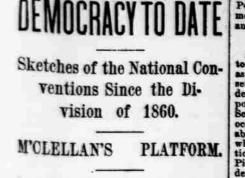
#### SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1892 THE PITTSBURG DISPATCH.

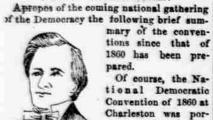


How Ohio Flanked the New York Politicians in Tammany Hall.

REMARKABLE RISE OF TILDEN. His Letter of Declination Taken to Cincinnati by Whitney.

MANNING'S MANAGEMENT FOR GROVER

WRITTEN FOR THE DISPATCH.



There Ben Butler won fame and Henry B. Stephen A. Douglas. Pavne became a National figure. The war had already broken out in the hearts of the delegates and the

tentious, but it has

often been described.

withdrawal of the seven identical States which nine months later seceded from the 13 Union was not unanticipated. They afterwards nominated Breckinridge, while 10 m the delegates who were left adjourned to Baltimore June 18, and put before the

people the idol of the party in the North, John C. Breckinridge. Stephen A. Douglas. It is a rather curious fact that Breckinridge and Douglas were the vouncest men ever nominated for the Presidency up to that time.

Following are sketches of each of the succeeding conventions. The portraits are reproduced from those circulated at the time of the greatest prominence of the subjects.

#### THE WAR CONVENTION.

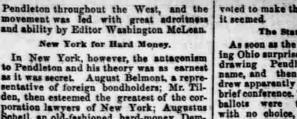
#### It Was Called to Save the Democratic Farty From Annihilation. It was a serious question for a time dur-

ing the war whether the Northern Democracy would be able to muster a sufficient



Contederacy, and, of course, could not be Met d'an respresented. The organization in the Northern States was de-

ralized. A call was issued by August Belmont, who was Chairman of the National Com-



New York for Hard Money. In New York, however, the antagonism to Fendleton and his theory was as earnest as it was secret. August Belmont, a repre-sentative of foreign bondholders; Mr. Til-den, then esteemed the greatest of the cor-poration lawyers of New York; Augustus Schell, an old-fashioned, hard-money Dem-ocrat; Henry C. Murphy, a man of great ability and the highest business capacity, who barely escaped the Presidental nomina-tion at the time it was given to Franklin Pierce, and others of like character were determined that the party should not be committed to what was called the greenback heresy, or at least should have a candidate for the Presidency who would prevent, if

heresy, or at least should have a candidate for the Presidency who would prevent, if elected, the consummation of greenback legislation. These New York men, with great adroitness and much secrecy, under-took to head off the Pendleton movement, and with a good deal of audacity actually proposed to bring about the nomination of Chief Justice Chase. They entered into correspondence with Chase. He had been an old-time Democrat, who had separated from his party on the slavery issue, and that issue had now been forever determined. It was believed that a very considerable ele-ment in the Republican party would sup-port Chase, and Mr. Tilden always claimed that this belief was sound. Thus when the convention met it was in-fluenced by these two antagonistic influ-ences, the Pendleton sentiment being openly and loudly demonstrated, the New York op-

Almost before anyone was aware what had been done the delega-tion presented the name of Horatio Sey-mour. Such a cry went up as is only heard in a great convention hall. The New York members were for a moment or two stupe-fied assmingly, and the Ohio delegates, see-ing their advantage, raised still louder the cry of "Seymour! Seymour!" Beymour himself was a strange, almost pittable object to look upon. He seemed dumfounded, bewildered, and he shook his head with undignified and deprecatory ges-ture. He arose trembling, and in a falter-ing voice, raising his hand with something like piteous appeal, he said, "Your candi-date I cannot be," and then left the plat-form. If it were acting it was superh. If it were simulation of surprise it was mag-nificent. To this refugal the Ohio delega-tion paid no head and parsisted. Other delegates took up the ery, and New York looked on, preceiving that that thing most to be dreaded in a convention—a stampede -was inevitable. Then some of the New York delegates for Seymour, and speedily it was wident that Ohio had flanked New York and had forced a candidate upon the State. Symour himself was appealed to. He was told that the convention had with unanim-ity pronounced for him, and with something that suggested abjectness he bowed his head and submitted. New York had not chosen Chase; Ohio had not won with Pendleton, but the honors in the political game were even.

New York for the first and only time se-cured the National Convention of the De-mocracy. It was called to meet in New York City and in the hall owned by the Tammany Society. It met on the 4th of July. Horatio Seymour was chosen Presi-dent of the convention, and he made one of his characteristic speeches. No man ever so skillfully concealed the thorn beneath the pleasing flowers of rhetoric as he, and the speech which he made on taking the chair was perhaps the most consummate ex-hibition of this power. It was thought by many after the convention adjourned, and is to this day believed by some, that Mr.

Seymour knew that the secret purpose of the New York delegation was to bring about his nomination. Yet Mr. Tilden al-ways denied that, and only a little while

even.

tagonistic Factions.

The action of the New York delegates during the early part of the convention was peculiarly diplomatic and subtle. The delegates did not con-ceal their opinion that it might be wise to nominate Mr. Pendle-



Hendricks, of Indiana. Nearly all of Pendle-Horace Greeley. Thomas A. Bayard. that New York was sincere in proposing Hendricks' name, yet there was no sincerity in it. That name was simply used as a pawn in this game of political chess. Mr. Tilden informed the

Western delegates that if New York was asked to name a candidate from the State it had an eminent man in view in Sanford E. Church. But it was apparent to every one that there was neither sincerity nor hope in the suggestion of Church's name. Westerners Won the Platform.

ton, but they suggested that it might be well to nominate a warm personal triend of Pen-dleton, and one who

extent Western senti-

ment-Thomas A.

The convention spent some time in the

and loudly demonstrated, the New York op-position being concealed, but resolute.

Seymour's Stroke for the Nomination

before his death Henry C. Murphy declared that the final action of the convention was

a surprise to the New York delegation.

A 6

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the states

New York for the first and only time se-

construction of the resolutions. The green-back men controlled a majority, and they were able to secure the adoption of their financial plank. General Wade Hampton convention. Eleven States were engaged then in an effort to had insisted upon the insertion of a resolu-tion declaring all the reconstruction acts establish a Southern unconstitutional, revolutionary and void, and with such a platform as this to stand upon the convention proceeded to the work of naming its candidate. The excitement and confusion in Tam-

many Hall was so great as almost to demoralize the convention, and there were acmittee, for a convention to be held in Chi- cusations that Tammany had filled the galcontentions in New York State, Mr. Schurz could not have developed this plan much beyond the State of Missouri. leries with some of its more violent parti-sans. Yet the cheering that was raised whenever Pendleton's name was pronounced indicated that good care had been taken to **Opposition to Grant's Administration** procure the attendance of men who had strong lungs and willingness to use them for "Gentleman George." The first ballot gave Pedleton a handsome plurality, and if the two-thirds rule had not prevailed he There were personal animosities in the Republican party, and there was genuine conviction that the policy of Congress and the tendency of Grant's administration were toward such a rule as was then character-ized as better fitted for military despotism would have then been nominated. He re-ceived 105 votes, Andrew Johnson, 65; San-ford E. Church, 34; General Hancock, 33, with some scattering for Asa Packer, James E. English and Joel Parker. Six ballots than for a free republic. Everybody who cared to ally themselves with a movement against the administration was invited to at-tend a convention to be held in Cincinnati material change, and then the convention adjourned till the following day. on May 1, 1872. There gathered upon that day a strange throng-strange in that many of the men had bitherto differed in their political views and were even then without any clear, well-formulated idea as to the purpose which brought them together. Samuel A. Tilden as a Manager. In the evening the New York politicians began with the greatest skill to neutralize the strength of Pendleton. Very cautiously, purpose which brought them together. Carl Schurz was the central figure, and in all his varied career probably he never en-joyed a political attain-ment more keenly than he did this one. Then there was Theodore Tilton, at that time in the height of his unique fame; and Wil-liam Dorsheimer, after-ward to become conspicu-ous as a Democrat, and in that secretize and whispering manner which characterized him, Mr. Tilden sug-gested that opposition to Pendleton would cease to be opposition if Pendleton's friend Hendricks were suggested. Hendricks then possessed that extraordinary popular-ity which he maintained in Indiana until his death, and the suggestion of his name compelled the Indiana delegates to break away from Pendleton. Tilden and those back of him had no more idea of the nomiward to become conspicu-ous as a Democrat, and David Dudley Field, then esteemed in some respects the ablest of American lawyers; and Colonel Mc-Clure, who only eight years before had been largely instrumental in convince of back of him had no more idea of the nomi-pation of Hendricks than they had of that of Pendleton. They had another man in reserve in case Hendricks showed no great strength. Nothing that Tilden ever did in politics was more characteristic of his great adroitness than the skill with which he fanked Pendleton with Hendrick and largely instrumental in securing the nom adroitness than the skill with which he flanked Pendleton with Hendricks, and then flanked Hendricks with Hancock. However, he could not play his game long without discovery, and the Ohio delegation, advised by Mr. McLean, after a long con-sultation decided to flank Tilden. It was realized that at the opportune moment New York would bring torward the name of Chase with the idea that the convention might be stampeded to the Chief Justice. largely instrumental in securing the nom-ination of Lincoln, and the polished Stan-ley Matthews, the statistical Edward At-kinson, David A. Wells, even then an ex-ponent of free trade, although only a few years before a Republican officeholder: Long John Wentworth, Leonard Swett, who was one of Lincols's initiates and Lincols was one of Lincoln's intimates, and Joseph Pulitzer, even then with an ambition to gain as great fame and as substantial success as had characterized Mr. Schurz' Chase with the loca that the convention might be stampeded to the Chief Justice. On the following day Pendleton's vote ran up to 156 on the eighth ballot, and on the twelfth ballot Hancock was subtly career. It was in one sense a cosmopolitan body of politicians, for there were men of many nationalities and almost as many views.

voted to make the experiment, rash though The Stampede to Seymon As soon as the convention met next morn-ing Ohio surprised the convention by with-drawing Pendleton's name, and then with-

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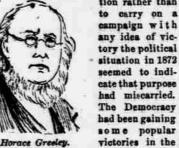
drew apparently for a brief conference. Three ballots were taken with no choice, Han-cock running up to 135%, Hendricks to 132, with 49% scatter-P.



**HOW GREELEY WAS NOMINATED** 

## The Convention of 1868 and Its Many An

If the purpose of the politicians in 1868 ras to maintain the Democratic organiza-



victories in the North. It had carried Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and had made a very close contest in Ohio. Yet, as the time for the National Convention approached, the Democratic leaders seemed to be in a con-dition of hesitancy. This was due, however, not so much to

This was due, however, not so much to any lack of purpose on their part as to the the extraordinary manifestations of disturb-ance which had been revealed within the Republican organization. For more than a year the evidence of a tendency to split the Republican party had been very striking. In Missouri, under the leadership of Carl Schurz and Gratz Brown, and on the issue of removing the disabilities of some of the citizens of that State, a split had already occurred, an element of the Republicana, who called themselves Liberals, uniting with the Democracy to secure such legisla-tion. Out of that circumstance came the

the end. The first ballot showed that Mr. Adams, while having a plurality, was really in a hopeless minority if all the elements combined against him. He received 205 votes, Greeley 157, Trumbull 110, Grats Brows '95, David Davis 935, Governor Curtin 62 and Chief Justice Chase 334. The balloting proceeded without much change excep that Greeley gained a little and Adams lost. On the sixth ballot Greeley received 333 votes to 324 for Adams, with 51 scattering, and changes were made which a few minutes later brought about the nomina-tion of Greeley, and with but little context Gratz Brown was nominated for Vice Presi-dent.

Gratz Brown was nominated for Vice Presi-dent. The nomination cadsed intense chagrin to the friends of Mr. Adams, and some of them were disposed to repudiate it at once. It was said of Mr. Schurz that he went to the piano in his parlor, and being filled with desnair and sorrow, sat down and played "The Heart Bowed Down," while Mr. Samuel Bowles wept. The ancedote was published at, the time and caused great anusement, while it did not tend to strengthen the cause of the Liberals. The Resular Democratic Convention. The Regular Democratic Convention.

that the party could It would be supposed that the nomination of Greeley would have caused the Southern Democrats to redo nothing else than Br-Secretary Whitney. to pominate Tilden on this issue. Not to do that would be to fuse to carry out the understanding suggest that there had been insincerity in this plaint and charge of fraud extending which had been reached informally between some of the Democratic lead-ers and those who

managed this Lib-eral movement. On the contrary, the Southern Democrats were far more kindly disposed to-ward Greeley than those of the North. H is association with the so-called peace conference, his bailing of Jeff Davis

pence conterence, his balling of Jen Davis and his demand for universal amnesty had caused the Southern Democrats to for-get or forgive much that Greeley had said in the exciting times before the war. Therefore when the Democrats met in con-vention in Baltimore on July 9 it was plain that the convention's work would be pain

suggest that there had been insincerity in this plaint and charge of fraud extending through four years. The convention was called to meet in Cin-cinnati on the 2nd of June, and within a week or ten days of the meeting it is sup-posed that the body would simply place in nomination the tleket 1876, reaffirm the platform of that year, with an added plank renouncing the alleged wrong of 1876. Til-den, however, had written a letter in which he declined to become a candidate. This was due partly to his health, partly to some feeling that he had not been treated with entire justice by some of the Democratic leaders. The letter was committed to Will-iam C. Whitney, but it was the intention of a majority of the New York delegation to secure the nomination of Tilden in order that the record of the party might be con-sistent, and then, having nominated him, if he chose to decline on the score of ill health, it would be taken. There has alwas been a suspicion that Mr. Whitney was filled with a greater desire to secure the nomination of his father-in-law, Henry D. Payne, than to secure for Mr. Tiden such indorsement as a nomination, even if declined, would give. Mr. Whitney's friends say this does him injustice, but the charge is made that he mismanaged, pro-duced Mr. Tilden's letter at an inopportune moment, and thereby compelled the New York delegation to abapdon Tilden as a candidate. At all events, the convention was somewhat at sea after learning that Tilden would decline. Bayard was brought forward by an influential element, and so was Judge Thurman. William R. Mor-rison, as a tariff reform candidate, was sup-ported, but the bent of the convention, through political manipulation which has never been fully understood, seemed to be through political manipulation which has never been fully understood, seemed to be

never been fully understood, seemed to be for Hancock. He received 171 votes on the first ballot; Bayard, 1533; Payne, 81; Thur-man, 68; Justice Field, 65; Morrison, 62; Hendricks, 493; Tilden, 38. New York seeing that Payne could not be nominated tried to combine on Randall, but it did so too late. The combination had been made for Hancock, and upon the second ballot there was a stampede, which gave Hancock ultimately every vote of the convention but 32, and with William L. English, of Indiana, as candidate for Vice President. The platform called for a tariff for revenue only, and on that platform Hancock was defeated.

AT LAST SUCCESSFUL

## Manning's Wonderfully Skillful Conduct of

In the Hancock campaign of 1880 a young Buffalo Democrat carried a torch. Within New York by a plurality of 190,000, due

the Demooratic party revealed itself as a predication of consummate ability. There fol-lowed the canvass which resulted in a dis-puted election and a time of peril. WHY BANCOCK WAS NAMED. Tiden's Declination and Political Jagglins. Defeated Well-Laid Finns. Tor four years after the convention of 1876 the Demooratic Party had declared to instant in Cleveland's nomination. Total the Demooratic party had declared to the Southern Demoeratic leaders and that would have but one issue, and that would be the righting of the Southern Demoeratic leaders and the total to the fillen in 1876. Mr. Blaine, Mr. Corlisle and his friends. Carlisle and his friends of Cleveland. There was no formidable anvas made for any other eandidate. The fields of Gleveland. There was more bound. There was more bound and been strong. Mission and colored watterson, have said When the convention met in Chicago on the 28d of June, 1884. Mr. Manning's esti-mate was that Governor Cleveland would be nominated not later than the fourth, probably upon the second ballot, and there was never a moment from the time of the opening of the convention until the result was announced when Mr. Manning and those who were associated with him had any reason to doubt the accuracy of his can-vast. Yet there was a moment, ten mo-ments perhaps, when it seemed to others as though the convention might be stampeded to Governor Heudricks. In the indescribable fury which accom-panied that effort, when the convention When the convention met in Chicago on Watterson, have said

In the indescribable fury which accom-panied that effort, when the convention seemed to have gone mad and the maniacal galleries were demanding, with vociferous and awful demonstration, the nomination of Hendricks, Mr. Manning sat at the head of the New York delegation as unruffied as though his cars were deaf and his eyes were blind. No more majestic picture of com-posure in time of extraordinary political peril was ever seen than that which Mr. Manning and his delegates then offered. Had he wavered, had he or his betrayed the slightest sense of fear the end would have come and Hendricks would have oc-cupied the White House instead of the Vice Presidential chair. Stemming the Hendricks Tide.

Stemming the Hendricks Tide.

At last, when there was a lull in this storm, Mr. Manning arose and in quiet, de-liberate manner, as though all this which had just happened was the mere rustling of had just happened was the mere rustling of the leaves upon the trees outside, he said: "Mr. Chairman, the New York delegation instructs me to cast its united vote for Grover Cleveland." And with this utter-ance the Hendricks charm was broken and not long after Grover Cleveland was the nominee of his party for the Presidency, with Governor Hendricks for Vice. The canvass had been conducted for Cleveland in accordance with the political teachings of Governor Tilden, for Manning was an apt scholar and worthy of his train-ing. The Hendricks incident was the only one of excitement during the meeting of the convention.

rav's name."

convention. Of course the convention of 1888 was the Of course the convention of 1888 was the mere perfunctory recording of the party's determination to renominate 'President Cleveland. Some of the politicians would have defeated it if possible. The conven-tion met in St. Louis on June 20, 1888, and Cleveland was nominated by acclamation almost immediately after the organization, with Judge Thurmen rether excinct his almost immediately after the organization, with Judge Thurman, rather against his will, as his associate upon the ticket. The platform in a modified way represented the views which President Cleveland had ex-

pressed in his tariff message of the winter before, and on that issue the party went be-fore the sountry. E. J. EDWARDS. her, and it is Miriam alone that is to blame for causing the delay." "And you think that I had better speak to her about it?" "Yes, you may have more influence, more You Should Buy One.

# For Monday we offer 20 lines of men's suits, neat patterns, at 35 90, worth \$15. They are just the garments for business wear. At \$5 90 we will sell men's light colored suits, neat mixtures and small patterns, including stylish light colors-\$3 90 is our price, the usual price charged is \$18 to \$20. This sale will pay you. P. C. C. C., Clothiers, Corner Grant and Diamond streets.

Cleveland's Cause.

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two years he had been elected Governor of most entirely to a bitter factional fight most entirely to a bitter factional fight NEAPOLITAN AWNINGS, warranted sun fast, within the Republican party. The very at Mamaux & Son's, 539 Penn avenue. was



BY DORA RUSSELL. Author of "Footprints in the Snow," "The Broken Seal," "The Track of the Storm," "A Fatal Past," Etc."

SYNOPSIS OF FREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

SYNOPSIS OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS. Two lovers, Sir James MacKennon, Bart, and Miss Miriam Clyde, are standing by the seashore, and the former is urging her to name the wedding day. She pleads for delay. In the meantime an accident occurs, a soldier being wounded by a firing party. Miriam binds p his wound and saves his life. Glancing at each other's face a mutual recognition takes place. On arriving home the doctor who was summoned to the wounded iman gave her a note which the soldier had hastily scribbled. It contains the words "For God's sake keep my secret." Miriam, by means of Dr. Beed, sends to her soldier-patient a brief mes-sage. "Do not be afraid?" which he receives as he is lying in the hospital. In the meantime Miriam's mother, Mis. Clyde, makes up her mind that her daughter shall be married to Sit James in a month, and tells her so. But Miriam, thinking of a life dearer than her own, hanging in the balance, pleads examestly for more time. Mrs. Clyde writes to her other daughter, Joan, who is married to hard and stern General Conway, asking them to the wedding. Conway thinks it's a good match, but pains Joan by intimating that Miriam should not so soon forget another affair in which his nephew was the hero. He and Mrs. Clyde agree it is best to hurry the wedding for fear Sir James should hear of that. Miriam is obstinate, and gets Sir James to sak Mrs. Clyde for postponement.

CHAPTER VIL PRIVATE DARE.

"Does she care for Sir James, do you think?" asked Colonel Clyde, turning round in his chair and facing his wife, for he was sitting at his writing-table when

his wife entered the library. "She always seemed to like him," anwered Mrs. Clyde.

"It was a remarkable affair."

became greatly excited, and persisted in

her refusal not to be married in a month"

"Well, let a few days pass quietly over, and then we can see what is to be done.

You are quite sure that Sir James is anxiou

"I am perfectly sure; he is devoted to

authority than I have; Miriam never dis-obeyed me before, but surely she will not disobey her father."

Clyde, gravely. "I agree with you; to delay the marriage under the circumstances is madness. Shall I go and speak to her

"We can try, at all events," said Colonel

"Yes, do; fancy how disagreeable it would

for the marriage?"

An exclamation of astonishment, almost of dismay, burst from Colonel Clyde's lips when his eyes fell on Miriam. She was kneeling by the bed sobbing passionately, in an utter abandonment of grief, but she started to her feet when she heard her father's voice. "But that other miserable affair-can she father's voice. be thinking of that?" "Miriam!" said Colonel Clyde. "I-I-m not very well," faltered Miriam, trying to hide her agitation. "But she accepted Sir James knowing all that, . and as the unfortunate man has

been dead eighteen months, there can be nothing new in the idea." "And nothing further was ever heard

Mirram, trying to hide her agitation. "You seem very much upset at least." "I-have been upset," answered Miriam, and her sobs broke out afresh as she spoke. "Pray, try to compose yourself; no pos-sible good can come of exciting yourself thus. I have come to speak very seriously to you, Miriam, and I cannot do so unless you listen quietly.." about it, I suppose, or we should have heard from Joan or Conray?" "Joan never mentions it, for naturally it is a painful subject; and as for Miriam I believed she had entirely forgotten it, for I

"I-will try, father," answered Miriam, have never heard her mention young Con-

them it was put off. Do, George dear, go,

and insist upon her yielding." Upon this Colonel Clyde rose, and pro-ceeded slowly upstairs to his young daugh-ter's room, and having reached it, rapped at the door and then opened it.

"Yes, and an affair I should not like t reach Sir James' cars. That is one reason I am so anxious not to have the marriage de-layed; and I told Miriam this, but she only

"I-will try, father," answered Miriam, endeavoring to suppress her sobs. "It's on the subject of your marriage, or rather the time of your marriage. Your mother tells me it was settled you were to be married in a month, but that now you wish to postpone it for another month." "I never agreed, father, to be married in a month; mother and Sir James settled it," answered Miriam in her tear-choked voice, "and-and Sir James is willing to wait two montha. It is only mother..." "My dear, your mother has your truest good at heart you may be sure. Neither she nor I like postponed marriages, and I wish you, and your mother wishes you, to be mar-ried at the earlier date."

"Father, I cannot!" said Miriam, thus driven to bay.

driven to hay. "But why?" asked the Colonel. "Ohl please do not say anything more or ask anything more!" cried Miriam entreat-ingly. "I have said it all to mother, and— and she said some cruel things to me. I can't bear much more, father." And again M' jan began to sob violently. Colonel Clyde was not so firm nor so hard as his wife, and he began to feel very sorry for his young daughter. Her unmistakable

for his young daughter. Her unmistakable distress also afflicted him, but Mrs. Clyde "Yes, do; fancy how disagreeable it would had great influence over him, and he thought be to have to write to the Conrays to tell it behoved him, therefore, to do his best

923. 925, 927



who called themselves Liberals, uniting with the Democracy to secure such legisla-tion. Out of that circumstance came the suggestion that similar alliance might be made elsewhere. To this day the belief is general that the Liberal movement, as it was called, was conceived and developed by Carl Schurz, and there is no doubt that he deserves, in a measure, such opinion. Nevertheless, had it not been for factional contentions in New York State. Mr. Schurz

vention in Baltimore on July 9 it was plain that the convention's work would be per-functory, and that the only question which would come before it would be whether it should formally put Greeley and Brown in nomination or merely indorse the Cincin-nati platform and candidates. It was re-worded the heticar collignt to make the garded the better politics to make the formal nominations and formally to accept the platform. The party therefore stood before the country in the inconsistent light tion rather than to carry on a campaign with any idea of victory the political situation in 1872 seemed to indicate that purpose

Nominated Its Savier.

before the country in the inconsistent light of having repudiated its own platform of 1868, which radically differed from that adopted by the Liberals at Cincinnati. It was foreseen before two months had passed that there could be no successful coalition. Samuel J. Tilden perceived it and warned some of his Republican friends in New York not to identify themselves with the Liberal moment become with the Liberal movement, because Mr. Tilden said it was doomed to emphatic repudiation by the people at the polls in November.

A

WHAT TILDEN'S GENIUS DID. It Saved the Party From Destruction

The discipline through which the Dem cratic party had passed as a political organization since 1860 did

not bear fruit until a master politician, with genus sufficient

esco on July 4, but the lack of organization and the indifference of many leading Democrats made it necessary to adjourn the convention until August 20. At that time there gathered a curious body of men, curious least in their purpose or lack of purpose. It has since been confessed by Mr. Belmont that the main purpose of holding the convention was to prevent the Democratic organization from going wholly to pieces.

Declared the War & Fallura

The convention was singularly unfor-tunate. The delegates had practically agreed, even before going to Chicago, upon nominating General McClellan, and they had also agreed to do the absurdly inc ent thing of placing in nomination a Union general who had won some brilliant vic-tories, and of compelling him to stand upon the platform which was virtually an insult to his career as a soldier. The platform declared that after four years of failure to restore the Union it was high time to call

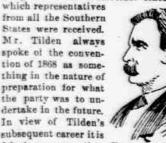
for immediate cessation of hostilities McCiellan was nominated upon the first ballot, and with such a reproach as was hinted in this platform as the issue of the campaign. Even before the convention adrned the lie was given to the platform, for the news of the capture of Fort Morgan was then received, and only the day after the convention adjourned General Sherman emphasized the ridiculous position in which the party had placed itself by sending the news that Atlants had fallen. General McClellan himself in accepting

the nomination practically repudiated the platform. George H. Pendleton was nominated for Vice President, and as in 1860 now the Democracy had placed in nomination very strong young men. McClellan was not 40 years of age and Pendleton was only a little past 40. Of course the canvass which followed this nomination was without interest. The result was known even before the ballots were cast.

### ONLY CONVENTION IN NEW YORK

How Ohio Delegates Flanked Tilden and Named Horatio Seymon:

The convention of 1868 was the first gathering of national Democrats since 1860, in which representatives from all the Southern States were received. Mr. Tilden always spoke of the conven-



subsequent career it is fair to suppose that Henry Winter Davis. he had then his own possible selection as leader in mind, although he knew well that the leader chosen in 1868 was only the leader for a skirmish, and not one who could by any possibility win a national vic-

tory. Tilden, in his days of retirement, was foud of chatting with his intimate friends about this convention, and he always alnimed that it was a drawn battle between the Western and Eastern Democrats so far as its results were concerned. The situal was like this; In the West an idea had sprung up, which had seemingly captivated the entire Democratic party and which has since been called the greenback craze. Its motto was the same currency for the bondholder and the plow holder. George H. Pendleton had become associated in the popular mind with that idea, and as he was ossessed of gifts of intellect and charms of personal manner which made him respected and admired, popular sentiment in the party in the West centered upon him as the avorite candidate of the greenback element in the party. A specious but seemingly magnificent demonstration was made for

The Attitude on the Tariff.

the twelfth ballot Hancock was subtly brought iorward for the purpose of prevent-ing any sudden rush to Hendricks. Mr. Tilden also gave the signal at this time which indicated that Chase might be a can-didate, for one-half a vote was then given to the Chief Justice. Twelve ballots were taken on that day, the final one giving Han-cock 144%, Pendleton 56% and Hen-dricks 87.

Ohio's Part in the Game. After the convention had adjourned for the day the impression was general that Hancock would be nominated. The Ohio delegation knew better, believing that the plans of the New York politicians were now ripe and that on the following morning Chase would be brought forward from under cover. It was a time for instant action and for heroic measures, and in the httle par-lors where the Ohio leaders met a sugges-tion was made which, first deemed auda-cious and dangerous, was accepted as the only possible way in which Ohio could flank New York. Not an inti-mation of this purpose reached the ears of Mr. Tilden and those associated with him. Exactly what their plan was has never

him. Exactly what their plan was has never been clearly understood. The New York delegation were always averse to talking about the matter. The presumption is that Mr. Tilden intended still to play Hancock and Hendricks against Pendleton until the Chase's name. A report was spread abroad that the agreement was that after several ballots Seymour himself was to take the floor and in the name of New York present Chase to the convention. They Chase to the convention. There are good reasons for believing that foundation for this report existed. At all events it was rouse any popular enthusias believed to be true by the Ohio delegation, and the conviction was that Chase would be

nominated if Seymour thus presurely nominate sented his name. "There is only one way to prevent it," said Mr. McLean to the Ohio delegates, and he told them what that way was. They

When it was reorganized, it scemed likely that one of two men would be placed in nomination for the Presidency, either David Davis or Charles Francis Adams. Mr. Adams was the candidate of the Idealists. Schurz was reported to have said, "either Adams or no one." Horace Greeley seemed to care more about the platform than the candidate, and he had a most difficult task before him, for the convention was com-

Ohio's Part in the Game.

against the administration of General Grant, but how to construct a plank which would suit both protectionists and free traders was a problem which was belived to be unsolv-able. Nor was it solved; it was dodged. Greeley, preceiving that the convention would go to pieces if this issue was forced, formulated his "home district" plan. By this it was proposed to remit the question of the tariff to the Congress districts, and with such a subterfuge as that as a part of its platform the convention proceeded with its work. Stanley Matthews was the Tem-porary Chairman, and General Schurz the Permanent. Before the balloting was begun a quarrel sprung up among David Davis' followers which very likely cost him the nomination. There was also opposition to Adams, vague, and mainly due to the fear that he could not

Greeley Hardly Thought of at First,

On the other hand, curiously enough no one knows exactly how or why, there began to appear decided sentiment for Horace Greeley, although he was not originally thought of by anyone in connection with the nomination. The shrewdest politicians in the convention were inclined to think that Lyman Trambull would win bonor in

the party. Yet within two years the situation changed. A tidal wave had given the Democracy the control of the House, and the genius of one of the most extraordinary intellects produced in America had con-verted the threatened disaster due to the Tammany exposures into a potent influence for Damografic supremany in New York Tammany exposures into a potent influence for Democratic supremacy in New York State and possibly the nation. Mr. Tilden was past 60 years of age when he thus sud-denly made splendid revelation of his genius for political management. He had never held but one political office until in 1872, when he was elected a member of the Legislature. He had been known as per-hang the ablest cornoration lawyer in New haps the ablest corporation lawyer in New York City, and had revealed as Chairman of the Demogratic State Committee not only political skill but also creative capacity. Tilden and the Overthrow of Tammany. He had identified himself as the leader of who had overthrown Tammany and these who had overthrown Tammany and had by this act saved the Democracy as a party from much of the reproach which otherwise would have been entailed by Tweed's use of its name. By reason of this identification he was clearly indicated in 1873 as the party's candidate for Governor, and his political intuition made it plain to him that if he won the Governorship on the platform he made and platform he made, and carried on the campaign while Governor which he had in mind, he would also be indicated as the choice of the na-tional Democracy for President in 1876. As we look back now over Tilden's career at that time it is easy to see where in he di

we look back now over Thiden's career at that time it is easy to see wherein he dis-tinguished himself above all Democratic leaders. He perceived that his party could not hope to win on the old issues, and he saw in the Tweed corruption and that of the canal ring in New York a chance to raise a new issue, partly sentimental, partly justified, and one which he called adminis-trative raform. As he bundled this issue it Justined, and one which he called adminis-trative reform. As he handled this issue it appealed powerfully to the masses of his party, and, while he made this public and sentimental demonstration, he was secretly at work teaching the young men whom he gathered about him the finest lesson of or-ganization which perhaps was ever taught by a Democratic politician. It was a reve-lation. A departure in fact a revolution

by a Democratic politician. It was a reve-lation, a departure, in fact a revolution in the science of political organization. He turned his back upon the older leaders and summoned a score or more of enthusiastic young men, who were brilliant and who he knew would be faithful; and thus appealing publicly to the masses, while behind the curtain directing an organization which ex-tended throughout the country, he was in position when the convention assembled in St. Louis on Juce 28 to dominate it. candidate, and he had a most difficult task before him, for the convention was com-posed not only of rampant free traders like Mr. Wells, but equally rampant protection-ists like himself. There was no trouble about its agreeing upon such planks of the platform as contained vigorous accusations against the administration of General Grant, but how to construct a plank which would St. Louis on June 28 to dominate it.

John Kelly Voiced the Opposition.

There seemed to be some opposition, bu t was of a kind over which Tilden rejoiced tor it was voiced in the convention by John Kelly, who had succeeded Tweed as the head of the Tammany organization. Some able men were in the convention, most of them for the first time appearing prominently in such association. There were William Dor-sheimer, who would become Governor if Tilden were elected President; Speaker Randall, who venerated Tilden as the ablest Democrat since Jackson; young Vilas, of Wisconsin, afterward to serve in a Presi-dent's Cabinet; Leon Abbett, atterward Governor of New Jersey; William C. Whitney, himself to gain great prominence; Henry Watterson and "Blue Jeans" Will-

iams. The platform was prepared by Mr. Tilden himself, although in its verbal expression is represented the culture of Manton Marble and John Bigelow. Its features were the demand for administrative resorm, for the repeal of the resumption act and a vague assertion that the tariff should be laid with the view principally of securing revende. Only one formal ballot was taken, Tilden lacking only a iew of a two-thirds vote, the rest being scattered tor Hendricks, Bayard, Hancock and Governor Allen. Before the second ballot was completed Mr. Tilden was placed upon the ticket with him. It was the first convention since 1860 in which



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