debt, the burden of which drains the resources, cripples the industry, and impoverishes the labor of the country. They will remember that, after the fratricidal strife was over, when the bravery of our army and navy, and the sacrifices of the people had restored the Union and vindicated the supremacy of the law; when the victor and the vanquished were equally ready to bury the past and to hold out the hand of brotherhood and good will across the graves of their fallen comrades, it was again the defeat of the Democratic candidates in 1864, which prevented this consummation so devoutly wished for by all. Instead of restoring the Southern States to their constitutional rights; instead of trying to wipe out the miseries of the past by a magnanimous policy, dictated alike by humanity and sound statesmanship, and so ardently prayed for by the generous heart of the American people, the Radicals in Congress, elected in an evil hour, have placed the iron heel of the conqueror upon the South. Austria did not dare to fasten upon vanquished Hungary, nor Russia to impose upon conquered Poland, the ruthless tyranny now inflicted by Congress upon the Southern States. Military satraps are invested with dictatorial power, overriding the decisions of the courts, and assuming the functions of the civil authorities; the white populations are

disfranchised or forced to submit to test oaths alike revolting to justice and civilization; and a debased and ignorant race, just emerged from servitude, is raised into power to control the destinies of that fair portion of our common country. These men, elected to be legislators, and legislators only, trampling the Constitution under their feet, have usurped the functions of the Executive and the Judiciary, and it is impossible to doubt, after the events of the past few months, and the circumstances of the impeachment trial, that they will not shrink from an attempt hereafter to subvert the Senate of the United States, which alone stood between them and their victim, and which had virtue enough left not to allow the American name to be utterly disgraced, and justice to be dragged in the dust.

In order to carry out this nefarious programme our army and navy are kept in times of profound peace on a scale which has involved a yearly expenditure of from one to two hundred millions, prevents the reduction of our national debt, and imposes upon our people a system of the most exorbitant and unequal taxation, with a vicious, irredeemable and depreciated currency. And now this same party, which has brought all these evils upon the country, comes again before the American people, asking for their suffrages. And whom has it chosen for its candidate? The General commanding the armies of the United States. Can there be any doubt left as to the designs of the Radicals, if they should be able to keep their hold on the reins of government! They intend Congressional usurpation of all the branches and functions of the

government to be enforced by the bayonets of a military despotism!

It is impossible that a free and intelligent people can longer submit to such a state of things. They will not calmly stand by to see their liberties subverted, the prosperity and greatness of their country undermined, and the institutions bequeathed to them by the fathers of the Republic wrested from them. They must see that the conservative and national principles of a liberal and progressive Democracy are the only safeguards of the Republic. Gentlemen of the convention!—Your country looks to you to stay this tide of disorganization, violence and despotism. It will not look in vain, when next November the roll shall be called, and when State after State shall respond by rallying around the banner of Democracy, on which, in the future as in the past, will be inscribed our undying motto:—"The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws!"

AUGUST BELMONT nominated for temporary chairman Hon. W. D. Palmer, of Wisconsin, which was agreed to.

Mr. PALMER took the chair amid applause. In a few words he returned thanks for the honor of an election, and exhorted the Convention to unity and wisdom in its deliberations and the selection of a candidate, and in advancing the great cause to which the party is devoted; and he predicted for the party a triumphant support at the hands of the people.

After the transaction of some business of minor interest, the question of the election of a permanent president was broached.

The committee on permanent organization was composed as follows:

Alabama, J. H. CLANTON; *Arkansas*, J. S. DUNHAM; *California*, E. STEELE; *Connecticut*, J. A. HOVEY; *Delaware*, CHARLES BEASTEN; *Florida*, A. S. SELLER; *Georgia*, C. PEEPLES; *Illinois*, W. R. MORRISON; *Indiana*, —; *Iowa*, W. F. BRAMAN; *Kansas*, T. P. FENTON; *Kentucky*, W. B. MACHEN; *Louisiana*, G. W. McCRAME; *Maine*, I. F. MADIGAN; *Maryland*, A. K. SYLSTER; *Massachusetts*, JOHN H. BRIGGS; *Michigan*, JOHN MOORE; *Minnesota*, E. A. McMAHON; *Mississippi*, B. MATTHEWS; *Missouri*, W. D. HUNTER; *Nebraska*, G. L. MILLER; *Nevada*, G. G. BERRY; *New Hampshire*, J. ADAMS; *New Jersey*, H. C. LITTLE; *New York*, GENERAL J. A. GREEN, JR.; *North Carolina*, W. R. R. SMITH; *Ohio*, F. C. LE BLOND; *Oregon*, N. M. BELL; *Pennsylvania*, HIESTER CLYMER; *Rhode Island*, S. PIERCE; *South Carolina*, DELOS TRACY; *Tennessee*, GENERAL W. B. BATES; *Texas*, I. M. BURROUGHS; *Vermont*, J. D. DEAVITT; *Virginia*, J. BARBOUR; W. VIRGINIA, H. S. WALKER; *Wisconsin*, S. CLARK.

On the morning of the second day's proceedings of the convention, Mr. CLYMER of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported as follows:—

PRESIDENT.

HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR, OF NEW YORK.

VICE-PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>
ALABAMA.....	EX-GOV. R. CHAPMAN,	WM. M. LOWE.
ARKANSAS.....	B. D. TURNER,	JOHN W. WRIGHT.
CALIFORNIA....	HON. A. H. ROSE,	M. J. GILLETTE.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>
CONNECTICUT....	H. A. MITCHELL,	GEORGE D. HASTINGS.
DELAWARE.....	G. W. CUMMINGS,	C. W. WRIGHT.
FLORIDA.....	THOMAS RANDALL,	C. H. SMITH.
GEORGIA.....	HON. A. R. WRIGHT.	WM. A. REID.
ILLINOIS.....	D. M. WOODSON,	W. T. DOWDELL.
INDIANA.....	JAMES A. CRAVENS,	W. R. BOWLES.
IOWA.....	WM. MC. CLINTOCK,	P. H. BOWSQUET.
KANSAS.....	ANDREW J. MEAD,	ISAAC SHARP.
KENTUCKY.....	LUCIUS DESHA,	HART GIBSON.
LOUISIANA.....	LOUIS ST. MARTIN,	J. H. KINNARD.
MAINE.....	ISAAC REID,	J. A. LINSKOTT.
MARYLAND.....	GEORGE R. DENNIS,	OUTERBRIDGE HORSEY.
MASSACHUSETTS.	PETER HARVEY,	CHARLES G. CLARK.
MICHIGAN.....	A. N. HART,	FREDK. V. SMITH.
MINNESOTA.....	WINTHROP YOUNG,	ISAAC STAPLES.
MISSOURI.....	THOMAS L. PRICE,	A. J. REID.
MISSISSIPPI.....	E. C. WALTHALL,	FELIX LUBOURL.
NEBRASKA.....	GEO. N. CRAWFORD,	PETER SMITH.
NEVADA.....	D. E. BUELL,	GEORGE H. WILLARD.
NEW HAMPSHIRE	GEORGE H. PIERCE,	ALBERT R. HATCH.
NEW JERSEY....	FRANCIS S. LATHROP,	CHAS. E. HENDERSON.
NEW YORK.....	WILLIAM M. TWEED,	HENRY A. RICHMOND.
NORTH CAROLINA	BEDFORD BROWN,	DR. R. B. HAYWOOD.
OHIO.....	EDSON B. OLDS,	JOHN HAMILTON.
OREGON.....	E. L. BRISTOW,	A. D. FITCH.
PENNSYLVANIA..	JOHN L. DAWSON,	GEN. W. M. REILLY.
RHODE ISLAND....	AMASA SPRAGUE,	E. B. BRONSON.
SOUTH CAROLINA	B. F. PERRY,	W. S. MULLINS.
TENNESSEE.....	A. O. P. NICHOLSON,	JOS. H. THOMPSON.
TEXAS.....	ASHEBALL SMITH,	DANIEL A. VEITCH.
VERMONT.....	HENRY KEYS,	GEORGE H. SIMMONS.
VIRGINIA.....	ROBERT G. CONRAD,	WM. D. COLEMAN.
WEST VIRGINIA.	JOS. W. GALLAGHER,	CARLOS A. SPERRY.
WISCONSIN.....	EX-GOV. N. DEWEY,	E. T. THORN.

FOR RECORDING SECRETARIES.

E. O. PERRIN, of *New York*. MOSES M. STRONG,

of *Wisconsin*. V. A. GASKELL, of *Georgia*. V. M. HUTCHINSON, of *Pennsylvania*. R. P. TAMSEY, of *Illinois*.

FOR SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

EDWARD A. MOORE, of *New York*.

The chairman appointed Governor Bigler, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, a committee to escort Governor Seymour, the permanent President of the Convention, to the chair.

The committee retired and soon after returned amid enthusiastic applause, which was elicited on the appearance of the chairman. As they came upon the platform the temporary chairman said:—I introduce to you the President elect, Mr. HORATIO SEYMOUR, of New York. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. SEYMOUR then took his stand at the rostrum, when the cheers and plaudits of the whole assemblage—the galleries joining in—were renewed. The Chairman spoke as follows:—

MR. SEYMOUR'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—I thank you for the honor you have done me in making me your presiding officer. [*Cheers.*] This Convention is made up of a large number of delegates from all parts of our broad land. To a great degree we are strangers to each other, and view the subjects which agitate our country from different standpoints. We cannot at once learn each other's mode of thought, or grasp all the facts which bear upon the minds of others. Yet our session must be brief, and we are forced to act without delay upon questions of an exciting character and of deep import to our country. To maintain order,

to restrain all exhibition of passion, to drive out of our minds all unkind suspicions, is at this time a great duty. [*Cheers.*] I rely upon your sense of this duty, and not upon my own ability, to sustain me in the station in which I am placed by your kind partiality. Men never met under greater responsibilities than those which now weigh upon us. [*Applause.*] It is not a mere party triumph we seek. We are trying to save our country from the dangers which overhang it. We wish to lift off the perplexities and shackles which in the shape of bad laws and of crushing taxation now paralyze the business and labor of our land. [*Loud cheers.*] We hope, too, that we can give order, prosperity, and happiness to those sections of our country which suffer so deeply to-day in their homes and in all the fields of their industry from the unhappy events of the last eight years. I trust actions will show that we are governed by earnest purposes to help all classes of our citizens. Avoiding harsh invectives against men, we should keep the public mind fixed upon the questions which must now be met and solved. [*Cheers.*] Let us leave the past to the calm judgment of the future, and confront the perils of the day. [*Cheers.*] We are forced to meet the assertions in the resolutions put forth by the late Republican Convention. I aver there is not in this body one man who has it in his heart to excite so much of angry feeling against the Republican party as must be stirred up in the minds of those who read these declarations in the light of recent events, and in view of the condition of our country. In the first place, they congratulate the perplexed man of business, the burdened

taxpayer, the laborer, whose hours of toil are lengthened out by the growing costs of the necessaries of life, upon the success of that reconstruction policy which has brought all these evils upon them by the cost of its military despotism, and the corruption of its bureau agencies. In one resolution they denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime. Then why did they put upon the statute books of the nation the laws which invite the citizens who borrow coin to force their creditor to take debased paper and thus wrong him out of a large share of his claim, in violation of the most solemn compact? [*Loud cheering.*] If repudiation is a national crime, it is a crime to invite all the citizens of this country thus to repudiate their individual promises. [*Applause.*] Was it not a crime to force the creditors of this and other States to take a currency, at times worth no more than forty cents on the dollar, in payment for the sterling coin they gave to build roads and canals, which yield such ample returns of wealth and prosperity? [*Applause.*] Again they say it is due to the laborers of the nation that taxation should be equalized. Then why did they make taxation unequal? Beyond the justice of making one class of citizens pay for another, the shares of the cost of schools, of roads and of the local laws, which protected their lives and property, it was an unwise and hurtful thing. [*Cheers.*] It sunk the credit of the country, as unusual terms, always hurtful to the credit of the borrower, do. They also declare the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is so to improve our credit, that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now

pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation—partial, total, open, or covert—is threatened or suspected. Then why have they used fully \$500,000, 000 of the taxes drawn from the people of this country to uphold a despotic military authority, and to crush out the life of the States, when, if this money had been used to pay our debts, capitalists would now seek to lend us money at lower rates of interest? But for this covert repudiation our national credit would not be tainted in the markets of the world. [*Applause.*]

Again they declare of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred trust bequeathed to the nation's care. How have these sacred trusts been performed? They pay to the maimed man, to the widow, or to the orphan, a currency which they have sunk one quarter below its rightful value, by their policy of late, of waste, and of military despotism; the pittances paid to the wounded soldiers are pinched down twenty-five per cent. below the value of that coin which he had a right to expect. [*Loud cheering.*]

Is there no covert repudiation in this? [*Applause.*]

Again they say foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power, to this republic—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should

be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy. Is not this foreign immigration fostered by a policy which is in cruel mockery of laws just passed, declaring eight hours to be a legal day's labor? But the cost of government and of swarms of officials so swells the cost of living, that men must toil on to meet these exactions. [*Cheers.*] The time was when we could not only invite Europeans to share with us the material blessings of our great country, but more than that—we could tell those who fled from oppression, that we lived under a government of laws administered by the judiciary, which kept the bayonet and the sword in due subordination. [*Cheers.*] We could point to a written constitution which not only marked out the powers of government, but with anxious care secured to the humblest man the rights of property, of person, and of conscience. Is immigration encouraged by trampling that constitution in the dust, treating it with contempt, shackling the judiciary, insulting the executive, and giving all the world to understand that the great guarantees of political and social rights are destroyed? [*Great applause.*] But the crowning indictment against the follies and crimes of those in power is in these words: "That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort towards making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil." If, within the limits of ten States of this Union, an American citizen, stung by a sense of his wrongs, should publicly and truthfully denounce the men in

power, because in the very language of this Declaration of Independence they have erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither a swarm of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance, he would in all human probability be dragged to a prison; or if, in the indignant language of our fathers, he should exclaim: "They have affected to render the military independent of or superior to the civil power, they have abolished the free system of English laws, and established there an arbitrary government"—for the offence of asserting these principles he would be tried and punished by a military tribunal. [*Great cheering.*] Having declared that the principles of the Declaration of Independence should be made a "living reality on every inch of American soil, they put in nomination a military chieftain who stands at the head of that system of despotism that crushed beneath its feet the Declaration of Independence. [*Cheers.*] To-day, in some States, it is held by military orders to be a crime to speak out the indignation and contempt which burn within the bosoms of patriotic men. If to-morrow a military order should be put forth in that State where the ashes of Washington are entombed, that it should be an offence to declare that the military should ever be subordinate to the civil authority, to speak out the sentiment that it was a disgrace to our country to let hordes of officials eat up the substance of the people, he who uttered these words could be dragged to prison from the very grave where lie the remains of the author of the Declaration of Independence. [*Loud cheers.*] From this outrage there could be no appeal to the courts, and the republican candidate

for the Presidency has accepted a position which makes the rights and liberties of a large share of our people dependent upon his will. [*Applause.*] In view of these things can there be one man in this Convention who can let a personal ambition, a passion, a prejudice turn him aside one hair's breadth in his efforts to wipe off the wrongs and outrages which disgrace our country? [*Cheers.*] Can there be one man whose heart is so dead to all that is great and noble in patriotism, that he will not gladly sacrifice all other things for the sake of his country, its liberties, and its greatness? Can we suffer any prejudices growing out of past differences of opinion to hinder us uniting now with all who will act with us to save our country? [*Cheers.*] We meet to-day to see what measures can be taken to avert the dangers which threaten our country, and to relieve it from the evils and burdens resulting from bad government and unwise counsels. I thank God that the strife of arms has ceased, and that once more in the great conventions of our party we can call through the whole roll of States and find men to answer to each. Time and events in the great cycles have brought us to this spot to renew and reinvigorate that constitutional government which nearly eighty years ago was inaugurated in this city. [*Loud cheers.*] It was here that George Washington, the first President, swore to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Constitution of these United States. [*Cheers.*] And here, this day, we as solemnly pledge ourselves to uphold the rights and liberties of the American people. Then, as now, a great war which had desolated our land had ceased. Then, as

now, there was in every patriotic breast a longing for the blessings of good government, for the protection of laws and for sentiments of fraternal regard and affection among the inhabitants of all the States of this Union. When our government, in 1789, was inaugurated in this city, there were glad processions of men, and those manifestations of great joy which a people show when they feel that an event has happened which is to give lasting blessings to the land. [*Cheers.*] To-day, in this same spirit, this vast assemblage meets, and the streets of this city throng with men who have come from the utmost borders of our Continent. They are filled with the hope that we are about by our actions and our policy to bring back the blessings of good government. It is among the happiest omens which inspirit us now, that those who fought bravely in our late civil war, are foremost in their demands that there shall be peace in our land. The passions of hate and malice may linger in meaner breasts, but we find ourselves upheld in our generous purposes by those who showed true courage and manhood on the fields of battle. [*Cheers.*] In the spirit then of George Washington and of the patriots of the Revolution, let us take the steps to reinaugurate our government, to start it once again on its course to greatness and prosperity. [*Loud cheers.*] May Almighty God give us the wisdom to carry out our purposes to give every State of our Union the blessings of peace, good order, and fraternal affection.

On concluding his remarks, Mr. Seymour was again greeted with loud applause.

NOMINATIONS BY THE CONVENTION.

The nominations for candidates for President were made on the third day of the deliberations of the convention.

The following names of distinguished Democrats were placed in nomination :

GEORGE H. PENDLETON	of	OHIO.
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS	"	INDIANA.
GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK	"	PENNSYLVANIA.
ANDREW JOHNSON	"	TENNESSEE.
ASA PACKER	"	PENNSYLVANIA.
REVERDY JOHNSON	"	MARYLAND.
FRANCIS P. BLAIR	"	MISSOURI.
JOEL PARKER	"	NEW JERSEY.
SANDFORD E. CHURCH	"	NEW YORK.
JAMES E. ENGLISH	"	CONNECTICUT.
THOMAS EWING, JR.	"	KANSAS.
JAMES R. DOOLITTLE	"	WISCONSIN.

The first ballot resulted as follows :

Whole number of votes cast	317
Necessary for a choice	211½
JAMES E. ENGLISH	16
WINFIELD S. HANCOCK	33½
GEORGE H. PENDLETON	105
JOEL PARKER	13
SANFORD E. CHURCH	34
ASA PACKER	26
ANDREW JOHNSON	65
JAMES R. DOOLITTLE	13
FRANK P. BLAIR	½
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS	2½
REVERDY JOHNSON	8½

When the vote for Andrew Johnson was announced there was great applause throughout the hall.

SECOND BALLOT.

Pendleton.....	104	Andrew Johnson.....	52
Hancock.....	40½	Doolittle.....	12½
Church.....	33	Hendricks.....	2
English.....	12½	Blair.....	10½
Parker.....	15½	Reverdy Johnson.....	8
Packer.....	26	Thomas Ewing, Jr.....	½

THIRD BALLOT

English.....	7½	Andrew Johnson.....	34½
Hancock.....	45½	Doolittle.....	12
Pendleton.....	119½	Hendricks.....	9½
Parker.....	13	Blair.....	4½
Church.....	33	Reverdy Johnson.....	11
Packer.....	26		

FOURTH BALLOT.

While the different States were voting through their Chairmen on the fourth ballot, the Chairman of the North Carolina delegation arose, and in a distinct tone of voice announced, "*Nine votes for Horatio Seymour, of New York.*" This announcement was hailed with repeated cheers and long and reiterated applause, in which the galleries joined.

Mr. TILDEN then said:—Mr. President, I give notice, if there is any cheering in the galleries in respect to the candidates whose names are mentioned here, that I shall move to clear the galleries.

Mr. RICHARDSON, of Illinois.—I move to clear them now.

A DELEGATE from Michigan.—I suggest to the

gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Richardson), that the intimation is sufficient if he will withdraw his motion.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—Certainly, I will withdraw the motion.

MR. SEYMOUR DECLINES.

The CHAIRMAN.—I trust I may be permitted now to make a single remark. Very much to my surprise, my name has been mentioned. I must not be nominated by this Convention, as I could not accept its nomination if tendered, which I do not expect. My own inclinations prompted me to decline at the outset. My honor compels me to do so now. I am grateful for any expression of kindness. It must be distinctly understood, it is impossible, consistently with my position, to allow my name to be mentioned in this Convention against my protest. The Clerk will proceed with the call.

The CLERK then resumed the call, when the fourth ballot resulted as follows:

Seymour.....	9	Church.....	33
Reverdy Johnson.....	8	Parker.....	13
Hendricks.....	11½	Pendleton.....	118½
Andrew Johnson.....	32	Hancock.....	43½
Doolittle.....	12	English.....	7½
Packer.....	26		

FIFTH BALLOT.

Florida changed from Hancock to Doolittle. Michigan changed from Reverdy Johnson to Hendricks. North Carolina gave 5½ to Hancock, 2½ to Pendleton, and 1 to Packer. South Carolina, 1 to John Quincy Adams. Georgia, 9 for Blair.

The vote stood (Indiana not having voted):—

English.....	7	Andrew Johnson.....	24
Hancock.....	46	Doolittle.....	15
Pendleton.....	109	Hendricks.....	19½
Parker.....	13	Reverdy Johnson.....	9½
Church.....	33	Blair.....	19½
Packer.....	27		

After some delay, the vote of Indiana was announced, as before, for Pendleton, making his vote 122.

SIXTH BALLOT.

English.....	6	Packer.....	27
Hancock.....	47	Andrew Johnson.....	21
Pendleton.....	122½	Doolittle.....	12
Parker.....	13	Hendricks.....	30
Church.....	33	Blair.....	5

Missouri cast a half vote less than the full vote.

SEVENTH BALLOT.

Pendleton.....	137½	Church.....	33
Hendricks.....	39½	Packer.....	26
Hancock.....	42½	Andrew Johnson.....	12½
English.....	6	Doolittle.....	12
Parker.....	7	Blair.....	½

At the conclusion of the roll call, Mr. TILDEN, by a unanimous vote of the delegation, and with the consent of Mr. Sanford E. Church, withdrew the latter, and cast thirty-three votes for Hendricks, amid long-continued cheers and hisses.

EIGHTH BALLOT.

Pendleton.....	156½	Andrew Johnson.....	6
Hendricks.....	75	Doolittle.....	12
Hancock.....	28	Blair.....	½
Parker.....	7	English.....	6
Packer.....	26		

NINTH BALLOT.

English.....	6	Andrew Johnson.....	5½
Hancock	34½	Doolittle	12
Pendleton.....	144	Hendricks	80½
Parker	7	Blair.....	½
Packer.....	26½		

TENTH BALLOT.

Hancock	34	Andrew Johnson.....	6
Pendleton.....	147½	Doolittle	12
Parker	7	Hendricks.....	82½
Packer	27½	Blair.....	½

ELEVENTH BALLOT.

Hancock	33½	Andrew Johnson.....	5½
Pendleton.....	144½	Doolittle.....	12
Parker.....	7	Hendricks.....	88
Packer.....	26	Blair	½

TWELFTH BALLOT.

Chase.....	½	Hancock	30
Pendleton.....	145½	Doolittle.....	12½
Hendricks	89	Blair.....	½
Packer	26	Andrew Johnson.....	4½
Parker.....	7	McClellan.....	1

THIRTEENTH BALLOT.

Hancock	48½	Doolittle.....	13
Pendleton.....	134½	Hendricks	81
Parker.....	7	Blair	½
Packer	26	Franklin Pierce.....	1
Andrew Johnson.....	4½	Chase.....	½

The following were among the changes on the thirteenth ballot: North Carolina gave nine for Hancock instead of Pendleton; Virginia changed solidly for Hancock, instead of 9½ for Pendleton, as before.

FOURTEENTH BALLOT.

Hancock.....	56	Packer	26
Pendleton.....	130	Doolittle.....	13
Parker	7	Hendricks.....	84½

Among the changes on this ballot, Nebraska went from Pendleton to Hendricks; Tennessee dropped Andrew Johnson, and gave Pendleton 5½ and Hendricks 4½.

FIFTEENTH BALLOT.

Pennsylvania gave twenty-six for Hancock; the full vote was:

Hancock	79½	Andrew Johnson.....	5½
Pendleton.....	129½	Doolittle....	12
Parker.....	7	Hendricks .	82½

SIXTEENTH BALLOT.

Arkansas changed five votes from Pendleton to Hancock.

Louisiana changed to Hancock.

Mississippi did the same.

Missouri gave Hancock two additional votes.

Maryland gave him 5½ of her votes.

Each vote for Hancock was greeted with cheers.

Hancock.....	113½	Andrew Johnson.....	5½
Pendleton.....	107½	Doolittle.	12
Parker .	7	Hendricks.....	70½

Ten minutes recess.

SEVENTEENTH BALLOT.

Hancock.....	137½	Hoffman.	3
Hendricks.....	80	Parker.....	7
Pendleton.....	70	Andrew Johnson.....	6
Doolittle	12	Chase.....	½

The roll was called on a motion to adjourn.

The motion to adjourn was lost; also a motion for recess till 7 P. M.

EIGHTEENTH BALLOT.

Hancock	144 $\frac{1}{2}$	Doolittle	12
Pendleton.....	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	Hendricks.....	87
Parker	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Hoffman.....	3
Andrew Johnson.....	10		

NINETEENTH BALLOT.

Hancock.....	135	Blair.....	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hendricks	107 $\frac{1}{2}$	Field.....	5
English.....	6	Chase.....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Parker	22	Seymour.....	4
Doolittle.....	12		

The roll was called on the twentieth ballot.

Arkansas broke from Hancock, and gave Hendricks 4 of her 5 votes.

Massachusetts asked time and was passed.

New Jersey voted 7 for Hendricks.

New York adhered to Hendricks.

Ohio asked time and was passed. The excitement and interest was intense.

Pennsylvania adhered to Hancock.

Kentucky gave Hendricks 5, Hancock 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Massachusetts asked and obtained leave to retire for fifteen minutes.

Ohio gave English 10, Hancock 11, and then obtained leave to retire for consultation.

The Chair announced a general recess for fifteen minutes.

The Convention being again called to order, Massachusetts voted 11 for Hancock, 1 declining to vote.

TWENTIETH BALLOT.

English.....	16	Blair	13
Hancock.....	142½	Field	9
Doolittle.....	12	Seymour (Conn.)....	2
Hendricks.....	121		

The roll was called on the twenty-first ballot.

Kentucky and Massachusetts again asked time, and were passed.

Missouri abandoned Blair, and gave Hancock 6 and Hendricks 4.

North Carolina gave Hendricks 6.

Pennsylvania, 26 for Hancock.

Tennessee split again, giving Johnson 5; Hancock, 2½; McClellan, ½. (*Cheers in the gallery.*)

Mr. Seymour resumed the chair.

Massachusetts, 4 for Chase. (*Great prolonged and repeated cheers in the galleries, and hisses on the floor.*)

TWENTY-FIRST BALLOT.

Hancock.....	135½	Field.....	8
Hendricks	132	Chase.....	4
English.....	19	McClellan.....	½
Doolittle.....	12	Hoffman.....	½
Johnson.....	5		

On the twenty-second ballot California voted solid for Hendricks.

Minnesota gave Hendricks her entire 4.

Missouri gave Hendricks 8.

Nevada gave Hendricks 3.

New York adhered to Hendricks.

North Carolina gave Hendricks 9. (*Great cheering.*)

When Ohio was called, Mr. McCook, by unanimous direction of his delegation, and with the assent and approval of every public man in that State, including

Mr. Pendleton, put in nomination against his inclination, but no longer against his honor, the name of Hon. Horatio Seymour. Let us vote for a man whom the Presidency has sought, and who has not sought the Presidency. This he believed would drive from power the Radical cabal at Washington. He believed the nomination would command the unanimous approval of the Democrats and the Conservative men of all sections. He asked on behalf of the country that Seymour should yield to the wish of the Convention.

(Great excitement and applause.)

Mr. McCook cast 21 votes for Horatio Seymour.

(Renewed cheering.)

Mr. SEYMOUR rose and said the motion just made excited most mingled emotions. He had no language in which to thank the Convention, and to express his regret that his name had been presented; but in a question affecting his duty and honor he must stand by his opinion against the world. He could not be nominated without putting himself and the Democratic party in peril. When he declined the nomination he meant it. He paid an eloquent tribute to Mr. Pendleton and his magnanimity, and in closing, said:—Thanking the Convention, your candidate I cannot be.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM said in times of great exigence and calamity every personal consideration should be cast aside. He insisted that Horatio Seymour must yield to the demonstration in his behalf.

TWENTY-SECOND BALLOT.

Ohio nominated Horatio Seymour, when most of the States changed their votes for Seymour. Pennsylv-

nia followed suit, and a scene of general excitement ensued.

Mr. KIERNAN (N. Y.) said:—To relieve every body in regard to the New York delegation, he would say, they have had no lot or part in the movement of Ohio; they had heard something of it, but declined to take any part in it, out of regard for the proper sensitiveness of the President of the Convention. He urged the necessity of success in the campaign, and expressed his opinion that Mr. Seymour could now accept the judgment of the Convention with honor, and that he should yield as a matter of duty to its wishes. With him as the candidate, New York was good for one hundred thousand majority.

The call of the roll was then proceeded with.

Tennessee gave Horatio Seymour 10.

When Wisconsin was called, Mr. Palmer seconded the state of Ohio, and cast 8 votes for Horatio Seymour.

(*Great cheering.*)

Kentucky gave Seymour her 11 votes.

(*Great cheering.*)

Massachusetts gave 12 for Seymour.

North Carolina changed her 9 votes from Hendricks to Seymour. (*Cheers.*)

Pennsylvania asked that her vote be not recorded for the present.

Mississippi changed from Hancock to Seymour.

(*Great cheering and confusion ensued, delegates standing upon the seats. Cries of "Sit down in front," "Order."*)

Mr. PRICE took the chair and insisted that the gentlemen must take their seats, and he would recognize no one until order was restored.

Mr. WOODWARD (Pa.) now rose and transferred her 26 votes to Horatio Seymour. (*Great cheering and disorder. Cries of delegates all over the house to their respective chairmen, "Change our vote!" "Change our vote!" Half a dozen States at once wanted to change their votes.*)

Missouri changed to Seymour, 11.

Illinois followed *en masse* for Seymour. (*Tremendous cheering and indescribable confusion.*)

Indiana changed solidly for Seymour.

Iowa came next, 8 for Seymour.

Texas cast her 6 for Seymour.

Here the cannon on the street began to fire a salute for the nominee.

State after State came in, but the confusion and noise was so great that not a word could be distinguished of what anybody said.

Alabama, Maine, Kansas and Arkansas, followed successively, unanimously for Seymour.

Mr. DAWSON (Pa.) moved that the nomination be made by acclamation, but there was so much confusion that nothing was done with it.

A delegate from Minnesota, frantically waving one of the State standards, attracted the attention of the Chairman, and cast the vote of Minnesota for Seymour.

Georgia paid a tribute to Hancock, the most knightly soldier of the war, whom she had supported earnestly, but she now united in voting unanimously for Seymour.

Louisiana gave her 7 to Seymour.

Mr. STUART (Mich.) said that State came to the Con-

vention with a single purpose to nominate a candidate who would certainly be elected. That position she occupied to-day. He proceeded to eulogize Seymour as the greatest statesman now living, and cast Michigan's 8 votes for him.

The band on Fourteenth street struck up "The Battle Cry of Freedom," and the cannon still saluting.

A delegate from South Carolina said he was from a State which felt most heavily the chains of oppression of Radical rule. He said South Carolina came here caring more for men than measures. They were satisfied with the platform adopted so unanimously, and South Carolina, with the invocation of God's blessing on the party on which rests the last hope of the country, casts her vote for Seymour.

Maryland changed to Seymour.

Mr. TILDEN, of New York, rose. Great interest to hear him was manifested, and cries were uttered to "take the platform." He spoke from his place, however, and said he did not last evening believe that the event which has now occurred could have happened. His remarks here were not distinctly audible to the reporter because of the conversation in his vicinity. He was understood to say that he had no expectation that Ohio would have come to the support of even so distinguished a citizen of the State of New York, which had opposed Ohio's most earnest wishes. In conclusion, he announced the unanimous vote of New York for Horatio Seymour.

Mr. CLARK (Wis.) called for the ratification of the nomination by the spectators, by three cheers for Horatio Seymour, which were given with a will.

The Chair announced the result. All the States having voted, the result was, for Horatio Seymour, 317. (*Enthusiastic cheering.*)

The whole Convention and audience rose *en masse*, waving hats, handkerchiefs, fans, etc., for several minutes. Loud calls for Seymour. Cries of "sit down in front." The Chair rapped with his gavel, and called to order in vain for some time.

The Chair (Mr. PRICE) announced that Seymour, having received the unanimous vote of the Convention, was the standard-bearer for the coming campaign.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The platform of the Democratic party for the campaign of 1868, as adopted by the convention which nominated Mr. Horatio Seymour for the Presidency, is as follows:

The Democratic party in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come—(*tremendous cheering*)—by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern States in Constitutional Convention assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated, do with the return of peace demand:

First—Immediate restoration of all the States to

their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people. (*Cheers.*)

Second—Amnesty for all past political offences, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens. (*Cheers.*)

Third—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States. (*Thunders of applause.*)

Fourth—Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities. (*Renewed cheering and cries of "Read it again."*)

Fifth—One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder. (*Great cheering and cries of "Read it again."*) The fifth resolution was again read and again cheered.

Sixth—Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau—(*great cheering*)—and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting Internal Revenue, so that

the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

Seventh—Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the Government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease. (*Cheers.*)

Eighth—Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty and individual rights and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction. (*Loud applause.*)

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and

the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career.

After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. (*Cheers.*) Instead of restoring the Union it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures, and arrests, and military trials, and secret starchamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a Bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort—(*cheers*);—it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunal and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the

learned Chief-Justice—(*loud cheering*)—has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded any thing known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and if sanctioned by the people will subvert our form of Government, and can only end in a single centralized and consolidated government in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States.

And that we regard the Reconstruction acts (so-

called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution. (*Cheers.*)

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves should be so applied. (*Cheers.*)

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson—(*applause*)—in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard. (*Great applause.*)

Upon this Platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people—(*cheers*);—and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore

belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren. (*Loud cheering.*)

The nomination of Mr. Seymour was received with acclamations of delight throughout the entire country. Ratification meetings were held in all the principal cities and towns of the Union, and the brilliant political services of the Democratic standard-bearer were extolled by the most eloquent orators of the land.

GOV. SEYMOUR'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

On the fourth of August, 1868, Governor Seymour replied at length to the Committee appointed to apprise him of his nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency. His reply is as follows.

UTICA, *August 4, 1868.*

GENTLEMEN—When, in the City of New York, on the 11th of July, in the presence of a vast multitude, on behalf of the National Democratic Convention, you tendered to me its unanimous nomination as its candidate for the office of President of the United States, I stated I had no words “adequate to express my gratitude for the good will and kindness which that body had shown to me. Its nomination was unsought and unexpected. It was my ambition to take an active part, from which I am now excluded, in the great struggle going on for the restoration of good government, of peace and prosperity to our country. But I have been caught up by the whelming tide which is bearing us on to a great political change, and I find myself unable to resist its pressure. You have

also given me a copy of the resolutions put forth by the Convention, showing its position upon all the great questions which now agitate the country. As the presiding officer of that Convention, I am familiar with their scope and import; as one of its members, I am a party to their terms. They are in accord with my views, and I stand upon them in the contest upon which we are now entering, and shall strive to carry them out in future, wherever I may be placed, in political or private life.

I then stated that I would send you these words of acceptance in a letter, as is the customary form. I see no reason, upon reflection, to change or qualify the terms of my approval of the resolutions of the Convention.

I have delayed the mere formal act of communicating to you in writing what I thus publicly said, for the purpose of seeing what light the actions of Congress would throw upon the interests of the country. Its acts since the adjournment of the Convention, show an alarm lest a change of political power will give to the people what they ought to have—a clear statement of what has been done with the money drawn from them during the past eight years. Thoughtful men feel that there have been wrongs in the financial management, which have been kept from the public knowledge. The Congressional party has not only allied itself with military power, which is to be brought to bear directly upon the elections in many States, but it also holds itself in perpetual session, with the avowed purpose of making such laws as it shall see fit, in view of the elections which will

take place within a few weeks. It did not, therefore, adjourn, but took a recess, to meet again if its partizan interests shall demand its reassembling. Never before in the history of our country has Congress thus taken a menacing attitude towards its electors. Under its influence, some of the States, organized by its agents, are proposing to deprive the people of the right to vote for Presidential electors, and the first bold steps are taken to destroy the rights of suffrage. It is not strange, therefore, that thoughtful men see in such action the proof that there is, with those who shape the policy of the Republican party, motives stronger and deeper than the mere wish to hold political power; that there is a dread of some exposure, which drives them on to acts so desperate and impolitic.

Many of the ablest leaders and journals of the Republican party have openly deplored the violence of Congressional action, and its tendency to keep up discord in our country. The great interests of our Union demand peace, order, and a return to those industrial pursuits, without which we cannot maintain the faith or honor of our Government. The minds of business men are perplexed by uncertainties. The hours of toil of our laborers are lengthened by the costs of living, made by the direct and indirect exactions of government. Our people are harassed by the heavy and frequent demands of the tax-gatherer. Without distinction of party, there is a strong feeling in favor of that line of action which shall restore order and confidence, and shall lift off the burdens which now hinder and vex the industry of the coun-

try. Yet, at this moment, those in power have thrown into the Senate chamber, and Congressional hall, new elements of discord and violence. Men have been admitted as Representatives of some of the Southern States, with the declaration upon their lips that they cannot live in the States they claim to represent, without military protection. These men are to make laws for the North as well as the South. These men, who, a few days since, were seeking, as suppliants, that Congress would give them power within their respective States, are to-day the masters and controllers of the actions of those bodies. Entering them with minds filled with passions, their first demands have been that Congress shall look upon the States from which they come as in conditions of civil war; that the majority of their populations, embracing their intelligence, shall be treated as public enemies; that military forces shall be kept up at the cost of the people of the North; and that there shall be no peace and order at the South save that which is made by arbitrary power. Every intelligent man knows that these men owe their seats in Congress to the disorder in the South. Every man knows that they not only owe their present positions to disorder, but that every motive springing from the love of power, of gain, of a desire for vengeance, prompts them to keep the South in anarchy. While that exists, they are independent of the wills or wishes of their fellow-citizens. While confusion reigns, they are the dispensers of the profits and the honors which grow out of the government of mere force. These men are now placed in positions where they cannot

urge their views of policy, but where they can enforce them. When others shall be admitted in this manner from the remaining Southern States, although they will have in truth no constituents, they will have more power in the Senate than a majority of the people of this Union living in nine of the great States. In vain the wisest members of the Republican party protested against the policy that led to this result. While the chiefs of the late rebellion have submitted to the results of the war, and are now quietly engaged in useful pursuits for the support of themselves and their families, and are trying, by the force of their example, to lead back the people of the South to the order, and industry, not only essential to their well-being, but to the greatness and prosperity of our common country, we see that those who, without ability or influence, have been thrown by the agitations of civil convulsion into positions of honor and profit, are striving to keep alive the passions to which they owe their elevation. And they clamorously insist that they are the only friends of our Union—a Union that can only have a sure foundation in fraternal regard, and a common desire to promote the peace, the order, and the happiness of all sections of our land.

Events in Congress, since the adjournment of the Convention, have vastly increased the importance of a political victory by those who are seeking to bring back economy, simplicity, and justice, in the administration of our national affairs. Many Republicans have heretofore clung to their party, who have regretted the extremes of violence to which it has run. They have cherished a faith, that while the action of their political friends has been mistaken, their motives

have been good. They must now see, that the Republican party is in that condition that it cannot carry out a wise and peaceful policy, whatever its motives may be. It is a misfortune, not only to a country but to a governing party itself, when its action is unchecked by any form of opposition. It has been the misfortune of the Republican party that the events of the past few years have given it so much power that it has been able to shackle the Executive, to trammel the Judiciary, and to carry out the views of the most unwise and violent of its members. When this state of things exists in any party, it has ever been found that the sober judgments of its ablest leaders do not control. There is hardly an able man who helped to build up the Republican organization who has not within the past three years warned it against its excesses, who has not been borne down and forced to give up his convictions of what the interests of the country called for: or, if too patriotic to do this, who has not been driven from its ranks. If this has been the case heretofore, what will be its action now with this new infusion of men who, without a decent respect for the views of those who had just given them their positions, begin their legislative career with calls for arms, with demands that their States shall be regarded as in a condition of civil war, and with a declaration that they are ready and anxious to degrade the President of the United States whenever they can persuade or force Congress to bring forward new articles of impeachment.

The Republican party, as well as we, are interested in putting some check upon this violence. It must be

clear to every thinking man that a division of political power tends to check the violence of party action and to assure the peace and good order of society. The election of a Democratic Executive, and a majority of Democratic members to the House of Representatives would not give to that party organization the power to make sudden or violent changes, but it would serve to check those extreme measures which have been deplored by the best men of both political organizations. The result would most certainly lead to that peaceful restoration of the Union and re-establishment of fraternal relationship which the country desires. I am sure that the best men of the Republican party deplore as deeply as I do the spirit of violence shown by those recently admitted to seats in Congress from the South. The condition of civil war which they contemplate must be abhorrent to every right-thinking man.

I have no mere personal wishes which mislead my judgment in regard to the pending election. No man who has weighed and measured the duties of the office of President of the United States, can fail to be impressed with the cares and toils of him who is to meet its demands. It is not merely to float with popular currents, without a policy or a purpose. On the contrary, while our Constitution gives just weight to the public will, its distinguishing feature is that it seeks to protect the rights of minorities. Its greatest glory is that it puts restraints upon power. It gives force and form to those maxims and principles of civil liberty for which the martyrs of freedom have struggled through ages. It declares the right of the people—

“To be secure in their persons, houses, and papers

against unreasonable searches and seizures. That Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances. It secures the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury."

No man can rightfully enter upon the duties of the Presidential office, unless he is not only willing to carry out the wishes of the people expressed in a constitutional way, but is also prepared to stand up for the rights of minorities. He must be ready to uphold the free exercise of religion. He must denounce measures which would wrong personal or home rights, or the religious conscience of the humblest citizen of the land. He must maintain, without distinction of creed or nationality, all the privileges of American citizenship.

The experience of every public man who has been faithful to his trust teaches him that no one can do the duties of the office of President, unless he is ready not only to undergo the falsehoods and abuse of the bad, but to suffer from the censure of the good who are misled by prejudices and misrepresentations. There are no attractions in such positions, which deceive my judgment, when I say that a great change is going on in the public mind. The mass of the Republican party are more thoughtful, temperate and just, than they were during the excitement which attended the progress and close of the civil war. As the energy of the Democratic party springs from their devotion to their cause and not to their candidates, I may with propriety speak of the fact that never in the political

history of our country has the action of any like body been hailed with such universal and wide-spread enthusiasm as that which has been shown in relation to the position of the National Democratic Convention. With this the candidates had nothing to do. Had any others of those named been selected, this spirit would have been, perhaps more marked. The zeal and energy of the conservative masses spring from a desire to make a change of political policy, and from the confidence that they can carry out their purpose.

In this faith they are strengthened by the co-operation of the great body of those who served in the Union army and navy during the war. Having given nearly sixteen thousand commissions to the officers of that army, I know their views and wishes. They demand the Union for which they fought. The largest meeting of these gallant soldiers which ever assembled was held in New York, and indorsed the action of the National Convention. In words instinct with meaning, they called upon the Government to stop in its policy of hate, discord and disunion, and in terms of fervid eloquence they demanded the restoration of the rights and liberties of the American people.

When there is such accord between those who proved themselves brave and self-sacrificing in war, and those who are thoughtful and patriotic in council, I cannot doubt we shall gain a political triumph which will restore our Union, bring back peace and prosperity to our land, and will give us once more the blessings of a wise, economical and honest government.

I am, gentlemen, truly yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

TO GEN. G. W. MORGAN, AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

MAJOR--GEN'L. FRANK P. BLAIR, Jr.,

THE

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE choice made by the National Democratic Convention which assembled in New York on July 4th, 1868, for a candidate for the second highest office in the gift of the American people, was Major General Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, who received the spontaneous and unanimous nomination for Vice-President of the United States, thus making "Seymour and Blair" the grand rallying cry of the great Democratic party, during the important political struggle of the fall of 1868.

The nomination of General Blair was hailed with the most intense enthusiasm, not only by the members of the convention and those present as spectators of that most important assemblage, but by the Democratic party at large, as soon as the telegraphic wires spread the news over the length and breadth of the land.

A glance at the life and public services of General Blair will convince the most sceptical that no better

nomination could be made. He has proved himself a gallant and courageous soldier, and a wise, patriotic and consistent statesman, and his election will be a harbinger of good for the future welfare of the country should he chance to occupy the Presidential chair.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS OF GENL. BLAIR.

General Blair was born in the quiet, pleasant little town of Lexington, Kentucky, on the 19th of February, 1821, and is consequently now in his forty-eighth year. At a very early age he gave indications of the possession of superior mental qualities and was sent to Princeton College, where he graduated at the age of twenty, with high honors. Soon after graduating, he removed to St. Louis, Missouri, and there commenced the study of the law, in which profession he made most astonishing progress. In the year 1845, when twenty-five years of age, he made a journey to the Rocky Mountains, with a company of trappers, for the improvement of his health which had become somewhat impaired, owing to his unremitting attention to study.

HIS SERVICES UNDER KEARNEY AND DONIPHAN.

During Polk's administration, when the Mexican war broke out, Blair joined the command of Kearney and the gallant Doniphan, in New Mexico, and served as a private soldier until 1847, when he returned to St. Louis and resumed the practice of his chosen profession.

HE JOINS THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

In 1848, he took sides with his father, F. P. Blair, Sr., and gave his hearty support to the Free Soil

party, and in a speech delivered at the Court House, in St. Louis, he contended against the extension of slavery in the territories of the United States.

In 1852, he was elected from St. Louis County, Mo., to the Legislature as an avowed Freesoiler, and he was re-elected in 1854, though T. H. Benton, the Congressional candidate of the Freesoilers, was beaten. In 1856 Mr. Blair was returned to Congress from the St. Louis district, over Mr. Kennett, who had defeated Colonel Benton two years before. In 1857, he delivered an elaborate speech in the House of Representatives in favor of colonizing the black population of the United States in Central America. Mr. Blair was also an editor and writer on the Missouri Democrat at one time. The father of General Blair was a firm and fast friend of Andrew Jackson: the General, when a child, was wont to play on the knees of Andrew Jackson in the White House. His father was at that time editor of the Globe in Washington.

HIS RECORD DURING THE REBELLION.

In 1860, Mr. Blair contested the seat in Congress of Mr. Burnett, from the St. Louis district, and was very soon afterwards returned to the House, after which he resigned his seat. In the same year, he made a speech in Brooklyn in favor of Mr. Lincoln for President, and also delivered a speech at the Metropolitan Hotel, in New York, in June, 1861, in favor of vigorous and active war measures, and took the ground that General Scott was rather too slow in his operations. Mr. Blair returned to St. Louis and was about the first man that volunteered from the State of Missouri, and he raised

a large number of soldiers in that State. The First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers was raised by him, and he took the field as colonel of the regiment, although he did not hold a commission as Colonel. About this time a difficulty occurred between Colonel Blair and General Fremont, and the latter very unjustly placed Blair under arrest, Fremont being the commanding officer of the department in which Colonel Blair served.

The arbitrary arrest of Colonel Blair raised great excitement and a storm of indignation in St. Louis, where Blair was universally known and greatly admired and respected. The quarrel was taken up by the public journals of St. Louis, all of which sided with Blair. President Lincoln ordered Colonel Blair to be released from arrest in September, 1861, thereby causing a great feeling of relief to the numerous friends of Colonel Blair in St. Louis. He was again arrested by General Fremont, but finally released after considerable newspaper discussion by both parties. Colonel Blair rapidly rose as a soldier, and became one of the most skilful generals in the Western armies. On the 22d of May, 1862, General Blair commanded a division in Sherman's attack on Vicksburg. The brigades of Ewing, Smith, and Kirby Smith, composed his division. Frank Blair had the honor of leading the attack in person, five batteries concentrating their guns on the rebel position. The attack was terrific, and was repulsed. As the head of the column passed over the parapet a dense fire of musketry swept away all its leading files. The rear of the column attempted to rush on, but were driven back. Here, by the bad

management of Grant, Blair was not supported, as the supporting division was too far away to give him assistance.

General Blair's division took a very active part at the capture of Vicksburg and did the heaviest fighting in Sherman's command. Grant at this time pronounced General Blair to be the best volunteer general in the United States Army, an opinion that was fully sustained by his conduct in action and his very superior judgment as a campaigner.

BLAIR'S MARCH WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA.

In the great historic march of Sherman to the sea, General Blair commanded the 17th Army Corps, the finest corps of the entire army.

He crossed the Ogeechee River near Burton, and was successful in capturing the first prisoners. His division laid pontoons across the river, and the two wings were thus united before Savannah. General Blair's division was the first to march into Savannah. From Savannah, the 14th Corps was taken by water to Pocotaligo, from whence it threatened Charleston, while Slocum, with the 20th Corps and Kilpatrick's Cavalry marched up the Augusta river to Sister Ferry and threatened an advance on Savannah at Tallahatchie.

General Blair waded through a swamp three miles wide, with water four feet deep, the weather being bitter cold. Here the 17th Corps had another fight and lost a large number in killed and wounded, but Blair succeeded in driving the rebels behind the Edisto at Branchville.

The army then directed its march on Orangeburg. Here the 17th Corps carried the bridge over the Edisto river by a gallant and well directed dash, General Blair leading his men up to the battery's mouth, which was covered by a parapet of cotton and earth, extending as far as could be seen. Blair threw Smith's division in front, while his other division crossed below, and carried the bridge after a severe struggle.

A few of Blair's corps were the first men to enter Columbia. The 17th Corps were not however guilty of burning the city, as has been charged.

At the battle of Bentonville, N. C., on the march up to Richmond, the 17th Corps were heavily engaged.

It is not necessary to go further into detail of his services and gallantry. His name appears in the history of the great civil war as one of the first soldiers of the North. His life has been a romantic one, and full of strange and eventful occurrences. He bade farewell to his troops July 24, 1865, in an affecting address. He was nominated Internal Revenue Collector of Missouri, in March, 1865. His nomination was rejected by the Senate. His popularity in the West is very great.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GENERAL BLAIR.

On the 30th of June, 1868, General Blair, in reply to certain interrogatories from his friend, Colonel Broadhead, of St. Louis, addressed him the following reply, setting forth his views of our national affairs, and commenting with severity upon the Republican party and its measures.

**GENERAL FRANK P. BLAIR DEFINES HIS
POSITION.**

WASHINGTON, *June 30, 1868,*

Colonel James O. Broadhead.

DEAR COLONEL:—In reply to your inquiries I beg leave to say that I leave you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic Convention, and to submit the following, as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest.

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the States, so long excluded, will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in both branches of Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the Radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can only be overthrown by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of Congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

If the President elected by the Democracy enforces or permits others to enforce these Reconstruction acts, the Radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and fifty Representatives, will control both branches

of Congress, and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that it is for the President elect to declare these acts null and void, to compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the co-operation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed, on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put this issue plainly to the country.

I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us: Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the Government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by the carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like

these, eat up the revenues and resources of the Government, destroy its credit, and make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress, known as the Reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces every thing else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.

Your friend,

FRANK P. BLAIR.

HIS NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The National Democratic Convention assembled in New York City, on the 4th of July, 1868, and having after some days deliberations, nominated the Hon. Horatio Seymour as their candidate for the Presidency, they proceeded to ballot for their choice for the Vice-Presidency. Several gentlemen were placed in nomination by the States on the roll call, before Kentucky was reached. When that State was called, Ex-Confederate General PRESTON (Ky.) said: Mr. President, I am instructed unanimously by the State of Kentucky, by its delegates here assembled, to place in nomination a gentleman of great distinction in his State and in the country; one in the prime of manhood; distinguished by his devotion to the Union, having served it both in a civil and in a military

capacity with the utmost honor, and obtained a reputation in the army second to no man of his grade. Kentucky feels that this nomination is due to the great West, and no Southern State has presented any nominee for any place, as you will observe, here, but I feel that it is appropriate—for we have entertained different opinions from him—to state that I am instructed now to nominate him in order to testify that we, the soldiers of the South, stretch forward our hands to the soldiers of the North, (*applause*), in the spirit of a noble amity that your resolutions have inculcated. (*Applause*.) It is with that view, sir, after consultation with the Northern delegations, and one of the most powerful, that the duty is devolved upon me of making this nomination. I now have the privilege, therefore, of nominating as a candidate for the Vice-President of the United States, General Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. (*Applause*.)

General JAMES B. STEEDMAN (La.)—Mr. President: I rise, sir, as one of the humble representatives of the United States Army in the late war, holding a seat in the Convention, to second, on behalf of Louisiana, the nomination of my comrade-in-arms, Major-General Frank P. Blair. (*Applause*.) When this Convention adjourned, I went immediately to the headquarters of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Executive Committee, on Union Square. I met there some ten or twelve gentlemen, who were distinguished in the army, and consulted them in regard to their choice as a candidate as a Vice-President of the United States, and by a unanimous vote of all who were present, I was requested to say to this Convention, without disparagement to the name of any other soldier that has been presented

here, or may be presented, that General Frank P. Blair would be acceptable to the soldiers of the United States Army. (*Applause.*) In the exhibition of the magnanimity that has been made in this Convention by the soldiers of the Confederate army, in coming up and giving a contradiction to the charge of the Radical party that they did not accept sincerely the situation in casting their votes as they did in this Convention for that distinguished soldier of the United States Army, Major-General Winfield Scott Hancock, they have given renewed assurances of their devotion to the Union, of their willingness to accept the issues of the war by presenting to this Convention, through General Preston, whom I met on the bloody field of Chickamauga, the name of Major-General Francis P. Blair. (*Low applause.*) I therefore feel authorized to say that if General Blair is nominated, his nomination will meet with a response from every brave and true man that fought on either side, who desires to see peace and prosperity restored to our common country. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the Maryland Delegation—Maryland makes no nomination, but heartily concurs in the nomination made by the State of Kentucky. (*Applause.*)

Massachusetts, Michigan and Minnesota, made no nomination.

The Chairman of the Mississippi Delegation—Mr. President: The State of Mississippi makes no nomination, but most cordially seconds the nomination of General Blair.

The Chairman of the Missouri Delegation—Missouri makes no nomination, but seconds the nomination of General Blair. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the Nebraska Delegation—Nebraska makes no nomination, but seconds the nomination of General Frank P. Blair. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the Nevada Delegation—Nevada makes no nomination, but seconds that of Frank P. Blair.

New Hampshire and New Jersey made no nomination.

Mr. TILDEN, of New York—The Delegation of New York desires to be passed for the present.

The Chairman of the North Carolina Delegation—Mr. President, North Carolina makes no nomination for Vice-President, but in order to show the people of the United States that we have no prejudice against a gallant soldier who fought for his section of the country, we desire to second the nomination of General Francis P. Blair. (*Applause.*)

Ohio made no nomination.

The Chairman of the Oregon Delegation—Oregon makes no nomination, but seconds the nomination of General Francis P. Blair.

Mr. WOODWARD.—Mr. President: The State of Pennsylvania makes no nomination, but I am instructed by the Delegation of Pennsylvania to second the nomination of that brave soldier and judicious statesman, General Frank P. Blair. (*Applause.*)

Rhode Island made no nomination.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of South Carolina.—Mr. Chairman: The State of South Carolina answers her call, not by her Chairman, but by her best beloved son, a soldier, who knows better than I do to interchange the courtesies, which belong to enemies in war and friends in

peace. I have the honor to introduce to this Convention Mr. Wade Hampton. (*Low! cheers.*)

SPEECH OF WADE HAMPTON.

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—The only reason I can give why my State has done me the honor to ask me to speak for her on this occasion is, I suppose, that I met the distinguished gentleman whose name has been presented by Kentucky, on more than one field. Our State wishes me to say to the soldiers, and in reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois, the distinguished soldier from Illinois, that the soldiers of the South cordially, heartily, and cheerfully accept the right hand of friendship which is extended to men. (*Cries of "Good," and cheers.*) We wish to show that we appreciate this kindness and cordiality that have been extended to us by all classes. We wish particularly to make an acknowledgment to the Federal soldiers who have met us so cordially and so friendly. It is due to them, I think, that they should have the second place upon the ticket. It is due to that Convention which so cordially approved your platform; it is due to the South, and I, for my State, most heartily and cordially second the nomination of General Blair.

Upon the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Hampton was congratulated personally by General McClelland and General McCook, amid the applause of the Convention and the spectators.

The call of States was then proceeded with.

The Chairman of the Tennessee Delegation—Tennessee makes no nomination, but concurs in, and most cordially indorses, the nomination of General Blair. (*Cheers.*)

Texas and Vermont made no nomination.

General KEMPER (Va.)—As a son of the old Commonwealth of Virginia, I am instructed to strike hands with the soldiers of the Army of the North, and, in the name of Virginia, to accept and ratify, as a token of the perpetuity of this Union, the nomination of Major-General Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. (*Applause.*)

West Virginia and Wisconsin made no nomination.

Mr. TILDEN (N. Y.)—The State of New York, following Ohio and the other great States of the Northwest, concurs in the nomination of General Frank P. Blair. (*Cries of "Good," and cheers.*)

Mr. CHARLES W. BLAIR, (Kan.)—Mr. Chairman, as I had the honor to present to this Convention the name of Thomas Ewing, Jr., of Kansas, I now desire on behalf of his friends, and at his instance, to withdraw his name, and move that the nomination of Frank P. Blair be made by acclamation.

Mr. O'NEIL (Iowa)—In view of the almost unanimous sentiment of this Convention, I beg leave, in the name of the Iowa delegation to withdraw the name of General Dodge, and to second the nomination of General Frank P. Blair. (*Cheers.*)

NOMINATION OF GENERAL BLAIR.

Mr. BIGLER (Pa.)—As I have understood the rulings of the Chair, it has been that it is required that the States be called and the ballot cast. I move that the rule be suspended, and that the nomination of Francis P. Blair be made by acclamation.

There being expressions of dissent, Mr. Bigler withdrew his motion.

The motion to declare the nomination of Francis P. Blair by acclamation was lost.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call of States.

The Chairman of the Alabama Delegation being called, said: I take pleasure in casting the votes of my State for that accomplished soldier of the Union army, General Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Arkansas Delegation—Arkansas casts her entire vote for Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the California Delegation—California having been the first to nominate, now cordially casts her entire vote for Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Connecticut Delegation—Connecticut casts her six votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Delaware Delegation—Delaware casts her three votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Florida Delegation—Florida casts her three votes for General Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Georgia Delegation—Georgia casts her nine votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Illinois Delegation—Illinois casts her entire vote for Frank P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Indiana Delegation—Indiana casts twelve and one-half votes for Francis P. Blair, one-half being absent.

Several Delegates—Make it unanimous.

The Chairman of the Indiana Delegation—We make it unanimous.

The Chairman of the Iowa Delegation—Iowa casts her eight votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Kansas Delegation—Kansas is for the first time united, and casts her three votes solid for Frank P. Blair. (*Laughter.*)

The Chairman of the Kentucky Delegation—Kentucky gives her entire vote for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Louisiana Delegation—Louisiana casts her seven votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Maine Delegation—Maine casts her seven votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Maryland Convention—Maryland casts her seven votes for General Frank P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Massachusetts Delegation—The State of Massachusetts casts her twelve votes for Frank P. Blair. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the Michigan Delegation—The State of Michigan casts her eight votes for Frank P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Minnesota Delegation—Minnesota casts her full vote for General Frank P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Mississippi Delegation—Mississippi casts her full vote for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Missouri Delegation—Missouri casts her eleven votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Nebraska Delegation—Nebraska casts her vote for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Nevada Delegation—Nevada casts her vote for General Blair.

The Chairman of the New Hampshire Delegation—New Hampshire casts her vote for General Blair.

Mr. KIERNAN, of New York—In the absence of the Chairman, I am directed by the delegation to say that New York casts thirty-three votes for General Blair. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the North Carolina Delegation—North Carolina casts her vote for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Ohio Delegation—Ohio casts twenty-one votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Oregon Delegation—Oregon casts her three votes for General Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Pennsylvania Delegation—Pennsylvania casts her twenty-six votes for General Blair, and proposes next November to cast her electoral vote for Seymour and Blair by more than twenty thousand majority. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman of the Rhode Island Delegation—Rhode Island casts her four votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the South Carolina Delegation—South Carolina casts her six votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Tennessee Delegation—Mr. Chairman, it is the pleasure of the Tennessee Delegation that the vote of the State of Tennessee shall be cast by a distinguished Southern soldier, whom I have the honor to present to the Convention—the well-known General N. B. Forrest. (*Great applause.*)

General FORREST—I have the pleasure, sir, to cast the vote of Tennessee for General Blair; and I here wish to take this occasion to thank the delegates here for the kind and uniformly courteous treatment that the Southern delegates have received at this Convention. (*Great cheering.*)

The Chairman of the Texas Delegation—Mr. President, the Texas delegation desire that a distinguished soldier from that State should respond for it.

General SMITH, Texas—Mr. President, I esteem it a great honor that I have been requested by the Chairman of the Texas delegation and the members of that delegation on this occasion to cast the six votes of the

State of Texas for Major-General Frank P. Blair. It is an evidence that the soldiers of Texas, who fought through the Confederate war, will give, when we come to vote, as warm a reception in the support of General Frank P. Blair as we did on the field of battle from the commencement of the war to the end of it. (*Cheers.*)

The Chairman of the Vermont Delegation—Five votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the Virginia Delegation—The State of Virginia ends where she began, and casts ten votes for General Blair.

The Chairman of the West Virginia Delegation—West Virginia casts her five votes for Francis P. Blair.

The Chairman of the Wisconsin Delegation cast eight votes for General Blair.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULT.

The SECRETARY—The vote stands upon Vice-President as follows: Whole vote of the Electoral College, three hundred and seventeen, which were given unanimously for FRANK P. BLAIR, of Missouri.

HIIS NOTIFICATION BY THE COMMITTEE.

The next day after the nomination, General Blair was waited upon by the Committee appointed to convey to him the action of the Convention. General Morgan addressed him as follows:

GENERAL MORGAN TENDERS THE NOMINATION TO GENERAL BLAIR.

GENERAL BLAIR—The committee appointed by the Convention have made it my pleasing duty, sir, to announce to you your unanimous nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Vice-President of the United States—(*applause*)—and in tendering to you, sir, this nomination, I feel sure that it will not only be hailed with acclamation by your fellow-citizens throughout the United States, but by thousands of your gallant comrades on many a well-fought field—(*applause*)—and who will once again rally to the stars and stripes and the defence of free institutions. (*Applause.*)

**MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS P. BLAIR, JR.
ACCEPTS THE NOMINATION.**

General Blair, after the tumultuous applause which greeted him had subsided, said: Mr. Chairman—I accept the platform of resolutions passed by the late Democratic Convention, and I accept their nomination—(*great cheering*)—with feelings of profound gratitude, and, sir, I thank you for the very kind manner in which you have already conveyed to me the decision of the Democratic Convention. I accept the nomination with the conviction that your nomination for the Presidency is one which will carry us to certain victory—(*applause*)—and because I believe that the nomination is the most proper nomination that could be made by the Democratic party. (*Applause.*) The contest which we wage is for the restoration of constitutional government—(*cheers*)—and it is proper that we should make this contest under the lead of one

who has given his life to the maintenance of constitutional government. (*Applause.*) We are to make the contest for the restoration of those great principles of government which belong to our race. (*Great applause.*) And, my fellow-citizens, it is most proper that we should select for our leader a man not from military life, but one who has devoted himself to civil pursuits; who has given himself to the study and the understanding of the Constitution and its maintenance with all the force of reason and judgment. (*Applause.*) My fellow-citizens, I have said that the contest before us was one for the restoration of our government; it is also one for the restoration of our race. (*Applause, long continued.*) It is to prevent the people of our race from being exiled from their homes—(*cheers*)—exiled from the government which they formed and created for themselves and for their children, and to prevent them from being driven out of the country or trodden under foot by an inferior and semi-barbarous race. (*Applause.*) In this country we shall have the sympathy of every man who is worthy to belong to the white race. (*Applause.*) What civilized people on earth would refuse to associate with themselves in all the rights and honors and dignity of their country such men as Lee and Johnson? What civilized country on earth would fail to do honor to those, who, fighting for an erroneous cause, yet distinguished themselves by gallantry in that service? (*Applause.*) In that contest for which they are sought to be disfranchised and to be exiled from their homes—in that contest they have proved themselves worthy to be our peers. (*Applause.*) My fellow-citizens it is not my

purpose to make any long address—(*cries of "Go on"*)—but simply to express my gratitude for the great and distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me.

A voice—"You are worthy of it."

GENERAL BLAIR—And from my heart to reiterate the words of thanks that fell from my lips when I arose.

(*Renewed cheering, during which General Blair retired.*)

GENERAL BLAIR'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Having been officially notified of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, General Blair replied formally to the committee in the following letter:

General G. W. MORGAN, Chairman of the Committee of the National Democratic Convention.

GENERAL:—I take the earliest opportunity of replying to your letter, notifying me of my nomination for Vice-President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention recently held in the city of New York. I accept, without hesitation, the nomination tendered in a manner so gratifying, and give you and the committee my thanks for the very kind and complimentary manner in which you have conveyed to me the decision of the Convention.

I have carefully read the resolutions adopted by the Convention, and most cordially concur in every principle and sentiment they announce. My opinions upon all of the questions which discriminate the great contending parties have been freely expressed on all suitable occasions, and I do not deem it necessary at this

time to reiterate them. The issues upon which the contest turns are clear, and cannot be obscured or disputed by the sophistries of our adversaries. They all resolve themselves into the old and ever-recurring struggle of a few men to absorb the political power of the nation.

This effort, under every conceivable name and disguise, has always characterized the opponents of the Democratic party, but at no time has the attempt assumed a shape so open and daring as in this contest. The adversaries of free and constitutional government, in defiance of the express language of the Constitution, have erected a military despotism in ten of the States of the Union; have taken from the President the powers vested in him by the supreme law, and have deprived the Supreme Court of its jurisdiction.

The right of trial by jury and the great writ of habeas corpus, shields of safety for every citizen, and which have descended to us from the earliest traditions of our ancestors, and which our revolutionary fathers sought to secure to their posterity forever in the fundamental charter of our liberties, have been ruthlessly trampled under foot by the fragment of a Congress. Whole States and communities of people of our own race have been attainted, convicted, condemned and deprived of their rights as citizens without presentment or trial or witnesses, but by Congressional enactments of *ex post facto* laws, and in defiance of the constitutional prohibition denying even to a full and legal Congress the authority to pass any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law.

The same usurping authority has substituted as

electors, in place of the men of our own race, thus illegally attained and disfranchised, a host of ignorant negroes, who are supported in idleness with the public money, and combined together to strip the white race of their birthright, through the management of the Freedmen's Bureau and the emissaries of conspirators in other States, and to complete the oppression the military power of the nation has been placed at their disposal.

In order to make this barbarism supreme, the military leader, under whose prestige this usurping Congress has taken refuge, and the condemnation of their schemes by the free people, in the elections of the last year, and whom they have selected as their candidate, to shield themselves from the result of their own wickedness and crime, has announced his acceptance of the nomination, and his willingness to maintain their usurpations over eight millions of white people at the South, fixed to the earth by his bayonets, he exclaiming, "Let us have peace."

"Peace reigns in Warsaw" was the announcement which heralded the doom of the liberties of a nation. "The Empire is peace," exclaimed Bonaparte when freedom and its defenders expired under the sharp edge of his sword. The peace to which Grant invites us is the peace of despotism and death. Those who seek to restore the Constitution by executing the will of the people condemning the reconstruction acts, already pronounced in the elections of last year, and which will, I am convinced, be still more emphatically expressed by the election of the Democratic candidate as the President of the United States, are denounced

as revolutionists by the partisans of this vindictive Congress.

Negro suffrage, which the popular vote of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Connecticut, and other States have condemned as expressly against the letter of the Constitution, must stand, because their Senators and Representatives have willed it. If the people shall again condemn these atrocious measures by the election of the Democratic candidate for President, they must not be disturbed, although decided to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and although the President is sworn to maintain and support the Constitution. The will of a fraction of a Congress, reinforced with its partisan emissaries, sent to the South and supported there by the soldiery, must stand against the will of the people and the decision of the Supreme Court, and the solemn oath of the President to maintain and support the Constitution.

It is revolutionary to execute the will of the people; it is revolutionary to execute the judgment of the Supreme Court; it is revolutionary in the President to keep inviolate his oath to sustain the Constitution. This false construction of the vital principle of our government is the last resort of those who would have their arbitrary reconstruction sway and supersede our time-honored institutions. The national will says the Constitution must be restored and the will of the people again prevail. The appeal to the peaceful ballot to obtain this end is not war; is not revolution. They make war and revolution who attempt to arrest this quiet mode of putting aside military despotism and

the usurpation of a fragment of a Congress asserting absolute power over that benign system of regulated liberty left us by our fathers.

This must be allowed to take its course. This is the only road to peace: it will come with the election of the Democratic candidate, and not with the election of that mailed warrior whose bayonets are now at the throats of eight millions of people in the South, to compel them to support him as a candidate for the Presidency, and to submit to the domination of an alien race of semi-barbarous men. No perversion of truth or audacity or misrepresentation can exceed that which hails this candidate in arms as an angel of peace.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANK P. BLAIR.

THE END.

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