

HONEST GOVERNMENT!

FOR PRESIDENT,
HORACE GREELEY.....Of New York.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,
B. GRATZ BROWN.....Of Missouri.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LIBERAL Republican Convention,

IN CINCINNATI, MAY 1ST, 2D AND 3D, 1872.

HORACE GREELEY'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

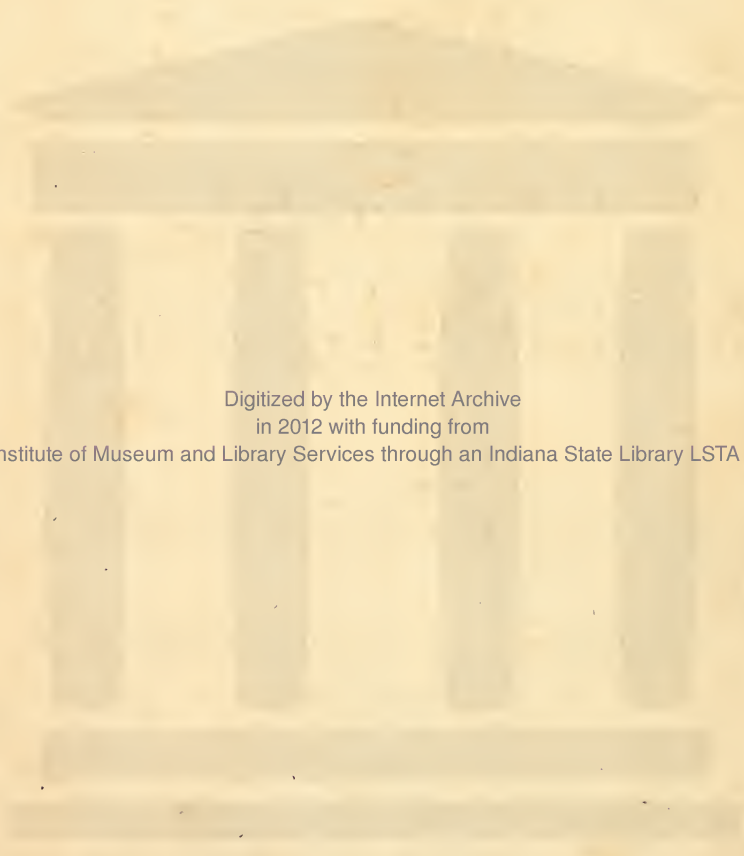
ADDRESS OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE

TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS.

"We have resolved to make an independent appeal to the sober judgment, conscience and patriotism of the American people."—*Cincinnati Convention Address.*

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CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, May 1.

By 11 o'clock great crowds streamed from the hotels through the principal streets to the grand rendezvous at the hall of the Convention. Countless carriages rolled down the thoroughfares, Convention-ward, laden with delegates, and the park in front of Exposition Hall was crowded with spectators watching the various delegations admitted. Ample and excellent preparation had been made by the local Committee to preserve order and furnish accommodations, and within an hour an audience of 7,000 people was easily and comfortably seated. The hall, whose massive proportions it seemed impossible to fill, was crowded densely. The platform, and even the balcony for the musicians, were turned over to delegates. The stage, which was arranged for the seating of 300 or 400 people, was packed, and the spaces allotted to the press sadly crowded with outsiders. Shields for every State in the Union line the panels of the galleries, and the triple stages, whereon the great German musical choruses are accustomed to stand, were decked with flags and patriotic emblems. The delegations filed in without confusion, and the immense throng was brought to order with incredible rapidity. The ladies' gallery had been, through some error, kept closed, and remained for a time empty, but before the proceedings began a great rush sat in thither, and in a few minutes all the available space was seized.

The floor of the building is perfectly level and a wide sea of faces covered the immense surface from wall to wall; the galleries, arranged sloping, presented the same aspect, and from the stage the scene was a magnificent one; face to face, there could be no mistaking the material of this impressive assembly. As each State marched in, all eyes turned to fasten on the men who give weight and character to this historic gathering. The foremost men of every section of the country were seated quietly with the less conspicuous Reformers who came to strike for a purified Government. It is the favorite food of the opponents of this Convention that its members are mainly composed of the disappointed and revengeful. An instant's contem-

plation of the sober, dignified thousands that filled these immense halls is the only answer needed.

At 12 o'clock Col. Grosvenor called the Convention to order, and spoke as follows :

As Chairman of the Liberal Republican State Convention of Missouri, by which this Convention was called, it is my pleasure, gentlemen, to call you to order. This Convention originated in a single State, and has now embraced representatives of the Republican party from every State of the Union, [Applause.] Nothing can prove more effectually the depth and strength of the public sentiment to which we have appealed than the fact that the call originated so informally—originated in a State by no means the largest nor most potent in political affairs—and has led to this Convention, acknowledged now by all to be not only the largest in point of numbers, but the truest representative of the popular sentiment. [Applause.] Our appeal to the country, it appears, then, was based on correct judgment of the public feeling and the public need. [Applause.] It was so defined as to embody that will of the people which, after all, does rule and shall rule these United States. The men from that State who took the risk of calling the Convention are here to-day rejoicing in its success, and confident that the wisdom of the delegations here assembled, and the wisdom and will of the people of the United States, will make its action a success in November next. [Applause.] I need not make here the usual appeal for harmony; the men who have surrendered their share in a victorious party because of their convictions of duty will not come here to struggle for personal preference. [Applause.] Those preferences we lay upon the altar of our common cause; all else save those convictions of duty we can surrender, but those are our weapons, and we do not propose to throw them away in order to win the battle. [Applause.] In firm belief, gentlemen, that this Convention, called originally for consultation, will act so wisely that the people of the United States, who stand behind it, watching and ready to sustain it if it acts wisely, will give it triumph; and in firm belief that it will meet that demand which is felt all over the country for something more than consultation for a nominee who shall represent the people [applause], I ask you to go forward with us to organize for that struggle against the power which has so long and so ingloriously controlled party organization and political power. [Loud applause.] Gentlemen, by direction of the Executive Committee I have the honor to name as your temporary Chairman, Judge Stanley Matthews, of Ohio. [Applause.]

The motion was carried unanimously. The Hon. Stanley Matthews then came forward, and having appropriately expressed his high appreciation of the unexpected honor conferred on him, proceeded briefly to discuss the attitude of the Convention :

Col. Grosvenor—By request of the Executive Committee, I propose as temporary secretaries of the Convention : George Ward Nichols, of Ohio ; G. W. Palmer, of New York, and Joseph Pulitzer, of Missouri. By further instructions of the Executive Committee, I have the following resolution to propose :

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet again to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and that, in the mean time, the several State delegations elect from among their number delegates equal to double the number of votes to be cast by their respective States in the Electoral College; and that when this Convention meets again to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock,

the delegates so elected report themselves for the purpose of proceeding to the transaction of the business of the Convention.

A delegate then moved to adjourn, but as the President was about to put the question he was interrupted, and his voice was drowned by sudden and vociferous calls for Senator Schurz from all parts of the hall, which were continued until that gentleman appeared on the front platform, when some asked "three rousing cheers for Schurz," which were given with tremendous enthusiasm, many delegates leaping from their seats and waving their hats. Mr. Schurz said :

My fellow-citizens : It is impossible for me to express my gratitude for the cordial manner in which you have called me out and received me, but I fear I shall have to disappoint you now. This Convention means business [applause], and you have just passed a resolution with regard to the manner in which the business of this Convention is to be prepared and conducted. The 1st day of May is moving day [laughter and cheers], and we should lose no time in taking such steps as will be calculated to remove that which is obnoxious to the honest sons of the American people, and to put something better in its place. [Applause.] I said that I feared that I should have to disappoint you. Now, honestly, I do not intend to make a speech at this moment. [Loud cries of "go on."] In the course of the proceedings of this Convention there will now and then be moments when there is no practical business to be transacted. I shall then, perhaps, avail myself of some opportunity to address a few remarks to you, and I may observe that I have some things to say. [Loud cries of "now, now," and cheers.] I have had so frequently to withstand the voices of those who were against me, that you must take no exception if I to-day resist the voices of those who seem to be in my favor. There is some practical business to be done, and there is very little time for doing it, and you must bear with me, if in obedience to my own judgment, I conclude by simply seconding the motion that we now do adjourn. [Loud cheers, amid cries for Cassius M. Clay and other noted speakers.]

The Chairman then announced that the Convention stood adjourned until 10 o'clock on Thursday morning.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS,

Thursday, May 2.

The Convention was called to order at 10.20 by the temporary Chairman. The Chair announced that there were seats for the delegates present from Wyoming, Montana and Dakota Territories. He also urged quiet and order as indispensable to hearing in so large a hall, and requested everybody to keep seated unless he rose to speak, and, in the latter case, to announce the name and State of the speaker.

A Missouri delegate urged a Committee on Permanent Organization, to consist of one delegate from each State.

Fitz Henry Warren moved to amend by including the Territories. A brief discussion arose on the amendment, which was carried. The motion, as amended, was then carried.

DEBATE ON ORGANIZATION.

Gen. Cochrane moved that a Committee of Nine be appointed to draft rules and regulations for this Convention, and that in the mean time the rules of the House of Representatives, so far as applicable, be adopted.

Mr. Tousey, of New York, moved that all propositions relating to principles and platform be referred, without debate, to the Committee on Resolutions, when appointed.

Mr. McClure, of Pennsylvania, moved that a Committee be appointed, to consist of one from each State and Territory, on Resolutions.

Mr. Atkinson, of Massachusetts, moved to amend by making the Committee consist of two from each State only.

Mr. Atkinson modified his amendment, so as to confine the Committee to one from each State, thus excluding the Territories.

Mr. Grosvenor, of Missouri, urged the importance of the immediate appointment of a Committee on Credentials, in advance of the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions.

The Chair concurred in this view. It was the first duty to constitute the Convention by ascertaining regularly who its members were.

Mr. McClure withdrew his motion at the request of Mr. Cochrane, who moved the appointment of a Committee on Credentials, to consist of one delegate from each State and Territory. Adopted. The roll was called, and the Committee named, as follows :

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Arkansas—W. P. Stone. | Nebraska—John McCarthy. |
| California—Wm. M. Rickerby. | New Hampshire—Ed. D. Baker. |
| Indiana—T. B. Griffith. | Alabama—Louis M. Douglass. |
| Iowa—H. B. Wilson. | Oregon—J. W. Johnson. |
| Kansas—Byron Sherry. | Wisconsin—W. W. Treadway. |
| Kentucky—Wm. S. Rankin. | Texas—Thos. H. Stribbling. |
| Florida—F. B. C. Drew. | West Virginia—Abel Segar. |
| Maine—D. T. Wright. | Virginia—E. S. Hamilton. |
| Maryland—M. T. Gosnell. | Tennessee—R. H. Byrd. |
| Massachusetts—Charles G. Davis. | Nevada—Geo. G. Lyon. |
| Michigan—M. Mansfield. | South Carolina—W. K. Greenfield. |
| Minnesota—C. D. Sherwood. | District Columbia—Robt. G. Fleming. |
| Georgia—J. C. Hendon. | Illinois—D. L. Phillips. |
| N. Carolina—Stephen C. Johnson. | Missouri—James Barnes. |
| Mississippi—W. S. Cole. | Vermont—George W. Bullon. |
| Ohio—E. A. Parrott. | Pennsylvania—Thomas J. Morrell. |
| New York—Alfred Wilkinson. | Dakota—George N. Roper. |
| New Jersey—Jacob W. Starr. | Colorado—W. H. Greenwood |
| Louisiana—Geo. H. Braughn. | |

The roll of the States was called for Committees on Platform, on Organization, and on Rules, when one member from each State and Territory was named in the order of the Committees, as follows :

| <i>States.</i> | <i>Platform.</i> | <i>Organization.</i> | <i>Rules.</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Alabama | Samuel. F. Rice, | None, | W. F. Hatchett. |
| Arkansas | E. Bancroft, | P. J. Kaufman, | F. J. Anderson. |
| California | W. H. Russell, | R. R. Nickerson, | Henry Smith. |
| Connecticut | D. A. Wells, | J. J. Jacques, | S. C. Fessenden. |
| Delaware | None, | None, | None. |
| Florida | J. B. C. Drew, | H. H. Hoey, | A. W. Dacosta. |
| Georgia | Jas. Johnson, | J. R. Parrott, | J. R. McWharter. |
| Illinois | Horace White, | L. Waldon, | Jesse O. Norton. |
| Indiana | T. C. Whiteside, | M. A. Weiss, | R. N. Hudson. |
| Iowa | J. B. Grinnell, | D. Rover, | Jacob Buller. |
| Kansas | E. G. Ross, | John Walraff, | John E. Marken. |
| Kentucky | J. M. Brown, | T. W. Campbell, | W. E. Kreigshaher. |
| Louisiana | J. M. Dorsheimer, | H. H. Harris, | William Vigus. |
| Maine | J. L. Linford, | — | D. A. Easton. |
| Maryland | A. W. Bradford, | L. Henninghansure, | Charles R. Doran. |
| Massachusetts | F. W. Bird, | W. M. Endicott, Jr., | J. Farlow. |
| Michigan | J. P. Thompson, | Otto Sharp, | W. L. Maynard. |
| Minnesota | Thos. Hatscher, | S. Massell, | William Mayo. |
| Mississippi | W. T. Nesbitt, | R. H. Montgomery, | S. A. Vose. |
| Missouri | Wm. Grosvenor, | J. N. Burns, | G. Anderson. |
| Nebraska | W. P. Roberts, | Dr. F. Renner, | T. Baumer. |
| Nevada | George L. Lyon, | George G. Lyon, | George J. Lyons. |
| New Hampshire | Ed. D. Baker, | W. H. Gove, | E. B. Baker. |
| New Jersey | J. M. Scovel, | E. A. Stansbury, | S. Condit. |
| New York | Waldo Hutchins, | E. R. Reynolds, | Theodore Tilton. |
| North Carolina | Louis Haines, | W. L. Mason, | H. J. Menninger. |
| Ohio | George Hoodley, | R. P. Spalding, | H. L. Burnett. |
| Oregon | J. W. Johnson, | J. W. Johnson, | J. W. Johnson. |
| Pennsylvania | Hon. Wm. Bull, | David Barclay, | T. J. A. Power. |
| Rhode Island | Ed. Harris, | J. H. Shearman, | James F. Smith. |
| South Carolina | S. A. Pearce, Jr., | R. B. Carpenter, | E. W. Wheeler. |
| Tennessee | G. P. Thurston, | Julius Ochs, | J. S. Fowler. |
| Texas | A. J. Hamilton, | Julius Berends, | A. Wright. |
| Vermont | Charles Clemens, | John Landon, | J. P. Ladd. |
| Virginia | W. W. Wood, | W. C. Newbury, | C. B. Raine. |
| West Virginia | W. P. Hubbard, | John S. Kane, | Frank Burr. |
| Wisconsin | G. W. Woodward, | E. H. Johnson, | C. J. Palmer. |
| District of Columbia | John Defrees, | C. M. Alexander, | Jos. Daniels. |
| Colorado | S. Brown, | S. E. Brown, | S. E. Brown. |
| Dakota | Geo. A. Proper, | Geo. A. Proper, | Geo. A. Proper. |
| Montana | F. C. Evarts, | F. C. Evarts, | F. C. Evarts. |
| Utah | G. W. Galvin, | W. H. Evans, | W. H. Evans. |

The Chair read a communication claiming for Laura Deforce Gordon a seat in the Convention, as representing California. Referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. McClure, of Pennsylvania, renewed his motion to appoint a Committee, consisting of one delegate from each State, on Resolutions. Adopted.

Mr. Selden presented the following protest from the minority of the New York delegation, which was referred to the Committee on Credentials :

To the Committee on Credentials : We, the undersigned, members from the

State of New York, in Convention of Liberal Republicans, who are opposed to the nomination of Horace Greeley for President, respectfully protest against the manner in which the representative delegates have been chosen by the whole body of the members of the State of New York, and against their recognition by the Convention as a proper delegation from that State. A committee was appointed by the whole body of members, of one from each judicial district, making a committee of eight, instructed to report the names of sixty-eight representative delegates, said delegates to be nominated by the delegates present from the several districts. From this committee every person sharing our views concerning the nomination of Mr. Greeley was studiously excluded, although in the First Judicial District alone we numbered twenty persons, the delegates then present from the entire State numbering but eighty-four.

We further state that in the Ist Congress District, Edward A. Seaman was nominated by the delegation present from that district as one of the representative delegates, and after it was ascertained that Mr. Seaman was opposed to the nomination of Mr. Greeley, another person known as "Rocky Moore" was substituted for him by the Committee.

We further state that the delegates from the VIIIth Congress District met as directed by the Chair, and nominated, by a vote of eight out of thirteen delegates then and there present, James L. Bishop and Thomas Duffy as their representative delegates, and that this choice was duly reported to and disregarded by said Committee and by the whole number of its members in its election, and that the representative delegates reported by the Committee and elected by the whole body from this district were never nominated at any meeting of the resident delegates thereof, as required by the instructions of the Convention and by resolution of our members.

We further state that, in the XXVIIth Congress District, the one delegate present recommended himself and Theodore Bacon as representative delegates, and that upon ascertaining that Mr. Bacon was opposed to the nomination of Horace Greeley, the Committee substituted, without consultation with any resident of the XXVIIth Congress District, the name of a person known to concur in the views of the majority.

We further state that no persons were present as members of the Convention from several Congress districts, and that in the election of representative delegates to fill their vacancies, all persons understood to be opposed to the nomination of Mr. Greeley were studiously ignored.

We further state, that at a meeting of the whole of the members, a motion was put and carried, instructing the entire representative delegation to cast their vote solid for Greeley, until twenty delegates request that they should retire for consultation, and even after that the vote of the whole State was to be cast as the majority should direct, disregarding entirely the preferences of particular districts; and that we protest against the vote of the State of New York being received in that manner.

We further submit that the representative delegation, as at present constituted, does not represent the mass delegation of the State.

John N. Pomeroy,
Theodore Bacon,
David Dudley Field,
Edw. H. Seaman,
Mahlon Sands,
Henry D. Lloyd,
James L. Bishop,
William J. Hurdy,
George McLean,

William D. Foulke,
Thomas Duffy,
Charles E. McBride,
Henry Atwater,
Frederick Wesson,
G. C. Bragdon,
George W. Dillaway,
Laroy S. Gove.

Alfred Taylor,
Edward J. Fennell,
W. H. Arrowsmith,
James Dunne,
James R. Adams,
Dewitt Stafford,
Charles J. Jewett,
F. K. Porter.

A delegate from New Hampshire moved the appointment of one delegate from each State as a National Liberal

Republican Executive Committee. The motion was withdrawn temporarily. The Chair read a letter of greeting from the Liberal Republicans of Oneida, New York.

Mr. Grosvenor, of Missouri, moved to take a recess till 2 o'clock. Lost.

Mr. Davis, a colored delegate from Kentucky, moved that, as no business was pending, we hear from Cassius M. Clay. [Great applause.]

The Chair announced that a motion was pending that when the Convention take a recess it be till 3 o'clock. [Cries of "2 o'clock."]

Mr. Grosvenor urged that it would save time to give the Committee until 3 o'clock to prepare business. Mr. Hickman again appealed to the Convention to stick to the business until it was finished. The Chair announced that rooms had been provided for immediate occupation by the several Committees, who were invited to retire for deliberation. A recess was ordered until 3 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Upon the reassembling of the Convention, Judge Spalding, of Ohio, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported for Permanent President Carl Schurz, with one Vice-President and a Secretary from each State and Territory. The report was adopted, and, amid great applause, Mr. Schurz advanced, the band playing "Hail to the Chief," and was introduced. He said:

SPEECH OF CARL SCHURZ.

Nobody can survey this vast and enthusiastic assembly, gathered from all parts of the Republic, without an emotion of astonishment and hope—astonishment considering the spontaneity of the impulse which has brought it together, and hope considering the great purpose for which it has met. The Republic may well congratulate itself upon the fact that such a meeting was possible. Look at the circumstances from which it has sprung. We saw the American people just issued from a great and successful struggle, and, in the full pride of their national strength, threatened with new evils and dangers of an insidious nature, and the masses of the population apparently not aware of them. We saw jobbery and corruption, stimulated to unusual audacity by the opportunities of a protracted civil war, invading the public service of the Government, as well as almost all movements of the social body, and we saw a public opinion most deplorably lenient in its judgment of public and private dishonesty. We saw the Government indulging in wanton disregard of the laws of the land, and resorting to daring assumptions of unconstitutional power, and we saw the people, apparently at least, acquiescing with reckless levity in the transgressions, threatening the very life of our free institutions. We saw those in authority with tyrannical insolences thrust the hand of power through the vast machinery of the public service into local and private affairs, and we saw the innumerable mass of their adherents accept those encroachments upon their independence without protest or resentment. We saw men in the highest places of the Republic employ their power and opportunities for selfish advantage, thus stimulating the demoralization of our political life, and by their conspicuous example, and the

loud chorus of partisan sycophancy, drown the voice of honest criticism. We saw part of our common country, which had been convulsed by a disastrous rebellion, most grievously suffering from the consequences of the civil war; and we saw the haughty spirit of power refusing to lift up those who had gone astray, and were now suffering, by a policy of generous conciliation and the statesmanship of common sense. We observed this, and at the same time a reckless and greedy party spirit, in the name of a great organization, crowned with the laurels of glorious achievements; striving to palliate or justify these wrongs and abuses; to stifle the moral sense of the people, and to drive them by a tyrannical party discipline not only to submit to this for the present, but to perpetuate it, that the political power of the country be preserved in the hands of those who possessed it. He who calmly and impartially surveyed this spectacle could not fail to be deeply alarmed, not only at the wrongs that had been and were being perpetrated, but at the subjugation of the popular spirit which did not rise up against them. The question might well have been asked, Have the American people become so utterly indifferent to their true interests, to their national harmony, to the purity of their political life, to the integrity of their free institutions, to the very honor of the American name, that they should permit themselves to be driven like a flock of sheep by those who now assume to lord it over them? That question has now found an answer. The virtue, the spirit of independence, the love of liberty, the republican pride of the American people are not dead yet, and do not mean to die, and that answer is given in thunder tones by the Convention of American freemen here assembled. Indeed, those who three months ago first raised their voices did so with an abiding faith that their appeals could not remain without response, but the volume of that response has now far exceeded their anticipations. The crust of narrow prejudices, of selfish partisanship, which but yesterday seemed to stop every free pulsation of the popular heart, is suddenly burst asunder. The patriotic citizen rises above the partizan. We begin to breathe again as freemen. We dare again call things by their right names. We have once more the courage to break through the deceptions with which the popular mind has been befogged; we feel once more that our convictions of right and wrong are our own, and that our votes belong to the country, and thus we defiantly set our sense of duty against the arrogance of power, like the bugle blast of doomsday. The summons is resounding North and South and East and West. The conscience of the people, which seemed dead, has arisen. From every point of the compass the hosts are flocking together, and here we are, let me hope, ay, I do hope, with fearless determination to do our whole duty, as if nothing could withstand a movement so irresistibly inspiring. Indeed, the breath of victory is in the very air which surrounds us, and that victory will not escape from our grasp if we are true to our mission, but you must bear with me if in this hour of enthusiasm when our hearts are big with proud presentiments, I address to you a word of soberness.

A GRAND OPPORTUNITY OFFERED FOR REFORM.

We have a grand opportunity before us, grand and full of promise. We can crush corruption in our public concerns; we can give the republic a pure and honest government; we can revive the authority of the laws; we can restore to full value the constitutional safeguard of our liberties; we can infuse a higher moral spirit into our political life; we can reanimate in the hearts of the whole people in every section of the land a fraternal and proud national feeling. We can do all this, but we can do it only by throwing behind us the selfish spirit of political trade. We obey the purest and loftiest inspirations of the popular uprising which sent us here. A great opportunity; it is great as the noblest ambition might desire, but equally great—nay, to my mind, fearful—is the responsibility it brings with it, an opportunity like this momentous period in the history of a nation. An uprising of the people, such as we behold, will not occur every day, nor every year; for

it must spring from the spontaneous impulse of the popular mind. Disappoint the high expectations brought forth by that spontaneous impulse, and you have not only lost a great opportunity, but you have struck a blow at the confidence which the people have in themselves, and for a long time popular reform movements will not rise again under the weight of the discredit which you will have brought upon them. Is it possible that such should be the result of our doings? It is possible, if we do not rise to the full height of our duty. It is possible, if, instead of following the grand impulse of the popular heart, we attempt to control and use this movement by the old tricks of the political trade, or fritter away our zeal in small bickerings and mean, selfish aspirations. We have come together to give shape, point, and practical, productive force to this great upheaval of the popular conscience. It is our business to lay down certain principles and propositions of policy, and we have to present to the suffrage of the people men for the highest offices of the Republic, who, if elected, are to carry those principles and propositions into a living reality.

CONCERNING PLATFORM AND CANDIDATES.

As to our platform, we shall be wise enough to keep in mind those things which a Republic stands most in need of. The very fact of our having come together is proof of our substantial agreement. Let us only, in what we promise to the people, be honest and straightforward, and not attempt to cheat those whom we ask to follow our lead by deceitful representations. As to the men whom we shall present for the high offices of the Government, let us, I entreat you, not lose sight of the fact, that great reforms, the overthrow of inveterate abuses, the establishment of a better order of things, are not accomplished by mere promises and declarations, but require the wise and energetic action of statesmen, if this is to be truly a Reform movement, and if it be not merely on paper. But it must be embodied in the men we trust with the power to infuse the spirit of Reform into practical action. If you want to know how reforms are not executed, look at those now in power. You will hardly excel them in the profusion of high-sounding professions, and you will never excel them in the art of how not to do it. Reform must become a farce in the hands of those who either do not understand it, or do not care for it. If you mean Reform, intrust the work to none but those who understand it, and honestly do care—and care more for it than for their own personal ends. Pardon me if I express myself on this point with freedom and frankness. I have not, I assure you, come here for the purpose of urging the claims or advancing the interest of any one man, against all others. I have come here with sincere and ardent devotion to a cause, and to use my best endeavors to have that cause put under the care of men who are devoted to it with equal sincerity, and possess those qualities of mind and heart which will make it safe in their keeping. I earnestly deprecate the cry we have heard so frequently, "Anybody to beat Grant." There is something more wanted than to beat Grant. Not anybody who might, by cheap popularity, or by astute bargains and combinations, or by all the tricks of political wire-pulling, manage to scrape together votes enough to be elected President. We do not merely want another, but we want a better President than we now have. We don't want a mere change of persons in the administration of the Government. We want the overthrow of a pernicious system. We want the eradication of flagrant abuses. We want the infusion of a loftier moral spirit into our political organization. We want a Government which the best people of this country will be proud of. Not anybody can accomplish that, and, therefore, away with the cry, "Anybody to beat Grant,"—a cry too paltry, too unworthy of the great enterprise in which we are engaged. I do not struggle for the mere punishment of an opponent, or a temporary lease of power. There is to me a thing no less, nay, more important even, than our success in this campaign, and that is, that the American people shall not be disappointed in the fruits which our victory is to bear. If we should

fail to select men who will carry out the beneficent reforms we contemplate, then, let me say it boldly, it would be better had this movement never been undertaken; for continuance of those in power who possess it now, would mean only a reformatory movement deferred and an opportunity lost. Still, while our failure now would mean a great reform movement sunk to the level of a farce, a great opportunity lost, and the hope of the people turned into discouragement and disgust, let us discard, at least, the fatal error into which many seem to have fallen, that no statesmanship is required to conduct the affairs of a great government.

THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE A STATESMAN.

I candidly believe the people are waking up to the truth, for, unless I greatly mistake the spirit of this day, what the people now most earnestly demand is, not that mere good intentions, but that a superior intelligence, coupled with superior virtue, should guide our affairs; not that merely an honest and a popular man, but that a statesman be put at the head of our Government. In selecting candidates for office, politicians are accustomed to discuss the question of availability. What does availability mean in our case? Let us look for the best men we have, and among the very best let us select the strongest. The people earnestly desire a thorough reform of our Government. They want not only a change, but a change for the better. They want also, therefore, to be assured that it will be for the better, and that the best candidate is likely to be the most available. If we present men to the suffrages of the people whose character and names appeal to the loftiest instincts and aspirations of the patriot citizen, we shall have on our side that which ought to be, and now I trust will be, the ruling arbiter of political contests—the conscience of the nation. If that be done, success will be certain. Then we can appeal to the minds and hearts, to the loftiest ambition of the people, with these arguments and entreaties, which spring only from a clear conviction of right. Then we shall not appeal in vain for their support to those of our fellow-citizens who hitherto were separated from us by party divisions, who desire honestly to work for the best interests of the country in this crisis, and whom we shall welcome with fraternal greeting in this struggle for a great cause, whether they call themselves Democrats or Republicans. Then we shall successfully overcome those prejudices which now confront us, and the insidious accusation that this great Convention is a mere gathering of disappointed and greedy politicians will fall harmless at our feet, for we shall have demonstrated by our action that we were guided by the purest and most patriotic of motives. And this can be done.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Let us despise, as unworthy of our cause, the tricky manipulations by which, to the detriment of the Republic, political bodies have so frequently been controlled. Let us, in the face of the great things to be accomplished, rise above all petty considerations. Personal friendship and State pride are noble sentiments; but what is personal friendship, what is State pride, compared with the great duty we owe to our common country, and the awful responsibility resting upon our action as sensible men. We know that not every one of us can be gratified by the choice of his favorite. Many of us will have to be disappointed, but in this solemn hour our hearts should know but one favorite, and that is the American Republic. Pardon me for these words of warning and entreaty. I trust nobody will consider them misplaced. I fervently hope the result of our deliberations will show that they were not spoken in vain. I know that they have sprung from the most anxious desire to do what is best for our country, and thus I appeal to you with all the fervor of anxious earnestness. We stand on the threshold of a great victory, and victory will truly be ours if we surely deserve it.

Following is the list of Vice-Presidents :

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Alabama..... | Thos. Lanier. | Nebraska..... | John McCormick. |
| Arkansas..... | D. K. Underwood. | Nevada..... | Geo. G. Lyons. |
| California..... | Wm. Racker. | New Hampshire..... | Wm. H. Grove. |
| Connecticut..... | Hon. David Clark. | New Jersey..... | J. Miller McKinn. |
| Delaware..... | None. | New York..... | Thos. Raines. |
| Florida..... | None. | North Carolina..... | H. H. Helper. |
| Georgia..... | R. S. Mott. | Ohio..... | O. Follet. |
| Illinois..... | John Wentworth. | Oregon..... | J. W. Johnson. |
| Indiana..... | Geo. W. Julian. | Pennsylvania..... | M. B. Lowry. |
| Iowa..... | J. A. Romberg. | Rhode Island..... | E. Harris. |
| Kansas..... | Hon. J. J. Crawford. | South Carolina..... | W. W. Wheeler. |
| Kentucky..... | Tabant T. Moore. | Tennessee..... | Gilbert Meyers. |
| Louisiana..... | L. T. Delasize. | Texas..... | E. Morgan Hamilton. |
| Maine..... | S. W. Perkins. | Vermont..... | Major J. H. Salisbury. |
| Maryland..... | Henry W. Hoffman. | Virginia..... | Geo. Rye. |
| Massachusetts..... | Gen. W. T. Bartlett. | West Virginia..... | Ward H. Lamon. |
| Michigan..... | O. P. Clark. | Wisconsin..... | W. H. Doe. |
| Minnesota..... | Aaron Gorduc. | District of Columbia..... | Joseph Casey. |
| Mississippi..... | Col. Cook. | Dakota Territory..... | Geo. W. Kropper. |
| Missouri..... | Josiah Forbes. | Montana..... | F. C. Everett. |

The following are the principal Secretaries: 1. Gen. W. E. McLelane, of Indiana; 2. John V. Davidson, of Minnesota; 3. F. W. Wright, of Maine; 4. J. D. Rhodes, of Ohio.

The following is the report of the Committee on Credentials:

In the case of the contest in the New York delegation, after fully and carefully considering the subject matter of the protest, we report the following resolution:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Committee the contestants in the Convention, from the State of New York, are not entitled to seats in this convention.

In relation to the California delegation, we report the following:

Resolved, That, in the absence of such credentials as seem sufficiently regular, this Committee cannot report the name of Mrs. Laura D. Gordon as a delegate to this Convention from California, but recommend that she and other ladies present be tendered the courtesy of the hall of the Convention; and that, further, that Col. W. M. Rickerby is entitled to cast the entire vote of California, and that the other contestants are not entitled to seats in this Convention. All of which is respectfully submitted.

THOS. W. WORRELL, Chairman.

BYRON SHERRY,
ROBERT K. FLEMING, } Secretaries.

On motion, the report was adopted.

The Committee on Rules reported as follows:

The Committee organized by electing Theodore Tilton, of New York, as Chairman, and H. L. Burnett, of Ohio, as Secretary. All but three States were represented. The Committee have the honor to report as follows:

First. That the rules and regulations governing the House of Representatives of the United States shall be the rules governing this body, provided that no delegates shall be entitled to speak more than once upon the same question, and shall be limited to five minutes, except the mover thereof, who, in closing debate, shall be entitled to five minutes more.

Second. The delegation from each State shall cast the entire vote of the State, and every delegate shall represent such a proportion of the entire vote as he shall be of the delegation present, and his vote shall be reported to the Convention by the Chairman of the delegation as cast by the delegate.

Third. In voting for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, a majority of all the votes shall be requisite to a choice.

Fourth. To facilitate the business of the Convention, the Yeas and Nays shall not be called, but a division of the Convention may be had by a call of the States.

THEODORE TILTON, Chairman.

H. L. BURNETT, Secretary.

The report was thereupon adopted.

Mr. Weir, of Indiana, moved to proceed with the nomination of candidates. [Loud applause.]

Gen. Cochrane trusted that a motion so pregnant with evil would not prevail at this time. He was quite sure the great body of this Convention had not assembled merely for the purpose of experimenting upon names, nor indeed of nominating candidates to the high Executive offices of this Government, without first determining what were the principles in which they believed. Then, and not until then, would the majestic voice of the Convention be prepared to announce the names of those who should represent those principles. Until then it would be an experiment—a vain, and he believed, a futile experiment—to be casting about for names. They were not here to express their individual proclivities. He trusted the Convention would proceed wisely and with dignity to the work for which they were met, that no false step might be taken, but when a step was taken that there would be no step backward. Let them be patient until the Committees be prepared to report, and he hoped the Convention would not rashly proceed to put men before the people before they had ascertained the principles in which they believed. [Loud cheers.]

Gen. Cochrane then moved to lay the motion on the table.

After a few words of explanation, he withdrew his motion temporarily, at the request of Col. McClure.

The Chairman announced that the Committee on Resolutions had been unable to come to a unanimity of opinion, and had adjourned till 5 o'clock.

The delegate from Indiana thought it was unimportant whether the Convention made their nominations before or after the report of the Committees. They were ready to ballot, but the Committee was not ready to report, and he therefore trusted that the Convention would proceed with the ballots. [Loud cheers.]

A delegate from Illinois said, that one great object of the Convention was for a declaration of principles, is

well as for the nomination of candidates ; but he wanted first to know what the platform was going to be. Who ever dared to make propositions and ballot for candidates, without first having a platform containing the principles upon which they were to vote ?

The motion to lay on the table was then renewed, and Weir's motion was tabled on the call of States by a vote of 557 to 148.

The Chairman of the Credentials Committee here announced that the Committee had acted on erroneous information in reporting that only one delegate here was entitled to cast the entire vote of California. He moved, and the Convention agreed also, to admit B. R. Nickerson, who claimed to be a resident of California, and proposed to stump the State for the ticket nominated here. All California contestants were also invited to seats as honorary members of the Convention.

A delegate from Kentucky offered the following resolution, which was referred :

Resolved, That the franking privilege is an unqualified abuse, and ought to be abolished.

The following resolution was introduced and tabled :

Resolved, That when this Convention shall proceed to ballot for a candidate for President and Vice-President, it shall be by call of the States, and that the same proceed without the formality of nomination.

A series of resolutions were offered by a New Jersey delegate in favor of general amnesty, universal suffrage, resumption of specie payments, reform of the internal revenue law, revision of taxation, &c., which he moved should be adopted as the platform of the Convention. The Chair ruled that they must be referred to the Platform Committee.

A recess was then taken until 7.30 P. M.

————— EVENING SESSION.

The Convention came together promptly at 7.30 o'clock, the attendance being even greater than in the afternoon. Every available inch of space was occupied, there being about 2,000 ladies present. Promptly, at the appointed time, Senator Schurz called the Convention to order, saying that the Committee on Resolutions would not be able to report the result of their labors to-night, in consequence of the large number of papers laid before them. He suggested that the time be occupied in making the speeches accompanying the nominations. The Committee on Resolutions requested that the adjournment be until 11 o'clock, Friday.

Mr. Cochrane of New York moved to proceed with the presentation of candidates, each person making a nomination to be allowed 10 minutes for a speech. The motion was put and decided in the affirmative by a close vote.

A New York delegate offered a resolution in favor of equal political rights and general amnesty, which was referred.

A resolution was adopted providing that a delegate from each State be selected to act on the National Executive Committee.

Mr. Stansberry of New Jersey offered a platform of principles embracing revenue reform, civil service reform, universal and unqualified amnesty, resistance to centralization of power, reservation of the public lands for actual settlement under the Homestead Act, economy in expenditures, and reduction of taxation, gradual payment of the public debt, protection to citizens in their rights under all circumstances. Referred.

Ethan Allen offered a resolution authorizing the State delegations to form State Committees. Adopted.

A delegate from Indiana offered a resolution pledging the Convention not to adjourn until candidates for President and Vice-President had been nominated.

Mr. Woodhouse of Pennsylvania offered a resolution declaring that it is inexpedient to nominate a candidate for President who is afflicted with a large circle of relatives. Adopted amid much laughter.

Mr. J. H. Rhodes, Cleveland, Ohio, offered the following resolution, which was received with cheers and referred to the Committee on Resolutions :

Whereas, The President of the United States is an executive and not a legislative officer of the Government, enforcing, not making laws; and

Whereas, The delegates of this Convention hold diverse opinions on the Tariff question, as to whether it should be for revenue purposes only; therefore

Resolved, That this question be referred to the Congress Districts as an issue to be properly made there, and that the will of the people, as thus expressed, should be the policy of the Administration.

A motion to adjourn until 9 o'clock on Friday morning was lost.

Mr. Hudson of Indiana moved the suspension of the rules, and that the Convention take up the Tariff resolution and act on it finally.

The Convention was thrown into partial confusion by a vehement discussion about proceeding to present candidates. There was general anxiety to get the floor, and excited speeches were made, some urging immediate action, others demanding that the Tariff issue, which, it

is announced, the Committee on Resolutions and Platform could not agree about, shall be settled by the Conventions by leaving the whole question to Congress Districts. As each speaker made some point considered strong by one side or the other, loud cheers and hand-clappings greeted it. There was more feeling, excitement, and vociferousness than at any previous period of the Convention. The vote by States to suspend the rules to admit the consideration of a resolution on the Tariff question was accompanied by tumultuous cheering, both as regards Yeas and Nays. The call of States on a motion to suspend the rules resulted as follows: Yeas, 460; Nays, 229, thus carrying the proposition by two votes more than required—two-thirds.

The Chair announced that a Tariff resolution had been adopted by the Committee on Resolutions, and he suggested the propriety of delaying further action until the Committee reported.

Mr. J. H. Rhodes, of Cleveland, moved that his Tariff resolution, referred to the Committee, be returned to the Convention. The resolution was read again.

Cassius M. Clay said he had known all along that this Tariff question was where the difficulty of the Convention would lie. He counseled exclusion of the apple of discord, and claimed that the Tariff question was overshadowed in importance by questions of restoring popular rights and sovereignty to the people of the Southern States, and several other great issues already presented to the Convention.

Judge Matthews, of Ohio, said he had voted to avoid discussion on this point, because provision had been made for these things by the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions, and, by vote of the Convention, referring, without debate, all propositions; and that Committee, by almost unanimous vote, had decided upon propositions, which would be submitted; but, if there was to be a fight, he wanted a fair one, and proposed the Missouri Tariff plank as follows:

Resolved, That no form of taxation is just or wise which puts needless burdens upon the people. We demand a genuine reform of the Tariff, so that duties shall be removed which, in addition to the revenue yielded to the treasury, involve increase in the price of domestic products, and a consequent tax for the benefit of favored interests.

Mr. Matthews continuing, said one of the reasons why he entered this movement was that he might assist in emancipating the politics and business of the country from the domination of rings. [Cheers.] Political rings in Washington, Railroad rings which are stealing our public lands [great cheers], and pig-iron rings, which are robbing the country [applause], while pretending to relieve the

burdens of the people by taking the taxes off tea and coffee in order that they might keep them on salt and iron. [Great applause.]

Mr. Atkinson, of Massachussetts, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, informed the Convention that delay in its report was not now caused by the Tariff question. The plank on that subject to be reported had been decided in Committee by nearly a unanimous vote. I cannot report the vote properly, but you will see that by attempting irregular measures to get on faster, you will only be getting on slower. In order to keep any bitter discussions off this floor, the Sub-Committee has acted, and the whole Committee has acted, in such a way that I think you will do wisely in waiting their reports. I move to lay the pending resolution on the table. [Loud cries of "Question!"]

The motion to table was adopted amid confusion. A motion was made and adopted to call the roll of States for the presentation of Presidential candidates. Much excitement ensued, when the motion was sprung and carried to adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, May 3.

The Convention was called to order at 10:10 o'clock. The reading of the journal was dispensed with. The Chair stated that the statement in a morning paper, pretending to give a dispatch from him (Schurz) to a candidate, was utterly untrue.

Mr. Gilmore (Mo.) offered a resolution that when the Convention reaches the point of balloting for candidates there shall be no formal presentation of candidates, but that the Convention proceed to vote.

Mr. Dexter (Ill.) sustained the proposition. He said he wanted to proceed to business, and avoid mere personal eulogies. The resolution was carried.

Mr. Horace White, from the Committee on Platform, reported an address and a series of resolutions which had been unanimously adopted by the Committee.

THE ADDRESS.

The Administration now in power has rendered itself guilty of wanton disregard of the laws of the land, and usurped powers not granted by the Constitution. It has acted as if the laws had binding force only for those who are governed, and not for those who govern. It has thus struck a blow at the fundamental principles of constitutional government and the liberty of the citizen. The President of the United States has openly used the powers and opportunities of his high office for the promotion of personal ends. He has kept notoriously corrupt and unworthy men in places of power and re-

sponsibility to the detriment of the public interest. He has used the public service of the Government as a machinery of partisan and personal influence, and interfered with tyrannical arrogance in the political affairs of States and municipalities. He has rewarded, with influential and lucrative offices, men who had acquired his favor by valuable presents; thus stimulating demoralization of our political life by his conspicuous example. He has shown himself deplorably unequal to the tasks imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office. The partisans of the Administration, assuming to be the Republican party, and controlling its organization, have attempted to justify such wrongs and palliate such abuses, to the end of maintaining partisan ascendancy. They have stood in the way of necessary investigations and indispensable reforms, pretending that no serious fault could be found with the present administration of public affairs; thus seeking to blind the eyes of the people. They have kept alive the passions and resentments of the late civil war, to use them for their own advantage.

They have resorted to arbitrary measures in direct conflict with the organic law, instead of appealing to the better instincts and latent patriotism of the Southern people by restoring to them those rights, the enjoyment of which is indispensable for a successful administration of their local affairs, and would tend to move a patriotic and hopeful national feeling. They have degraded themselves and the name of their party, once justly entitled to the confidence of the nation, by a base sycophancy to the dispenser of executive power and patronage unworthy of Republican freemen; they have sought to stifle the voice of just criticism, to stifle the moral sense of the people, and to subjugate public opinion by tyrannical party discipline. They are striving to maintain themselves in authority for selfish ends by an unscrupulous use of the power which rightfully belongs to the people, and should be employed only in the service of the country. Believing that an organization thus led and controlled can no longer be of service to the best interests of the Republic, we have resolved to make an independent appeal to the sober judgment, conscience, and patriotism of the American people.

THE PLATFORM.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

First: We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

Second: We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Third: We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

Fourth : Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State, self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

Fifth : The Civil Service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard such thorough reforms of the Civil Service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

Sixth : We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and, recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of Protection and Free Trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congress Districts, and to the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free of Executive interference or dictation.

Seventh : The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

Eighth : A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

Ninth : We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and

no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly-earned fame or the full reward of their patriotism.

Tenth: We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

Eleventh: We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendship of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right, or to submit to what is wrong.

Twelfth: For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous affiliations.

A Voice.—Three cheers for the Second Declaration of Independence. [Great cries of “question” overwhelmed the few who tried to get the floor to speak.] The Chair put the question, and the report was adopted, with loud and continued cheering. The Chair announced the vote unanimous.

BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT.

The next order of business was stated by the Chair to be the nomination of candidates for the Presidency, without the formal presentation of candidates. The roll of States was then called.

Before the vote was announced, Gratz Brown, by unanimous consent, took the stand and thanked his friends for their support of him, but withdrew his name, and asked his friends to support Horace Greeley. [Great cheers, with many persistent hisses.]

The Chair arose to announce the vote, when a Missouri delegate rose to a question of privilege and asked to change his vote. Considerable confusion ensued, various delegations asking to change their votes, contention arising in some of them, notably Kentucky, as to what the changes among themselves really were. Cassius M. Clay announced Kentucky's vote changed five from Brown to Greeley, and one from Brown to Adams. New Jersey changed some of her votes.

The Chair announced the following as the result of the first ballot:

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| Adams | 205 | Curtin | 62 |
| Trumbull | 110 | Chase | 2½ |
| Davis | 92½ | | |
| Greeley | 147 | Total vote | 614 |
| Brown | 95 | Necessary to a choice, 308. | |

No choice was made. The following is the vote in detail:

| | | | |
|----------------|----|-----------------|-----|
| Alabama. | | Massachusetts. | |
| Trumbull | 3 | Adams | 22 |
| Davis | 2 | Trumbull | 4 |
| Greeley | 7 | Michigan. | |
| Brown | 6 | Adams | 18 |
| Arkansas. | | Greeley | 4 |
| Adams | 1 | Minnesota. | |
| Trumbull | 1 | Trumbull | 9 |
| Brown | 1 | Davis | 1 |
| California. | | Mississippi. | |
| Davis | 6 | Adams | 4 |
| Brown | 1 | Trumbull | 4 |
| Connecticut. | * | Davis | 2 |
| Adams | 12 | Greeley | 6 |
| Delaware. | | Missouri. | |
| Adams | 6 | Trumbull | 3 |
| Florida. | | Brown | 30 |
| Adams | 6 | Nebraska. | |
| Georgia. | | Trumbull | 3 |
| Adams | 2 | Greeley | 2 |
| Trumbull | 22 | Brown | 1 |
| Davis | 2 | Nevada. | |
| Greeley | 4 | Brown | 6 |
| Brown | 12 | New-Hampshire. | |
| Illinois. | | Greeley | 8 |
| Trumbull | 21 | New-Jersey. | |
| Davis | 21 | Adams | 5 |
| Indiana. | | Greeley | 5 |
| Adams | 8 | Brown | 7 |
| Trumbull | 14 | New-York. | |
| Davis | 6 | Adams | 2 |
| Iowa. | | Greeley | 66 |
| Trumbull | 9 | North Carolina. | |
| Davis | 2 | Davis | 12½ |
| Greeley | 7 | Greeley | 5 |
| Brown | 4 | Ohio. | |
| Kansas. | | Adams | 44 |
| Trumbull | 10 | Oregon. | |
| Kentucky. | | Brown | 6 |
| Adams | 16 | Pennsylvania. | |
| Greeley | 2 | Curtin | 56 |
| Brown | 6 | Rhode Island. | |
| Louisiana. | | Adams | 8 |
| Adams | 4 | South Carolina. | |
| Trumbull | 8 | Trumbull | 2 |
| Greeley | 2 | Davis | 12 |
| Maine. | | Tennessee. | |
| Adams | 14 | Adams | 11 |
| Maryland. | | Trumbull | 6 |
| Adams | 2 | Davis | 1 |
| Trumbull | 1 | Brown | 4 |
| Davis | 13 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|----|---------------|---|
| Texas. | | Virginia. | |
| Adams..... | 2 | Trumbull..... | 6 |
| Greeley..... | 14 | Davis..... | 5 |
| Vermont. | | Greeley..... | 5 |
| Adams..... | 1 | Curtin..... | 6 |
| Greeley..... | 7 | Wisconsin. | |
| West Virginia. | | Trumbull..... | 5 |
| Adams..... | 5 | Davis..... | 4 |
| Davis..... | 3 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 2 | | |

Missouri asked leave to retire for consultation. Vice-President Julian took the chair.

Mr. Casey offered a resolution giving a vote to the Territories, which was tabled.

Mr. McClure withdrew Gov. Curtin's name, and asked leave for the Pennsylvania delegation to retire, which request was granted, the proceedings being suspended until the return of the absent delegations.

THE SECOND BALLOT.

At the close of the second ballot the vote stood :

| | | | |
|---------------|-----|------------|----|
| Greeley..... | 239 | Davis..... | 81 |
| Adams..... | 243 | Brown..... | 2 |
| Trumbull..... | 148 | Chase..... | 1 |

California changed her 6 votes for Davis to Greeley, which left Greeley 245, and Davis 75. Whole vote, 714; necessary to a choice, 358. No choice was made. The following are the details :

| | | | |
|---------------|----|----------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Kansas. | |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Trumbull..... | 10 |
| Arkansas. | | Kentucky. | |
| Greeley..... | 10 | Adams..... | 19 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Greeley..... | 5 |
| California. | | Louisiana. | |
| Greeley..... | 12 | Greeley..... | 2 |
| Connecticut. | | Adams..... | 4 |
| Adams..... | 12 | Trumbull..... | 8 |
| Delaware. | | Maine. | |
| Trumbull..... | 6 | Adams..... | 14 |
| Florida. | | Maryland. | |
| Davis..... | 6 | Davis..... | 10 |
| Georgia. | | Trumbull..... | 3 |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Adams..... | 2 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| Brown..... | 2 | Massachusetts. | |
| Illinois. | | Trumbull..... | 4 |
| Davis..... | 21 | Adams..... | 22 |
| Trumbull..... | 21 | Michigan. | |
| Indiana. | | Adams..... | 22 |
| Adams..... | 9 | Minnesota. | |
| Davis..... | 2 | Trumbull..... | 9 |
| Trumbull..... | 16 | Davis..... | 1 |
| Iowa. | | Mississippi. | |
| Adams..... | 10 | Trumbull..... | 8 |
| Greeley..... | 6 | Greeley..... | 8 |
| Trumbull..... | 5 | | |
| Davis..... | 1 | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Missouri. | | Rhode Island. | |
| Trumbull..... | 16 | Adams..... | 8 |
| Greeley..... | 10 | South Carolina. | |
| Adams..... | 4 | Davis..... | 12 |
| Nebraska. | | Trumbull..... | 2 |
| Greeley..... | 1 | Tennessee. | |
| Trumbull..... | 5 | Adams..... | 11 |
| Nevada. | | Trumbull..... | 9 |
| Greeley..... | 6 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| New Hampshire. | | Davis..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 8 | Texas. | |
| New Jersey. | | Greeley..... | 13 |
| Greeley..... | 13 | Adams..... | 3 |
| Adams..... | 5 | Vermont. | |
| New York. | | Greeley..... | 7 |
| Greeley..... | 65 | Adams..... | 1 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Virginia. | |
| Trumbull..... | 1 | Greeley..... | 4 |
| North Carolina. | | Adams..... | 2 |
| Trumbull..... | 9 | Davis..... | 2 |
| Greeley..... | 8 | Trumbull..... | 14 |
| Davis..... | 3 | West Virginia. | |
| Ohio. | | Adams..... | 6 |
| Adams..... | 42 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 2 | Davis..... | 3 |
| Oregon. | | Wisconsin. | |
| Greeley..... | 6 | Adams..... | 15 |
| Pennsylvania. | | Trumbull..... | 2 |
| Chase..... | 1 | Davis..... | 2 |
| Davis..... | 11 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 18 | | |
| Adams..... | 26 | | |

THIRD BALLOT.

At the end of the third call the vote footed up as follows :

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|------------|-----|
| Whole number..... | 714 | Adams..... | 264 |
| Necessary to a choice..... | 358 | Davis..... | 44 |
| Greeley..... | 258 | Brown..... | 2 |
| Trumbull..... | 156 | | |

The following is the vote in detail :

| | | | |
|---------------|----|---------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Illinois. | |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Trumbull..... | 21 |
| Arkansas. | | Davis..... | 21 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Indiana. | |
| Greeley..... | 10 | Adams..... | 6 |
| California. | | Greeley..... | 6 |
| Greeley..... | 12 | Trumbull..... | 16 |
| Connecticut. | | Iowa. | |
| Adams..... | 12 | Adams..... | 10 |
| Delaware. | | Greeley..... | 8 |
| Trumbull..... | 6 | Trumbull..... | 4 |
| Florida. | | Kansas. | |
| Adams..... | 6 | Trumbull..... | 10 |
| Georgia. | | Kentucky. | |
| Brown..... | 2 | Adams..... | 19 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Greeley..... | 5 |
| Greeley..... | 18 | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Louisiana. | | Oregon. | |
| Greeley | 2 | Greeley | 6 |
| Adams | 4 | Trumbull | 13 |
| Trumbull | 8 | Greeley | 12 |
| Mississippi. | | Adams | 5 |
| Greeley | 11 | Ohio. | |
| Adams | 5 | Adams | 40 |
| Maine. | | Greeley | 2 |
| Adams | 14 | Pennsylvania. | |
| Maryland. | | Trumbull | 1 |
| Adams | 6 | Davis | 6 |
| Trumbull | 6 | Greeley | 18 |
| Greeley | 4 | Adams | 31 |
| Massachusetts. | | Rhode Island. | |
| Adams | 22 | Adams | 8 |
| Trumbull | 4 | South Carolina. | |
| Michigan. | | Davis | 12 |
| Adams | 23 | Trumbull | 2 |
| Minnesota. | | Tennessee. | |
| Trumbull | 9 | Adams | 11 |
| Davis | 1 | Trumbull | 9 |
| Missouri. | | Greeley | 2 |
| Nebraska. | | Texas. | |
| Greeley | 1 | Greeley | 13 |
| Trumbull | 5 | Adams | 3 |
| Nevada. | | Vermont. | |
| Greeley | 6 | Greeley | 7 |
| New Hampshire. | | Adams | 1 |
| Greeley | 8 | Virginia. | |
| New Jersey. | | Davis | 1 |
| Greeley | 13 | Greeley | 4 |
| Adams | 5 | Trumbull | 17 |
| New York. | | West Virginia. | |
| Greeley | 65 | Adams | 5 |
| Adams | 2 | Greeley | 2 |
| Trumbull | 1 | Davis | 3 |
| North Carolina. | | Wisconsin. | |
| Trumbull | 14 | Greeley | 2 |
| Greeley | 3 | Adams | 18 |
| Adams | 3 | | |

FOURTH BALLOT.

There being no choice, the roll was called for the fourth time, which resulted as follows :

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| Whole vote cast | 724 | Trumbull | 141 |
| Necessary to a choice | 363 | Davis | 51 |
| Adams | 279 | Brown | 2 |
| Greeley | 251 | No choice was made. | |

The following are the details of the vote :

| | | | |
|---------------|----|----------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Delaware. | |
| Greeley | 18 | Trumbull | 6 |
| Arkansas. | | Florida. | |
| Adams | 2 | Adams | 6 |
| Greeley | 10 | Georgia. | |
| California. | | Brown | 2 |
| Greeley | 12 | Adams | 2 |
| Connecticut. | | Greeley | 18 |
| Adams | 12 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Illinois. | | New Jersey. | |
| Davis | 21 | Greeley | 13 |
| Trumbull | 21 | Adams | 5 |
| Indiana. | | New York. | |
| Adams | 7 | Greeley | 62 |
| Greeley | 7 | Adams | 5 |
| Trumbull | 14 | Trumbull | 1 |
| Iowa. | | North Carolina. | |
| Adams | 16 | Greeley | 3 |
| Greeley | 6 | Trumbull | 17 |
| Kansas. | | Ohio. | |
| Trumbull | 10 | Adams | 42 |
| Kentucky. | | Greeley | 2 |
| Adams | 19 | Oregon. | |
| Greeley | 5 | Greeley | 6 |
| Louisiana. | | Pennsylvania. | |
| Greeley | 2 | Trumbull | 2 |
| Adams | 4 | Davis | 5 |
| Trumbull | 8 | Adams | 32 |
| Maine. | | Greeley | 17 |
| Adams | 14 | Rhode Island. | |
| Maryland. | | Adams | 8 |
| Adams | 12 | South Carolina. | |
| Trumbull | 4 | Trumbull | 2 |
| Massachusetts. | | Davis | 12 |
| Trumbull | 4 | Tennessee. | |
| Adams | 22 | Adams | 11 |
| Michigan. | | Trumbull | 10 |
| Adams | 22 | Greeley | 1 |
| Minnesota. | | Texas. | |
| Trumbull | 9 | Greeley | 13 |
| Davis | 1 | Adams | 3 |
| Mississippi. | | Vermont. | |
| Greeley | 8 | Greeley | 7 |
| Adams | 8 | Adams | 1 |
| Missouri. | | Virginia. | |
| Trumbull | 11 | Greeley | 4 |
| Greeley | 16 | Adams | 1 |
| Adams | 3 | Trumbull | 16 |
| Nebraska. | | Davis | 1 |
| Greeley | 1 | West Virginia. | |
| Trumbull | 5 | Adams | 2 |
| Nevada. | | Greeley | 6 |
| Greeley | 6 | Davis | 1 |
| New Hampshire. | | Trumbull | 1 |
| Greeley | 8 | Wisconsin. | |
| | | Adams | 20 |

FIFTH BALLOT.

The poll stood as follows at the close of the fifth ballot:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|----------------|----|
| Whole number | 714 | Trumbull | 91 |
| Necessary to a choice | 358 | Davis | 30 |
| Adams | 309 | Brown | 2 |
| Greeley | 258 | Chase | 24 |

The details are as follows:

| | | | |
|---------------|----|---------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Arkansas. | |
| Greeley | 18 | Greeley | 10 |
| | | Adams | 2 |

| | | | |
|----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| California. | | Nevada. | |
| Greeley..... | 12 | Greeley..... | 6 |
| Connecticut. | | New Hampshire. | |
| Adams..... | 12 | Greeley..... | 8 |
| Delaware. | | New Jersey. | |
| Adams..... | 6 | Greeley..... | 13 |
| Florida. | | Adams..... | 5 |
| Adams..... | 6 | New York. | |
| Georgia. | | Greeley..... | 62 |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Adams..... | 5 |
| Adams..... | 2 | Trumbull..... | 1 |
| Brown..... | 2 | North Carolina. | |
| Illinois. | | Greeley..... | 5 |
| Trumbull..... | 21 | Adams..... | 5 |
| Davis..... | 21 | Trumbull..... | 7 |
| Indiana. | | Davis..... | 3 |
| Adams..... | 11 | Ohio. | |
| Trumbull..... | 7 | Adams..... | 42 |
| Greeley..... | 10 | Greeley..... | 2 |
| Iowa. | | Oregon. | |
| Adams..... | 16 | Greeley..... | 6 |
| Greeley..... | 6 | Pennsylvania. | |
| Kansas. | | Trumbull..... | 1 |
| Adams..... | 10 | Davis..... | 4 |
| Kentucky. | | Greeley..... | 13 |
| Adams..... | 19 | Adams..... | 32 |
| Greeley..... | 5 | Chase..... | 1 |
| Louisiana. | | Rhode Island. | |
| Trumbull..... | 3 | Adams..... | 8 |
| Adams..... | 5 | South Carolina. | |
| Greeley..... | 6 | Chase..... | 14 |
| Maine. | | Tennessee. | |
| Adams..... | 14 | Adams..... | 12 |
| Maryland. | | Trumbull..... | 9 |
| Adams..... | 12 | Greeley..... | 1 |
| Trumbull..... | 4 | Texas. | |
| Massachusetts. | | Greeley..... | 13 |
| Trumbull..... | 4 | Adams..... | 3 |
| Adams..... | 22 | Vermont. | |
| Michigan. | | Adams..... | 4 |
| Adams..... | 22 | Greeley..... | 4 |
| Minnesota. | | Virginia. | |
| Trumbull..... | 9 | Adams..... | 1 |
| Davis..... | 1 | Greeley..... | 4 |
| Mississippi. | | Trumbull..... | 8 |
| Adams..... | 5 | Chase..... | 9 |
| Greeley..... | 8 | West Virginia. | |
| Trumbull..... | 3 | Adams..... | 6 |
| Missouri. | | Greeley..... | 3 |
| Adams..... | 4 | Davis..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Wisconsin. | |
| Trumbull..... | 8 | Adams..... | 18 |
| Nebraska. | | Greeley..... | 2 |
| Trumbull..... | 6 | | |

The announcement of Adams' vote was received with great cheers.

SIXTH AND LAST BALLOT.

The sixth ballot was ordered amid a scene of great confusion. Missouri asked leave to retire for consultation.

A motion was made for a recess for twenty minutes. [Cries of No! No! Sit down.] The motion was lost by an overwhelming vote. After an interval of twenty minutes Mr. Goodrich (Minn.) moved that in the future ballots, when the votes of the States have been polled, no changes shall be allowed except on an entire recall of the roll. Without taking a vote on this question, the call of the roll was proceeded with. The following was the result of the poll at the close of the roll call of States on the sixth ballot, and before the vote was announced:—

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------------|----|
| Adams | 324 | Davis..... | 6 |
| Greeley | 332 | Chase | 32 |
| Trumbull | 19 | Palmer..... | 1 |

The following are the details of the sixth ballot, as it stood before the vote was announced:—

| | | | |
|---------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Massachusetts. | |
| Greeley..... | 18 | Chase | 4 |
| Arkansas. | | Adams..... | 22 |
| Greeley | 10 | Michigan. | |
| Adams | 2 | Greeley..... | 2 |
| California. | | Adams..... | 20 |
| Greeley | 12 | Minnesota. | |
| Connecticut. | | Trumbull | 9 |
| Adams | 12 | Davis | 1 |
| Delaware. | | Mississippi. | |
| Adams | 6 | Adams | 10 |
| Florida. | | Greeley..... | 10 |
| Chase..... | 6 | Missouri. | |
| Georgia. | | Greeley | 18 |
| Greeley | 22 | Adams | 12 |
| Illinois. | | Nebraska. | |
| Adams | 27 | Greeley | 6 |
| Greeley..... | 14 | Nevada. | |
| Trumbull..... | 1 | Greeley | 6 |
| Indiana. | | New-Hampshire. | |
| Greeley..... | 19 | Greeley..... | 8 |
| Adams | 8 | New-Jersey. | |
| Palmer | 1 | Greeley | 13 |
| Iowa. | | Adams | 5 |
| Adams | 17 | New York. | |
| Greeley..... | 5 | Greeley..... | 62 |
| Kansas. | | Adams | 5 |
| Adams..... | 5 | Trumbull..... | 1 |
| Trumbull..... | 2 | North Carolina. | |
| Greeley..... | 3 | Greeley | 17 |
| Kentucky. | | Adams..... | 3 |
| Adams..... | 19 | Ohio. | |
| Greeley..... | 5 | Adams | 42 |
| Louisiana. | | Greeley..... | 2 |
| Greeley..... | 7 | Oregon. | |
| Adams..... | 7 | Greeley | 6 |
| Maine. | | Pennsylvania. | |
| Adams | 14 | Chase | 1 |
| Maryland. | | Trumbull..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 3 | Davis | 4 |
| Adams..... | 1 | Greeley | 18 |
| Trumbull..... | 2 | Adams..... | 32 |

| | | | |
|-----------------|----|----------------|----|
| Rhode Island. | | Virginia. | |
| Adams..... | 8 | Greeley... | 7 |
| South Carolina. | | Chase..... | 7 |
| Chase..... | 12 | Adams..... | 8 |
| Greeley..... | 2 | West Virginia. | |
| Tennessee. | | Greeley..... | 7 |
| Trumbull..... | 3 | Chase..... | 2 |
| Adams..... | 9 | Davis..... | 1 |
| Greeley..... | 10 | Wisconsin. | |
| Texas. | | Adams..... | 13 |
| Greeley..... | 13 | Greeley..... | 2 |
| Adams..... | 3 | | |
| Vermont. | | | |
| Adams..... | 1 | | |
| Greeley..... | 7 | | |

Before the vote was announced, Minnesota changed 9 from Trumbull to Greeley. Various States changed their votes. A scene of great confusion and noise followed. Mr. McClure changed Pennsylvania to 50 for Greeley and 6 for Davis. [Great cheers.] Indiana changed to 27 for Adams. A stampede of changes to Greeley here occurred, and the noise and confusion that followed were very great.

Illinois changed solid to Greeley, except one delegate, who insisted that his vote should stand for Trumbull. The Chair finally announced the result as follows:—

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| Whole vote..... | 714 | Adams..... | 187 |
| Necessary to a choice..... | 358 | Greeley..... | 482 |

Mr. Casement moved to make the nomination unanimous, but it was declared lost, as there were many Nays before the vote was announced.

Gail Cochrane inquired if Mr. Greeley had a majority of all the votes cast. The Chair said "Yes," and therefore Horace Greeley was nominated as the candidate for the Presidency by this Convention.

BALLOTING FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

On motion, it was ordered to proceed to the nomination of a Vice-President immediately, and the roll was called as follows:

Alabama, B. Gratz Brown, 18; Arkansas, Brown, 12; California, Brown, 12; Delaware, Albert Torbert of Delaware, 12; Florida, Brown, 6.

Here the Illinois and New York delegations retired for consultation, and the roll-call was temporarily suspended. On recalling the roll, Delaware voted for Trumbull. A delegate inquired whether Mr. Trumbull was a candidate for Vice-President, and if he would accept, when Governor Koerner, on behalf of Mr. Trumbull, replied that the latter would not accept under any circumstances.

An Iowa delegate nominated J. D. Cox, the man who was too pure to stay in the stink-hole of Washington.

Georgia gave Brown 22. Illinois offered Cassius M. Clay 21 votes; but Mr. Clay declined to be considered a candidate, and urged his friends to vote for Mr. Brown. Illinois then gave Brown 42; Indiana, George W. Julian 28; Kansas, Brown 8. Kentucky voted for Mr. Clay, but the latter, as Chairman, insisted on casting 23 votes for Brown. The other States voted as follows:

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Louisiana. | | New York. | |
| Brown..... | 14 | Brown..... | 33 |
| Maine. | | Trumbull.. | 31 |
| Julian..... | 14 | Julian..... | 2 |
| Maryland. | | Walker..... | 1 |
| Trumbull..... | 15 | Clay..... | 1 |
| Brown..... | 1 | North Carolina. | |
| Massachusetts. | | Trumbull..... | 8 |
| Julian..... | 22 | Walker..... | 12 |
| Trumbull..... | 2 | Ohio. | |
| Michigan. | | Brown..... | 2 |
| Gov. Walker of Va..... | 3 | Trumbull..... | 40 |
| Julian..... | 3 | Julian..... | 2 |
| Brown..... | 7 | Oregon. | |
| Cox of Ohio..... | 7 | Brown..... | 6 |
| Walker..... | 2 | Pennsylvania. | |
| Julian..... | 1 | Cox..... | 1 |
| Trumbull..... | 1 | Julian..... | 2 |
| Senator Tipton..... | 2 | Brown..... | 22 |
| Mississippi. | | Walker..... | 27 |
| Brown..... | 16 | South Carolina. | |
| Missouri. | | Walker..... | 14 |
| Brown..... | 28 | Tennessee. | |
| Nebraska. | | Brown..... | 2 |
| Tipton..... | 6 | Trumbull..... | 20 |
| Nevada. | | Texas. | |
| Brown..... | 6 | Trumbull..... | 16 |
| New Hampshire. | | Vermont. | |
| Brown..... | 8 | Trumbull..... | 4 |
| New Jersey. | | Brown..... | 3 |
| Brown..... | 3 | Julian..... | 1 |
| Julian..... | 1 | Virginia. | |
| Cox..... | 2 | Walker..... | 22 |
| Trumbull..... | 1 | West Virginia. | |
| Scovel..... | 12 | Trumbull..... | 10 |
| | | Wisconsin. | |
| | | Clay..... | 20 |

Mr. Burnet of Ohio announced that Mr. Cox's name was not before this Convention. The result of the first ballot was as follows:

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------|-------------|-----|
| Whole vote..... | 702 | Walker..... | 84½ |
| Necessary to a choice..... | 352 | Tipton..... | 8 |
| Brown..... | 237 | Cox..... | 25 |
| Trumbull..... | 158 | Clay..... | 34 |
| Julian..... | 134½ | Scovel..... | 12 |

Mr. Hickman (Penn.) moved that Mr. Brown be nominated by acclamation. Cries of "No, no," and the motion was withdrawn.

Gov. Koerner (Ill.) renewed the statement that he was

instructed to say on behalf of Mr. Trumbull that the latter would not accept the nomination. As doubts have been expressed, we have telegraphed him, and here is his reply, positively declining.

SECOND AND LAST BALLOT.

The roll was then called the second time, with the following result :

| | | | |
|----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| Alabama. | | Nebraska. | |
| Brown..... | 18 | Brown..... | 2 |
| Arkansas. | | Tipton..... | 3 |
| Brown..... | 12 | Julian..... | 1 |
| California. | | Nevada. | |
| Brown..... | 12 | Brown..... | 6 |
| Connecticut. | | New Hampshire. | |
| Julian..... | 10 | Brown..... | 8 |
| Brown..... | 1 | New Jersey. | |
| Florida. | | Brown..... | 17 |
| Brown..... | 6 | Julian..... | 1 |
| Georgia. | | New York. | |
| Brown..... | 22 | Walker..... | 3 |
| Illinois. | | Julian..... | 3 |
| Julian..... | 21 | Palmer..... | 1 |
| Brown..... | 21 | Brown..... | 62 |
| Indiana. | | North Carolina. | |
| Julian..... | 28 | Brown..... | 10 |
| Iowa. | | Walker..... | 10 |
| Julian..... | 13 | Ohio. | |
| Palmer..... | 1 | Brown..... | 14 |
| Brown..... | 8 | Julian..... | 30 |
| Kansas. | | Oregon. | |
| Julian..... | 1 | Brown..... | 6 |
| Brown..... | 9 | Pennsylvania. | |
| Kentucky. | | Walker..... | 23 |
| Brown..... | 23 | Brown..... | 20 |
| Louisiana. | | Julian..... | 10 |
| Brown..... | 14 | South Carolina. | |
| Maine. | | Brown..... | 12 |
| Julian..... | 14 | Julian..... | 2 |
| Maryland. | | Tennessee. | |
| Brown..... | 15 | Julian..... | 1 |
| Walker..... | 1 | Palmer..... | 6 |
| Massachusetts. | | Brown..... | 15 |
| Walker..... | 4 | Texas. | |
| Julian..... | 22 | Brown..... | 16 |
| Michigan. | | Vermont. | |
| Brown..... | 22 | Brown..... | 3 |
| Minnesota. | | Julian..... | 5 |
| Walker..... | 9 | Virginia. | |
| Brown..... | 1 | Walker..... | 12 |
| Mississippi. | | West Virginia. | |
| Brown..... | 16 | Julian..... | 10 |
| Missouri. | | Wisconsin. | |
| Brown..... | 28 | Brown..... | 15 |
| | | Julian..... | 5 |

The vote was announced as follows :

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------|----|
| Whole number of votes..... | 696 | Walker..... | 75 |
| Necessary to a choice..... | 349 | Tipton..... | 3 |
| Brown..... | 435 | Palmer..... | 8 |
| Julian..... | 175 | | |

B. Gratz Brown was declared the nominee. A motion was made to make the vote unanimous, and it was declared carried, though there were some dissenting votes.

Gen. Cochrane moved that the President and the first Vice-President, and the four principal Secretaries of the Convention be a Committee to announce to the candidates their nomination.

Resolutions of thanks to Cincinnati for her hospitality and to the officers of the Convention were adopted.

After loud cheers for the successful candidates, given with great enthusiasm, followed by cheers for Mr. Schurz, for Cincinnati, and the Committee of Arrangements, which were given with equal cordiality, earnestness and good will, in response to vehement calls for a speech, Senator Schurz said :

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: This Convention has overwhelmed me with kindness, and I have especially to thank them for the indulgence with which they have borne with me, while I was endeavoring to the best of my ability to conduct with fairness and impartiality the deliberations of this large, and let us confess, a little unruly body. [Laughter.] We have now accomplished our work. Our duty it will be now to proclaim to all the land the principles we have embodied in our platform, and go forward and solicit, with all entreaties which our minds and hearts are capable of making, the support of the people of the United States for the candidates we have nominated. I have already done so much speaking in this Convention, and, may be, I may have to do so much during the impending campaign, you will certainly bear with me if I close my speech in the same manner in which I closed my first—then by seconding the motion to adjourn, and now by declaring the Liberal Republican Convention adjourned *sine die*. [Cheers and applause.]

Calls were made for a few words from the Hon. George W. Julian of Indiana, who said :

If my physical health would allow me to talk to you it would afford me great gratification. I am, however, and have been for some time past, an invalid. I have retired from politics, and truly would not have been here at all had it not been for this Liberal Republican movement, which I could not possibly stay away from. [Applause.] I am in it, and of it, and shall go with it to the end if I can gather up my health, which I think will be greatly invigorated by what we have done. I hope, by-and-by, to be able to help your cause. [Loud applause, and calls for Palmer and Tilton, neither of whom, however, appeared.]

A delegate said he thought the Convention ought not to adjourn without tendering their thanks to the proprietors of *Harper's Weekly* for having done so much in giving popularity to their cause through the caricatures of Thomas Nast. [Loud laughter.]

The vast concourse had by this time greatly diminished,

and the more enthusiastic portion, who had till now lingered about the platform, gradually withdrew, and thus ended an inaugural meeting of magnitude, interest, and import.

ADDRESS OF THE STATE COMMITTEE

TO THE

LIBERAL REPUBLICANS OF NEW YORK.

FELLOW CITIZENS : The present Administration, although failing to fulfil the just expectations of the American people, is nevertheless attempting, through its office holders, to prolong its power for the next four years.

A large portion of the President's original supporters, and the entire remainder of his fellow-countrymen, without distinction of party, survey this attempt with indignation and alarm.

The history of the Administration is a shadowy record of discreditable (sometimes disgraceful) acts—many of them blunders; others, crimes. Ever since the day after the President's inauguration, when, as his first official step, he sought to abrogate one of the oldest statutes of the Republic in order to put a personal friend into office, he has repeatedly shown himself on the one hand ignorant of the laws, and on the other defiant of them.

He has transcended the limitations of the Constitution, and done violence to its free spirit by usurping for himself functions which that instrument reserves to the States and their citizens.

He has tyrannously invaded the political assemblies of our own and other free commonwealths, mischievously intruding his Federal influence into local affairs.

He has alternately proposed and defeated Civil Service Reform, until, notwithstanding his professions in its favor, he has proved himself the chief obstacle to its success.

He has, in multitudes of cases, made tenure of office to depend, not on good behavior or personal fitness, but on mere subserviency to his partisan schemes.

He has put crafty and ambitious parasites at the receipt of customs, where they still continue to fatten their private purses on the public funds.

He said to a nation weary with war, "Let us have peace," but has kept the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope—fostering in the North toward the South a temper of bitterness and resentment, instead of fraternity and good will.

• He has connived at and sustained a number of alien and rotten governments in the Southern States, some of whose officers have perpetrated frauds equalled in magnitude only by those of the Tammany Ring.

He has habitually stifled investigation, even into the gravest charges brought against his own official household.

He has committed acts of nepotism more numerous than are recorded against the entire line of his Presidential predecessors from George Washington to Andrew Johnson.

He has accepted gifts from flatterers, for which he has rendered dishonorable equivalents by bestowing public emoluments on the obsequious givers.

In short, he has administered his high office, not as a trust devolved upon him by the whole people, but as an estate or property owned by himself alone in fee simple.

During all this ever-growing maladministration, the President's partisans, instead of rebuking his perverse course, have, on the contrary, and for selfish ends, gilded it with uncandid flattery and defended it with specious logic. They have put forth a series of mocking pretences to the effect that he is paying the public debt; that he has reduced the taxes; that he has collected the revenue; that he has settled the Alabama claims; that he has tranquilized the Indians; and that he has reconstructed the South.

But not one of these allegations is true. Challenge them in detail. Is he paying the debt? The people, not the President, are paying it. Has he reduced the taxes? Congress, not the Executive, has lightened these burdens of the people. Has he collected the revenue? Swarms of his officers have grown rich by its collection. Has he settled the Alabama claims? They never were so unsettled as at this hour. Has he made peace with the Indians? The latest intelligence from the frontier is of massacre and blood, provoked by frauds which his officers have perpetrated on the deceived and exasperated savages. Has he given prosperity and contentment to the South? The Southern people, with unexampled unanimity, are demanding the overthrow of an Administration which has held them in surveillance and treated them with scorn.

The President's office-holders now vainly put forth these glittering but false pretenses of the success of an Administration which three-fourths of the citizens of the United States are impatient to vote into immediate dissolution.

The recent Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati—one of the most stately and brilliant parliaments ever assembled in this country—uttered the fit protest of an aroused people against a demoralized Government—just

as the citizens of the Empire State, a year before, rose in spontaneous revolution against a corrupt municipal ring. The prompt and brave action of the Convention has electrified the country, and sent a tremor through the self-complacent security of the "powers that be." The Cincinnati platform is as morally noble as the great Declaration to which our forefathers pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." Its principles include the equality of all men before the law; the perpetual union of these States—which nothing now threatens save corruption at the Federal center; the non-revival of all questions, and the amicable acceptance of all results, which have been finally and forever settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments; Universal amnesty, which is the most divine act possible to human government; the removal of all political disabilities occasioned by a war whose battle-fields have now been seven years green with peace; the ever sacred and inviolate supremacy of the civil over the military function of free government; and (last, not least) a civil service which shall evermore tend to reform itself through the wholesome regime of a Presidency expiring by self-limitation with one term.

In announcing these principles, the Cincinnati Convention gave them a living embodiment in the person of a Presidential candidate, who is an illustrious citizen of our own State; a statesman whose honored name is a household word in every cottage in the land; whose proverbial and absolute and incorruptible integrity is the best possible guarantee for an honest government in future; whose prudent and economical views of public administration are the earnest and good hope of a safe and thrifty management of the Executive office; whose kindness of spirit is typical of the good will which should hereafter exist between the two sections heretofore opposed; and whose long life, spent in rare devotion to the interest of the poor, the oppressed, and the toil-worn among his countrymen, has enshrined him in all men's respect as one of the most faithful champions of human rights, and one of the most revered examples of personal worth.

In the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, we hail a noble and gallant statesman of the West; a Kentuckian by birth, a Missourian by residence, who for years fought the battle of freedom on slave soil; who, at the close of the war against Slavery, was one of the heartiest to demand amnesty for the Southern people; and whose career deserves the sympathy of all who honor courage in action, dictated by nobility of soul.

In view of this platform and those nominations, we hereby invite you, fellow-citizens, of all party names, to join the Reform Movement at once, and to organize your-

selves without regard to past political differences, and without further delay, into working associations in your own respective counties, cities, towns, wards, and districts. Make judicious haste to form a willing and working Executive Committee, whether Democratic or Republican, in each of these localities, and send the names of its Chairman and Secretary to the State Committee's head-quarters in New York. All who work *with* us are *of* us. We make common cause with all who enlist for our common country.

The watchword of the present hour is, Organize! It is thus that great campaigns are fought. Organize! It is thus that every worker, however humble, can find a useful place in the ranks. Organize! It is thus that the whole State may be systematically canvassed, and every voter reached with argument and appeal. Organize! It is thus, and thus only, that the victory which awaits our best efforts can be magnificently achieved.

The signs of the times are propitious. The air is filled with foretokens of triumph. The noble response made to the Cincinnati ticket by our Democratic brethren in Tennessee; the signal overthrow of the Administration party in the election of the Senatorship in Connecticut; the sympathy exhibited at the Rochester Convention by our former antagonists and present friends; the outburst of popular enthusiasm in the South; the magnificent support rendered by the independent press of the country to the Reform movement—all these are harbingers of a popular uprising for the overthrow of the existing and unworthy Administration. Our cause is itself an inspiration, and engenders the courage and good cheer with which we shall prosecute it to success. It is the cause of honesty against corruption in high places; it is the cause of generous statesmanship, reaching with equal beneficence to all sections of our great country; it is the cause of civil liberty, administered in scrupulous conformity with written law; it is the cause of Republican government re-established on its one and only living foundation—which is, the loyal affection of a free people.

JOHN COCHRANE,

Chairman N. Y. Liberal Republican State Com.

ALFRED WILKINSON, Secretary.

STATE COMMITTEE.

Judicial District.

- I. JOHN COCHRANE, No. 39 Nassau street, New York.
 - B. A. WILLIS, No. 51 Chambers street, New York.
 - II. J. W. COE, Nos. 129 and 131 South 8th street, Williamsburgh, N. Y.
- GRINNELL BURT, Warwick.

- III..J. W. HASBROUCK, Rondout.
 M. L. FILKINS, No. 390 Madison street, Albany.
- IV..E. A. MERRITT, Potsdam.
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- VIII..JOHN WALLS, No. 45 Tupper street, Buffalo.
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- JOHN COCHRANE,
 Chairman.
- ALFRED WILKINSON, Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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| Gen. JOHN COCHRANE, | M. L. FILKINS, |
| ALFRED WILKINSON, | J. W. HASBROUCK, |
| BENJ. A. WILLIS, | E. A. MERRITT, |
| JOHN W. COE. | JOHN COCHRANE, |
| | Chairman. |

ALFRED WILKINSON, Secretary.

Headquarters, Room 14, Astor House, New York City.

OFFICIAL NOTICE TO MR. GREELEY,

OF THE

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN NOMINATION.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, May 3, 1872.

Dear Sir: The National Convention of the Liberal Republicans of the United States have instructed the undersigned, President, Vice-President, and Secretaries of the Convention, to inform you that you have been nominated as the candidate of the Liberal Republicans for the Presidency of the United States. We also submit to you the Address and Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Be pleased to signify to us your acceptance of the platform and the nomination, and believe us, very truly yours,

C. SCHURZ, *President.*

GEO. W. JULIAN, *Vice-President.*

WM. E. MCLEAN,

JOHN G. DAVIDSON,

J. H. RHODES,

F. W. WRIGHT,

} *Secretaries.*

Hon. HORACE GREELEY, *New York City.*

MR. GREELEY'S REPLY.

NEW YORK, May 20, 1872.

Gentlemen: I have chosen not to acknowledge your letter of the 3d inst. until I could learn how the work of your Convention was received in all parts of our great country, and judge whether that work was approved and ratified by the mass of our fellow-citizens. Their response has from day to day reached me through telegrams, letters, and the comments of journalists independent of official patronage, and indifferent to the smiles or frowns of power. The number and character of these unconstrained, unpurchased, unsolicited utterances satisfy me that the movement which found expression at Cincinnati has received stamp of public approval, and been hailed by a majority of our countrymen as the harbinger of a better day for the Republic.

I do not misinterpret this approval as especially complimentary to myself, nor even to the chivalrous and justly esteemed gentleman with whose name I thank your Convention for associating mine. I receive and welcome it as a spontaneous and deserved tribute to that admirable Platform of principles, wherein your Convention so tersely, so lucidly, so forcibly, set forth the convictions which impelled, and the purposes which guided its course—a Platform which, casting behind it the wreck and rubbish of worn-out contentions and by-gone feuds, embodies in fit and few words the needs and aspirations of To-Day. Though thousands stand ready to condemn your every act, hardly a syllable of criticism or cavil has been aimed at your Platform, of which the substance may be fairly epitomized as follows:

I. All the political rights and franchises which have been acquired through our late bloody convulsion must and shall be guaranteed, maintained, enjoyed, respected, evermore.

II. All the political rights and franchises which have

been lost through that convulsion should and must be promptly restored and reestablished, so that there shall be henceforth no proscribed class and no disfranchised caste within the limits of our Union, whose long estranged people shall reunite and fraternize upon the broad basis of Universal Amnesty with Impartial Suffrage.

III. That, subject to our solemn constitutional obligation to maintain the equal rights of all citizens, our policy should aim at local self-government, and not at centralization; that the civil authority should be supreme over the military; that the writ of habeas corpus should be jealously upheld as the safeguard of personal freedom; that the individual citizen should enjoy the largest liberty consistent with public order; and that there shall be no Federal subversion of the internal polity of the several States and municipalities, but that each shall be left free to enforce the rights and promote the well-being of its inhabitants by such means as the judgment of its own people shall prescribe.

IV. There shall be a real and not merely a simulated Reform in the Civil Service of the Republic; to which end it is indispensable that the chief dispenser of its vast official patronage shall be shielded from the main temptation to use his power selfishly by a rule inexorably forbidding and precluding his re-election.

V. That the raising of Revenue, whether by Tariff or otherwise, shall be recognized and treated as the People's immediate business, to be shaped and directed by them through their Representatives in Congress, whose action thereon the President must neither overrule by his veto, attempt to dictate, nor presume to punish, by bestowing office only on those who agree with him, or withdrawing it from those who do not.

VI. That the Public Lands must be sacredly reserved for occupation and acquisition by cultivators, and not recklessly squandered on the projectors of Railroads for which our people have no present need, and the premature construction of which is annually plunging us into deeper and deeper abysses of foreign indebtedness.

VII. That the achievement of these grand purposes of universal beneficence is expected and sought at the hands of all who approve them, irrespective of past affiliations.

VIII. That the public faith must at all hazards be maintained, and the National credit preserved.

IX. That the patriotic devotedness and inestimable services of our fellow-citizens who, as soldiers or sailors, upheld the flag and maintained the unity of the Republic shall ever be gratefully remembered and honorably requited.

These propositions, so ably and forcibly presented in the Platform of your Convention, have already fixed the attention and commanded the assent of a large majority of our countrymen, who joyfully adopt them, as I do, as the bases of a true, beneficent National Reconstruction—of a New Departure from jealousies, strifes, and hates, which have no longer adequate motive or even plausible pretext, into an atmosphere of Peace, Fraternity, and Mutual Good Will. In vain do the drill-sergeants of decaying organizations flourish menacingly their truncheons and angrily insist that the files shall be closed and straightened; in vain do the whippers-in of parties once vital, because rooted in the vital needs of the hour, protest against straying and bolting, denounce men nowise their inferiors as traitors and renegades, and threaten them with infamy and ruin. I am confident that the American People have already made your cause their own, fully resolved that their brave hearts and strong arms shall bear it on to triumph. In this faith, and with the distinct understanding that, if elected, I shall be the President, not of a party, but of the whole People, I accept your nomination, in the confident trust that the masses of our countrymen, North and South, are eager to clasp hands across the bloody chasm which has too long divided them, forgetting that they have been enemies in the joyful consciousness that they are and must henceforth remain brethren.

Yours, gratefully,

HORACE GREELEY.

To Hon. CARL SCHURZ, President;
 Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN, Vice-President; and
 Messrs. WILLIAM E. McLEAN, JOHN G. DAVIDSON,
 J. H. RHODES, F. W. WRIGHT, Secretaries of
 the National Convention of the Liberal Republicans of the United States.