

Cleveland & Hendricks

Nominated by the National Democratic Convention.

ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS.



GROVER CLEVELAND

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The National Democratic convention opened at Chicago in the building in which the National Republican convention had been held a month previous.

ACTION OF THE NEW YORK DELEGATION.

For weeks speculation has been rife concerning the probable choice of the convention, the chief interest centering in the struggle for and against Governor Cleveland's candidacy in the New York delegation. On the day previous to the opening of the convention the seventy-two New York delegates met at their headquarters in the Palmer house and took an informal ballot on the delegates' choice for a presidential candidate. The result was: Cleveland, 46 votes; Flower, 23; Tilden, 1; Bayard, 1; Thurman, 1. Upon formal ballot the vote resulted: Cleveland, 47; Slocum, 15; Bayard, 9; Flower, 1. A resolution was then offered that the chairman of the delegation be instructed to present Governor Cleveland's name to the convention, and that the chairman cast the 72 votes of New York for him until further orders. The resolution was opposed by Messrs. Kelly and Grady, and advocated by Colonel Fellows. The delegation then took a recess until 4 P. M. At the afternoon session Messrs. Kelly and Grady again spoke against the enforcement of the rule of casting the delegates' vote as a unit. Upon a ballot being taken sixty-one votes were cast in favor of the enforcement of the unit rule and eleven votes against such enforcement. The resolution was amended at Mr. Grady's request, and by its provisions Chairman Manning was directed to announce upon the call of States that the Saratoga convention instructed the delegates to vote as a unit; that a vote having been taken for choice of candidates, forty-nine favored Cleveland and twenty-three delegates had other preferences and were divided between Flower, Bayard and Slocum.

MR. TILDEN AGAIN DECLINES.
The following is an authentic copy of a communication to Mr. Barnum, the chairman of the national committee, from Mr. Tilden, and made public on the eve of the convention:

GLENESTON, July 5, 1881.
To the Hon. William H. Barnum, Chicago, Ill.—I have received your telegram informing me of the disposition to nominate me for the presidency, and asking, "Will you accept a unanimous nomination from the convention?" and also a telegram from Mr. Manning, saying, "It seems absolutely necessary that you should answer Barnum's telegram as soon as possible."

Your inquiry was explicitly answered in the negative by my letter of June 10 to Mr. Manning.

OPENING OF THE CONVENTION.

CHICAGO, July 5.—When the convention was called to order at 12:40 noon, 15,000 people filled the seats in the vast amphitheater, and among the spectators were a large number of women, whose bright costumes afforded a pleasing contrast to the sober garments of the delegates and male spectators. The arrangements and decorations of the hall were declared superior to those of the convention of four weeks ago. The main stage had been placed midway at one side of the hall, instead of at the extreme end. This brought the entire audience much closer to the stage proper and to the delegates. The decorations were not profuse, but striking and pleasing to the eye, the national colors predominating. The main platform, however, was dwarfed by the magnificent proportions of the hall. The delegates were seated in a square immediately fronting the speakers' platform on the level of the convention hall. To the right and left of the delegates were the quarters assigned the press representatives, who had been provided with tables in rising tiers, thus affording this working army a complete view of the entire hall. Between the delegates and the platform were the quarters assigned the press representatives, who had been provided with tables in rising tiers, thus affording this working army a complete view of the entire hall. Between the delegates and the platform were the quarters assigned the press representatives, who had been provided with tables in rising tiers, thus affording this working army a complete view of the entire hall.

At the conclusion of Governor Hubbard's speech, Mr. Prince, of Massachusetts, secretary of the national committee, reported the temporary organization, including the secretaries.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, then said he was instructed by the national committee to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the rules of the last Democratic convention govern this body until otherwise ordered, subject to the following modification: That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called and every State has cast its vote.

Senator Grady, of New York, offered the following amendment to the resolution:

When the vote of a State is announced by the chairman of the delegation from such State is challenged by any member of the delegation, then the secretary shall call the names of the individual delegates from the State, and the individual preferences as expressed shall be recorded as the vote of such State.

Colonel John R. Fellows, of New York, here obtained the floor and spoke in opposition to Mr. Grady's amendment. He challenged the right of the other States to strip from New

York the crown of her sovereignty and say that her loyal subjects should not obey her mandates. New York had instructed her seventy-two votes to speak as the voice of one man. The seventy-two delegates here would not do this. But, moreover, this question had been put to vote in the delegation, and a two-thirds vote had been in favor of the unit rule. We bade the delegates from other States pause before they struck down the seven-year-old New York Democratic expression in the convention at Saratoga. They expected New York to head the Democratic column in November. He therefore appealed to those States who were interested in carrying New York to be careful how they proceeded. He doubted whether this convention had the power to reverse the action of the Saratoga convention. He read the resolution of instruction of the Saratoga convention, requiring the delegation to act as a unit under the direction of a majority. The other States had no right to dictate what the will of New York was. Mr. Grady sat in that convention and every man in it voted for these resolutions. He did not object to any member expressing publicly the reasons that impelled him to differ from the majority, but he insisted that New York should vote as one man.

Mr. V. Menzies, of Indiana, offered an amendment to the amendment, to the effect that no State should change its vote until the other States had voted and the result had been announced.

Mr. Grady returned the floor. He said that the New York delegate who preceded him had challenged the convention to strike down the sovereignty will of the New York Democratic expression in the Saratoga convention. He denied that it was the sovereign will of the New York Democratic. It was the sovereign will of the New York State machine. This, he said, had no authority to prescribe any rule for the guidance of district delegates. (Grady was a district delegate, and recognized no authority on the part of any machine to dictate how he should vote. The unit rule was un-democratic and should be done away with.)

Mr. Powers, of Michigan, moved that the amendments be referred to the committee on rules. The motion was lost.

Mr. Coker, of New York, spoke in favor of the unit rule. He said that the New York Democratic should vote as a unit. The delegates should vote as a unit, not by the Democracy of New York. Free speech and free deliberations were thrown out of the window. He did not believe that the convention would instruct the recording secretary to record the vote of the unit rule.

General Clinie, of California, said it was an outrage to permit a majority of any State in the convention to deprive the minority of its vote.

Mr. W. Powers, of Michigan, asked why should the convention attempt to stifle the voice of the delegates because they happened to be in the minority?

Mr. J. A. Kelly, of Illinois, said if the State of New York had instructed its delegates to vote as a unit, and if they failed to do so, this convention had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Jacobs, of New York, said that he was one of the minority, and would exercise his privilege of voting against the choice of the majority, but as a Democrat and as a man of honor, he would not do so.

Mr. Grady asked him if, at the Saratoga convention, there had been a word of discussion as to the unit rule.

Mr. Jacobs replied that there had not been, but it was because everybody had agreed to it in advance.

John Kelly, of New York, said that in the New York convention the question was whether a majority of men could control the vote of a minority. He did not regard any instructions of the State as binding upon the delegates. This was a higher power than a State convention, and he appealed to it to say whether the views of good Democrats could be stifled and their voices drowned, or whether they were to have a vote like other delegates.

There were sixty-two counties in the State of New York, of which ten or twelve were Democratic. According to the argument of the majority, the Democratic counties of New York (which would elect a Democratic president if an opportunity were given to them) would be disfranchised. That was the principle which was presented, and he appealed to the unit rule.

Colonel Fellows again took the floor and responded to Mr. Kelly. There was extraordinary misapprehension of the issue involved, he said. The question of stifling the voice of the minority was not even remotely involved. The question was whether the State of New York had the right to say how the will of her majority should be indicated on the floor. (Applause.) She had always maintained the Democratic party, and she had no desire to prevent any one of a minority of her delegation telling the convention why he differed with the majority. She only said that when the will of a majority had been indicated, the Democratic party should not be divided, and she claimed it as her right to prescribe the way. (Applause.) It so happened that Mr. Kelly and himself were delegates from the same congressional district in New York. Mr. Kelly told him by what Democrats he had been elected whose voice was entitled to more recognition than others in the same district?

Mr. Kelly arose to explain, and an amusing colloquy between him and Colonel Fellows ensued.

THE UNIT RULE SUSTAINED.
At the conclusion of Mr. Fellows's speech there were roars all over the hall for the question. The Chair finally recognized General Bragg, of Wisconsin. He argued that the delegates did not come here as representatives of congressional districts except in such cases as the State may direct and permit. The States, not the districts, were entitled to representation. Mr. Bragg, of Louisiana, also claimed that the States themselves had the right to determine the question whether the votes should be cast as a unit. He then moved to lay the motion on the table, but subsequently withdrew it and moved the previous question. Mr. Menzies then withdrew his amendment to the original amendment. The question was then put, but there being an uncertainty as to the result the roll of States was called for and ordered upon the adoption of the amendment to the original resolution.

After some further discussion the secretary announced the result of the vote as follows: Total number of votes cast, 75; yeas, 32; nays, 43. (Great applause.) The vote by States was as follows:

State	Yeas	Nays
Alabama	15	5
Arkansas	14	1
California	14	2
Colorado	4	2
Connecticut	2	10
Delaware	0	11
Florida	0	12
Georgia	12	12

Illinois 23 | 23 |

Iowa 6 | 50 |

Kansas 3 | 15 |

Kentucky 20 | 16 |

Louisiana 5 | 10 |

Maine 10 | 16 |

Massachusetts 21 | 7 |

Michigan 12 | 12 |

Minnesota 18 | 14 |

Mississippi 18 | 18 |

Missouri 8 | 24 |

Nebraska 5 | 5 |

Nevada 6 | 8 |

New Hampshire 14 | 4 |

New Jersey 14 | 4 |

New York 72 | 0 |

North Carolina 10 | 12 |

Ohio 25 | 21 |

Oregon 6 | 6 |

Pennsylvania 21 | 20 |

Rhode Island 3 | 8 |

South Carolina 3 | 14 |

Tennessee 17 | 10 |

Texas 10 | 10 |

Vermont 8 | 8 |

Virginia 6 | 18 |

West Virginia 3 | 8 |

Wisconsin 5 | 17 |

Total 332 | 463 |

The call of the roll on the original resolution was then dispensed with and it was unanimously adopted.

This question having been disposed of the roll of the States was called and the chairman of the several delegations named the delegates chosen as members of the committees on credentials and resolutions. On the completion of the roll the convention adjourned until 11 A. M. to-morrow.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At 11:25 A. M. Temporary Chairman Hubbard rapped for order and introduced the Hon. Dr. L. A. Linn, D. D., of Chicago.

The chair man requested that the audience rise as the venerable gentleman arose and repeated the Lord's prayer. It was a striking scene, 13,000 people on their feet, reciting the prayer in a low and impressive voice, the bishop followed by invoking the blessing of God upon the proceedings and prayed for the blessings of the Almighty to rest upon the country and upon the members of the convention.

PRESENTATIONS OF PETITIONS.
Petitions were presented asking for a hearing for an Irish national league; denouncing the labor convict system; favoring the eight hour law and a labor statistic bureau; reduction of taxation to a revenue source against protection; against the acquisition of large tracts of public lands by corporations; for reform in the civil service by making postmasters elective; for a systematic reduction of taxes providing that, in the event of the death of candidates for President or Vice-President, the chairman shall call together the convention again to fill the vacancy; for the repeal of all legislation which makes a Republican rule, has tended to paralyze labor for a constitutional amendment making the presidential term of office six years, and to limit the disposal of the public lands to actual settlers in quantities of not more than 160 acres each. Finally a resolution was adopted to refer all such propositions without being read. Under that rule several anti-Chinese and tariff reform resolutions were referred, being only read by their titles.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.
The report of the committee on permanent organization was read. The names of W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, being presented as president, with a list of vice-presidents (one from each State) and several secretaries and assistants, it was ordered that the secretaries and clerks of the temporary organization be continued under the permanent organization. The report was unanimously adopted, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana; W. W. Armstrong, of Ohio; W. H. Furness, of Georgia; John A. Hendon, of Texas; John Day, of Missouri; William Sparks, of Illinois, and Smith M. Wood, of New York, were appointed to escort Colonel Vilas to the chair.

COLONEL VILAS TAKES THE CHAIR.
Loud cheers greeted the appearance of Mr. Vilas upon the platform. When quiet had been restored the chairman introduced the permanent chairman in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the Convention: I have the honor to introduce to you the Hon. Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin, whom the convention has unanimously elected—permanent president of your body. (Loud applause.) Thanking you most kindly for the courtesy and the attention which you have shown me, I now invite it for him who will need it much less than I have needed it." (Loud and long continued applause.)

Mr. Vilas, assuming the chair made a long and eloquent speech.

"Gentlemen of the National Democracy: I know full well that this mark of your favor is no personal compliment, but is a recognition of the young Democracy of the North and West, and I am proud to claim it as a tribute to their lofty zeal and patriotism, their long and gallant struggle against an outnumbering foe, and their great and growing confidence in the Democratic party, and its prototype of their coming triumphs."

"You are assembled to consider a great cause, to pronounce a most momentous judgment. Your hands are on the helm of a great ship of promise, and every man of you is a freeman who are, and one hundred millions who soon will be, our nation—earth's greatest free society—will rejoice in the well-considered and just decisions which you will make. Your import and value lie not in mere partisan success—in touching the spoils of office. It is a nobler opportunity. The hour is pregnant with mighty possibilities of good to men."

"Littoral liberty—strange in the history of corruption, injustice, and favoritism, cries aloud for resuscitation."

"An assuage of politicians such as long possession of unchallenged power creates, but which is not to be feared, and which has been the product of infant industry. (Laughter.) They have announced their purposes, and they claim the submission of the country as if it were theirs to command. How have they met this just expectation of this intelligent people. Like some corporations which have flourished under their auspices, they have issued a watered stock of promises, and have done nothing to redeem them. They have promised redress only of disorders they have themselves communicated to the body politic. (Laughter and applause.) They prefer the infatuation to cure the disease, and they have tendered nothing adequate or worthy to the fervent aspirations and high hopes of this patriotic people."

"To a country which rejoices in restored unity and concord they tender the renewal of sectional strife. To a nation which feels the impulse of a mighty growth and yearns for leadership in noble prosperity they offer the invitation of national calamity and misfortune. To a proud and sensitive people, demanding deliverance from dishonoring corruption, demanding decency in the selection and cleanliness in the holding of their public stations, they offer the gilded arts of skillful demagogues. (Applause.) To the generous ardor of youth, nobly ambitious to achieve a freeman's manhood; they proffer the elevating sentiment of the party machine. To the man of toil seeking only opportunity to earn a free man's livelihood they say: Be your masters' villains and you shall have bread. (Applause.)"

"The burden of their campaign is already manifest. Shouting, and in common

political parlance, 'soap' (laughter) are its inspiration and ammunition. (Laughter and applause.) The air is already filled with the vision of schemes addressed to various interests and factions of weak and undevoted men, and some are indulged to expect advantage from the chaotic possibilities of foreign political parties. (Laughter.)

"The history of the republic will have been read in vain if such a prospect does not alarm and warn us. Twice already has liberty sunk beneath the waves of fraud and venality. She has seen her chosen servants displaced by chicanes, and her people enslaved by fraudulent usurpation of their places. (Applause.) She has seen a national election perverted by the stream of money which flowed like a rolling mill, and her chosen servants displaced by chicanes, and her people enslaved by fraudulent usurpation of their places. (Applause.) She has seen a national election perverted by the stream of money which flowed like a rolling mill, and her chosen servants displaced by chicanes, and her people enslaved by fraudulent usurpation of their places. (Applause.)"

"There is one supreme question before us. How shall we most surely rescue the republic? A new generation is on the scene of action, an educated and intelligent generation. They understand our institutions. They comprehend the tremendous growth and capabilities of this country, and they accept the responsibilities which have devolved upon them. Their feeling sense is keen that the welfare and progress of the people demand, have long demanded, an utter and radical change in the administration of the government. (Benjamin F. Butler appeared in the convention at this point, escorted by one of his old aides, Mr. Drinkwater, and was received with uproarious applause, mingled with some hisses from people who did not seem to relish the interruption.) They have heard repeated promises of change, and each recurring election, and each disgrace and shame they see each new administration discover deeper injustices than those it promised to amend. (Applause.)"

"The prosperity and progress in our reform which will work all others, and is the condition of all, is the utter defeat of the present party in power."

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"The triumph of the party of the republic's hope cannot be longer stayed. We may hope to see the squandering of public wealth cease; to see justice take her place in our laws regarding the rights of the citizen. We may hope to see a Democratic people of equality, and simplicity, and frugality, where happiness may best be found. (Applause.)"

"The report of the committee on permanent organization was read. The names of W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, being presented as president, with a list of vice-presidents (one from each State) and several secretaries and assistants, it was ordered that the secretaries and clerks of the temporary organization be continued under the permanent organization. The report was unanimously adopted, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana; W. W. Armstrong, of Ohio; W. H. Furness, of Georgia; John A. Hendon, of Texas; John Day, of Missouri; William Sparks, of Illinois, and Smith M. Wood, of New York, were appointed to escort Colonel Vilas to the chair."

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THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.
[From the New York Truth.]

HENDRICKS PRESENTS McDONALD.

When Indiana was called loud cheers rent the air, and Mr. Menzies, of that State, arose and said: "The Indiana delegation has requested the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks to present the name of Indiana candidate for President." Mr. Hendricks came forward amidst a burst of enthusiasm lasting several minutes. Upon a partial subsidence of the noise a wild gallery delegate, with a voice like a rolling mill, shouted, "More cheers for the old ticket," and they were given with extraordinary vigor. When the uproar had at last subsided Mr. Hendricks said:

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: This is my first experience as a delegate in a national convention, and as I rise to present the name of a distinguished citizen of Indiana, I feel the delicacy and great responsibility of the duty I have undertaken. The people now demand a change in the management of Federal affairs, and if this convention will give them half an opportunity they will execute that purpose in the election of a President the coming fall."

"It is but two weeks ago that a secretary, standing upon the witness stand in the presence of a Senate committee, testified that the false vouchers in the naval bureau of medicine and surgery did not, he supposed, exceed \$22,000. I dare say you remember that an entire administration went down, and for the time being, the party went with it, because of an embezzlement of \$22,000. That was but forty years ago, and that was the only case occurred attracting attention during that administration. It was so fearful the punishment by the people that the party went from power for the time being."

"Who expects that a party long in power, with all the emoluments of public position received and enjoyed by its followers and retainers, can reform itself? The offences against the public service are many. They must be pursued to their hiding places, and exposed and punished. The President shall employ—I mean the new President that you are to nominate here—the agents that he shall employ must have no one to shield or conceal. (Applause.)"

"I had as the result of my speech, I know that there are men of tried ability in it. I know that there are men of ability in the present service, and I would not ask that they should be dismissed from office; but none but such ought to be continued. In the language of a writer, when we come to define the rights of the out and of those that are in, let it be understood that none but the fittest shall survive. (Applause.)"

"I have but one other sentiment to refer to before I shall call your attention to the claims which I propose to suggest for the man that I will nominate; and in respect to this sentiment no one is more ready than I am to concede. I have but one other sentiment to refer to before I shall call your attention to the claims which I propose to suggest for the man that I will nominate; and in respect to this sentiment no one is more ready than I am to concede. I have but one other sentiment to refer to before I shall call your attention to the claims which I propose to suggest for the man that I will nominate; and in respect to this sentiment no one is more ready than I am to concede."

"The best part of General Grant's administration was the settlement by arbitration of controversies touching the Alabama. That settlement stands in right glorious contrast with all history to the use that he himself made of our army when he beleaguered the capital that men might have offices to which they were never elected. (Loud applause.)"

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