REPORT IN DETAIL

LAST DAY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Stenographers' Record of the Progress of the Work—How the Nominations Were Made.

FULL TEXT OF ALL SPEECHES

FINE WIT AND SCATHING SARCASM OF COL. BRECKINRIDGE.

Nominating Speeches of S. L. Kilbourne, of Michigan, Who Named Gen. Palmer, Jones and Others.

The second day's proceedings of the National Democratic convention began at 11:38 a. m. The delegates were all in their seats and the galleries were comfortably filled when Chairman Caffery brought his gavel down and announced that the committee on resolutions was not yet ready to report; therefore, such action would be taken in the interval as the convention should indicate. A great cry of "Breckinridge! Breckinridge!" rose from all parts of the hall, while a few hisses were heard in the southern gallery. In response to the overwhelming call Kentucky's favorite orator passed up to the platform and was taken by the hand by Chairman Caffery and Senator Palmer. When the cheering which greeted Mr. Breckinridge subsided he addressed the convention as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, and my Countrymen, from every section of the imperial Republic—I congratulate you upon this convention. We are passing through a crucial period. In the eloquent speeches that were made last night reference was made by a scholarly orator concerning the action of the present President of the United States about the Chicago strike. We hardly know what was the value of that action during those days. The great loss of property, the violation of law, the pathetic struggles of the unemployed laborers were the things which met our eyes; but underneath them there was a great development of our institutions.

"The war showed that we had the most warlike machinery of government that the world had ever seen. In the midst of profound peace, a pastoral people, inhabiting thirty States, suddenly found themselves confronted with the terrific problem. Eleven States seceded, and, without a jostle, organized a government, with its executive, judicial and legislative functions unimpaired, and by the mere power of those complex but subtle and powerful institutions which our fathers had formed, put into the field an army larger than its entire adult population, and history will tell of the glorious struggle that that army under that government made during those four years.

"At the same time the twenty States of the North, nearly bankrupt, with their ships scattered, scarcely with an army, instantly organized the greatest army the world ever saw; the courts of justice remained open; in the main the private rights of citizens were protected, and out of those four years merged a Republic, the most warlike nation, with the most warlike machinery of government the world had ever seen. (Cheers.)

"As it had withstood the trials of that great war, it withstood the greater trial of the reconstruction period. (Applause.) Many things happened of which we may be ashamed, but out of it came a united Republic without change of government, with all of her institutions unimpaired, and with a prospect before her that was as boundless as the horizon of human hope. (Cheers.)

"There came another strain. Nearly thirty years passed away. Was this machinery of government, in time of war so powerful, able in time of peace to preserve public order and compel obedience to the law? Could it, with its peculiar government and its duplex States and general government, without martial law, without a despot on horseback riding to the front—could it compel obedience to the law, preservation of public order and demonstrate to the world that of all governments liberty is indeed the strongest? (Cheers.) It was done, and in such a way that every philosophic thinker now knows that the American government, in war the most warlike, is in peace the most powerful that the world has ever seen.

CRUCIAL TEST OF SUFFRAGE.

"Now we come to the crucial test of universal suffrage. Can the ballot box sustain the law and uphold the hands of the executive? Are the people yet to be trusted with universal suffrage and sovereignty? Are we to-day, in the name of the true Democracy—of the conservative, radical Democracy—to construct a new system of government? We are here to see that no party name and that no party of masqueraders, using an honored name and an honored flag, can take from the ballot box the authority of law, and to uphold liberty, keeping anarchy under foot. (Applause.) It is not even a national question. As great as this imperial Republic is, it is an international and a world-wide question. We are here to uphold the principles of liberty and peace, to which we have been accustomed. We are to maintain liberty in the midst of order. The world has tried the experiment by three fierce democracies like Athens, with forms of despotism, such as have not been known before in the world's history. Are we to try the same experiments here upon our own continent, and in the midst of the world, the cynosure of all the nations, try to work out again the great problems that have been evolved from the experience of other nations by trying to establish a form of government that cannot maintain peace, liberty, law and order?

"My fellow-Democrats, we are radicals rather than conservatives. We are the men who have changed the whole political history of the world. We have taken the thin fringe along the Atlantic coast and in less than 130 years we have extended our dominion to the Pacific slope. We are colonists and not adventurers. We are the builders of empires, and here in this land we have builded upon foundations that we believed to be as absolutely stable as the granite rocks upon which God has placed great ranges of mountains. And has it come to this that at the end of the nineteenth century we are to rediscuss all the problems of the last twenty-five centuries? Are we again to discuss agrarianism and Fourierism and the vagaries of Rienzi and the foolishness of Jack Cade—are these questions again to be presented for disputation and settlement at the bar of American public opinion? (Applause.) Shall a few of the half-educated people of this country, who have the gift of eloquent speech, reopen all the settled problems that statesmanship has at this time put behind it? (Applause.)

"The convention at Chicago and the convention at St. Louis were like two unequal parts of one story, of which the introduction is at Chicago and the conclusion of the story at St. Louis. It is a story of destruction and dissatisfaction (applause); it is the doctrine of hate and discord; it is the doctrine of dissatisfaction and dissension, and he occupies a peculiar position who stands upon these two platforms, honestly saying that he stands upon the one at Chicago, teaching the doctrine that the people have suffered a loss of their liberties, and the other teaching the principles of dissatisfaction, dissension and discord.

"Is it true that in America there are divisions which might be called a division of the classes against the masses? Are we not rather all American citizens with equality before the law? (Applause.) Is it true that we have come to countenance caste and that we must organize the Democratic party to wipe out these caste regulations? Is it not true that every boy in America has a fair living chance for everything that life can give when he is frugal, honest, brave and wise? (Cheers.)

"The Democratic party has always been the preacher of the gospel of fraternity. Our great founder—no, no, he is not our founder—our great apostle, Jefferson, taught that whenever a man felt in his heart that he was free and could look up into the face of God and with the aid of his intellect understand what God has told him—that he was a free agent, and that he was endowed with equal rights, and that he could accept or reject any political doctrine—he taught that he was a Democrat. I say to you wherever there is a free man there is the Democratic party. (Applause.) Our great apostle preached the gospel of universal fraternity because upon it was based the idea of liberty upon which has been founded this great party of universal peace. Has it come to this hat in his name and under the pretense of preaching his doctrine, the Democratic party of this country should now at this time come to preach the doctrine of hate, of discord and of dissension? Not everything in that platform sounded like Democracy, not everything in it had the vernacular of Democracy, and therefore I would denounce it because it promulgates the principle of universal dissatisfaction and discord.

PLEADS FOR THE JUDICIARY.

"We must also uphold the judiciary of this country, for upon an independent judiciary rests the bulwark of our liberties. With you it is a sentiment; with us it is a living reality, burned into our hearts by the disasters of the past; and, standing in the midst of a reunited Democracy, in the name of the South I plead that the last refuge of an oppressed people—an upright judiciary—be left sacred from the polluting touch of party and corruption.

"It (the Chicago platform) is destructive in its assault upon our monetary system. It is not that it is for free silver; that is a mere disguise. If free silver would make silver go up to a par with gold the leaders in that movement would be the most disappointed lot of gentlemen that ever lived. (Applause.) It is their desire to destroy our present monetary system, to draw from under it the foundation of gold. I hear of gold being the money of preeminence. It is not so; it is the burden bearer of civilized nations (applause); it is the foundation raised with the hands of frugality and skill, and if that foundation shall be withdrawn, I, for one, cannot foresee what the result will be any more than I could foresee what would be the result of withdrawing the foundation from under the Rookery Building at Chicago. It might all tumble into that hole; it might tumble out into the street. I know the tumble will take place, and I do not intend living in the Rookery to have it tumble over my head.

"If it were possible for a messenger boy of one of these great corporations that send the news to all the world to bring in a dispatch from an absolutely certain source that on to-morrow the silver question would be settled; that the American people had determined not to enter upon devious or doubtful ways, but that it intended to pay, not according to a forced and dishonest construction of the words of the statute, but according to the deliberate and understood terms of the contract, your industrial enterprises would be renewed, your wheels of industry would begin to revolve, your bankers would put out money, labor would be employed and industrial confidence would be completely restored. Like a giant breaking loose from the chains which had bound him, America would rise again in her might; her ships would once more fill the seas; her flag would be seen everywhere; the labor of seven months, by which we do all that is necessary for twelve, would go for twelve months, and twelve months' wages would be paid to the laborer, and everywhere we would begin to be the creditor nation instead of the debtor nation of the world. We would be once more the leader of the procession of enormous inventions for the good of the human race, and, as at the head of the column of free men, we would be at the head of the column of artisans. (Applause.)

"This is what Democracy means; this is what we are here to prove to-day. It is sometimes charged that you are here to elect McKinley. My free-silver Democratic friends took that job out of our hands at Chicago. We elected a Democratic President on the two great Democratic economic principles—freer trade and sound money—in 1892. Our free-silver friends at once began to destroy the Democratic party. I saw in the paper the other day that they said they had the scalps of enemies hanging at their belts. They are mistaken; they have the scalps of their friends hanging at their belts. (Applause.)

THEY FOLLOWED FALSE GODS.

"They rejected sound money, and all New England turned out every Democratic Congressman that had been elected there after thirty years. They disregarded the admonitions of Cleveland, and a Republican Governor reigns in New York, where we used to have a Democratic Governor. They would not believe that sound money was good doctrine, and Maryland sends a Republican Senator to be the colleague of Mr. Arthur Gorman, and a Republican Governor is in the White House at Annapolis. They rejected the teachings of that loveliest of all our American statesmen—the beloved and scholarly William L. Wilson (applause)—and Stephens B. Elkins is a Senator from West Virginia. They destroyed the Democratic party in Ohio, and Mr. Foraker takes the place of a long succession of Democratic Senators, headed by Thurman, and with Pendleton and others making so glorious a record. They disavowed the teachings of the extraordinarily lucid and able Carlisle (applause), and we have a Republican Governor in the State of Kentucky. They pardoned the Anarchists in the great State of Illinois, and every Democratic Congressman walked the plank at the next election. (Applause.) The magnificent imperial State of the trans-Mississippi, that great and lusty young leader of the new empire of the West—her honor was trifled with and Missouri went over to the Republican ranks.

"There has not been a ghost of a chance to elect a Democratic President since 1894 because of the free-silver men, and therefore when they charge us that we are trying to elect McKinley we respectfully suggest that they have done that job for us far more skillfully than we could possibly have hoped to do it. (Applause.)

"What we would intend to refuse to do is to attempt the election of that Chicago ticket on the pretense that it is a Democratic ticket. (Applause.)

"I voted for Horace Greeley, and I am not ashamed of it. (Laughter.) It was not a very palatable dose, but the memory of it has become modified in twenty-four years of tradition. But I did not vote for him as a Democratic candidate, nor did I pretend that he stood upon a Democratic platform, and I shall not vote for a Populistic candidate on a Populistic platform.

"That Democratic convention was our agent; we gave it instructions. The Democratic party was its principal. If it had obeyed its instructions it was our duty to ratify, and none would have done it more cheerfully than this body. You are men who stand by your contracts, and if your agent had obeyed your instructions you would not be here to-day.

"The power of a Democratic convention is to apply Democratic principles to the solution of pending issues before the American people; issues which one time may be the tariff, another time sound money, another time the autonomy of the States, another time the public lands and another time the veto power. I care not what it is that the issue may be. The principle to be applied never changes, except often the mode and manner of its application. That agent of ours undertook by virtue of a commission bearing our seal to apply undemocratic principles, with the promise of undemocratic solutions to these policies, and we disavow the unauthorized action of that disobedient and revolutionary agent. That is the whole history of it. It is not our ticket. I have nothing to say against the young gentleman who is now enlightening the people about the policies that ought to control the settlement of financial questions. I have read his speeches with great care. Has any one gathered from those speeches anything except the sad lesson that life goes on unequally with men; that to some come prosperous days and to some come adversity; that in some homes is plenty and in some homes is want, and that, as the corollary from that, that those to whom life has been hard ought to unite to destroy that which has been accumulated by those to whom life has been prosperous? Is there any other lesson in all those speeches, stripped of their verbiage, reduced to plain English, than this:

BRYAN'S ANARCHISTIC TEACHINGS.

"'Here is a great country, rich, abounding in riches, prosperous in many respects. Much has been accumulated. The homes upon the Hudson are handsome; the buildings upon the streets of Cleveland are magnificent; the syndicates control great sums. Here you are. Labor has not given you its true and just share of profit. There is the ballot box; there the booty; there the weapon; you the soldiers.'

"What is the lesson? What is the lesson? Is it 'Be frugal; be obedient to the law; be honest; be patient?' Is it a statesmanlike admonition? Is it this: 'Use the ballot box as the weapon to equalize that which life has made unequal?' That is it. I protest that that it is not democracy. That is undemocracy. Our democracy is the democracy of the Declaration of Independence; it is the democracy of the Constitution of the United States; it is the democracy of the Presidents that have gone before, and one of whom is still with us. The government shall not support the people; the people must support the government here. (Cheers.) Our democracy is based upon the schoolhouse; our democracy is based upon the true use of the ballot—the ballot, not as the engine of hate, not as the evidence of distinction of classes, not as a weapon of hostility, but as the means by which through peaceful remedies wrongs are corrected. It takes the place of the bayonets; it takes the place of force. No strikes, no anarchies, no booms, no organizations to commit violence; but the ballot, as the American thinks, is the deliberate experiment of liberty; not to make obscure, but to bring about harmony; not to produce dissension, but to produce that equalization of law before which all men stand equal. Under the government; that is, the three departments, the executive that shall make the law regnant under the judiciary that shall be independent to declare it, under the legislature that shall be impartial. Approved in our will, we have the executive power to compel the law to be obeyed; just in our law-declaring power, an independent judiciary; impartial in our law-making power—that is democracy. And this masquerade in latter days of hate is not democracy and does not appeal to American Democrats. (Applause.)

"Now, my Democratic friends, what are we going to do here to-day? Nominate a ticket, of course. There is not any one among us who came here with any idea of shooting in the air and going through a dress parade of formulating truths except by the concrete lesson of two good men standing upon a good platform—(applause)—men who are exemplars. I care not particularly who they are, whether it be some gentleman who, after a long life in the service of his country in peace and in war, would like to take off the armor which we would put upon him and make him a leader."

EULOGIZES THE CANDIDATES.

Mr. Breckinridge looked hard at Senator Palmer as he uttered these words, and the convention sent up a tumultuous yell of "Palmer, Palmer!" When quiet was obtained Mr. Breckinridge continued as follows:

"I can follow cheerfully and enthusiastically the lead of that most excellent, self-controlled gentleman who commanded the Iron Brigade in the war (cries of "Bragg! Bragg!" and cheers), and put the iron of law and order against the debased currency that seeks to ruin commerce on the other side. (Applause.) I am willing, if it need be—and I do it cheerfully—to put at the head of the ticket that farmer-statesman, whom I served with in Congress and who presided as your temporary chairman yesterday—the fair flower of New York. (Mr. Flower.) I do not want the questions before us obscured by any other question. Do not let us make any nominations that shall obscure these questions. Do not let us open any door to our enemies to raise new issues upon us.

"We are the Democratic party who entered into no bargain with Teller and Sherman and repudiated it. (Laughter and cheers.) Who doubts that that bargain with Teller and Sherman, by which they gave the Sherman bill to the mine owner of the West and the McKinley tariff to the manufacturer of the East, was made over again by the Senators now in Congress who call themselves Democratic and the Republican free silver Senators, by which we obtained free silver at St. Louis and Chicago and struck out only our tariff plank? (Applause.) We stand to-day for tariff for revenue only. (Applause.) We are the Democratic party who know that the markets of America are not sufficient for the sweat of America, and we want to open every market in the world, that our laborers may sell their products wherever they please in all the world. (Applause.) And we want that laborer, when he sells his product, to get a dollar for it that is good in any market where he wants to buy (applause), and that is the American dollar. No bastard dollar, at 53 cents on the hundred, but a dollar so good that the American laborer, taking it in his hand as the coined sweat of his hot day's labor, can buy anywhere in the world with that dollar, without discount, what his own people need for it. And that is sound money. (Applause.) And when this convention adjourns and we return home we will win no election; perhaps not a single State will certainly vote for our ticket. There are in every transaction the elements of transitoriness and of permanence. He who sees the battlefield and the victor forgets the questions that were involved in the struggle. The scaffold of the victim may be the crown that shall hereafter mark the victor. We will be defeated at the polls, but we will save—what? The honor of America (applause), the good name of our people and the Democratic party from ruin. (Applause.)

"I had an opportunity on a late occasion to tell one object of this organization. May I repeat it? It is one that touches us. Possibly it is not so much one of principle as of affection. Many thousand of these men are our brethren—God bless them. We have nothing to say to them but 'God speed you in all the affairs of life, even if you go wrong now.' Therefore, we want to do something that will show our affection for them, so we build anew this Democratic home; we repair its broken windows; we put new hinges upon its creaky doors; we make comfortable its numerous rooms, and after November, when these Democratic brethren of ours, led astray by the ignis fatuus of that Populistic light, find themselves in defeat and sorrow, we will light the electric light of modern civilization, throw open the shutters and the doors, light the fires, so that they may see the rays of the home to which we will invite them from long distances, and we will beg them to come and sit by the fireside with us.

WELCOME THE PRODIGAL BROTHER.

"We will not tell them of what they have gone through, but we will call the servant and say: 'John, take off my brother's boots. It is evident he has been through the mud.' (Laughter.) And, as he looks a little weary, we may turn around and say to somebody: 'It is not the season of the year when the aroma of the mint comes gently from the side of the rivulet, but, foreseeing this, we have put away a little in the closet. (Laughter.) John, bring out the mint and the sugar and set the old bourbon Democracy that is pure and unmixed beside our brother and let him feel at home.' (Laughter and cheers.) We will not talk of the canvass; we will not speak of hopes ruined. We will never mention Chicago once (laughter), or if we do we will do it by some sort of paraphrasis like 'The city of the porkpackers,' or something of that sort, merely to keep in his mind that he has got home. (Laughter.) And then, when the night is far spent and we take up in the old-fashioned way the little candle in the little candlestick, we go with him to the sleeping chamber where gratitude and affection have brought together the brothers that were estranged. We go into that room and shut the door, and we reach out our hand to him without a word, except to say: 'Brother, the past has been bitter. Let it be over and forgotten. Let to-morrow be a day when we will rival each other in our endeavor for a common country, for the blessings of that liberty for which our fathers strove, and that we want to give to the children liberty based upon order, making regnant the law, with just courts all over the land; and when we talk over this hereafter it shall not be that one was wrong and one was right, but that both had finally reached, by different pathways, that common road that leads to the glory, the prosperity and the happiness of the common people through the triumphant Democracy." (Cheers.)

Tribute to William E. Russell.

Mr. Griffin, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I ask the unanimous consent of this convention for the rules to be suspended so as to permit the reading of a resolution that it may be submitted to the committee on platform which was adopted by the New York delegation.

The Chairman—The resolution, under the rule, goes to the committee on resolutions without being read. The gentleman will please state the nature of the resolution.

Mr. Griffin—It is a resolution relating to the coinage question.

The Chairman—It goes to the committee on resolutions without being read.

Mr. Ochs, of Tennessee—Mr. Chairman, I have a resolution which I desire the permission of this convention to present.

The Chairman—You may read the resolution.

Mr. Ochs—Mr. Chairman, I offer this resolution with a view to wiping out, if possible, any sectional lines that may exist between portions of this country, and to show that the South may be recognized as an integral part of this country. I offer this resolution for the purpose of showing our appreciation of the character of a patriotic son of the Bay State whose burning eloquence many of us have listened to, and who was admired and loved by all who knew him. As the representative of my own State, and speaking for the entire delegation, I wish to pay this tribute of the South to the old Bay State. I therefore submit on behalf of the entire delegation of Tennessee the following resolution and ask for its adoption:

"Whereas, In the death of the Hon. William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, the Democratic party has lost one of its most popular statesmen and advocates of honest money and thereby has suffered an irreparable loss. As one of the most courageous representatives of the principles of our party we feel his death is a personal loss to all lovers of good government and pure citizenship; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Democratic convention here assembled express its profound grief for his untimely taking off; and be it further

"Resolved, That this great loss to our Nation and our party be expressed by a rising vote of this convention, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased by the secretary of this convention."

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

RESPONSE BY MR. EVERETT.

On motion of a delegate from Pennsylvania, Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, was invited to the platform to make a response on behalf of Massachusetts to the foregoing resolution.

When Mr. Everett reached the platform he said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—There are occasions on which the State of Massachusetts is ready to speak and to speak with what force and what clearness she may in response to any sentiment coming from the South or from any other section of the country that expresses her feeling; but on this occasion, Mr. Chairman, when from our sister State—always our sister State of Tennessee—this tribute is paid to the man that we have loved and lost, the delegates of Massachusetts do accept it with the deepest gratitude and with the most fervent appreciation of the feeling of this convention, and they prefer for me to speak for them, this convention having accepted it.

"I feel it proper to say no more on this occasion, but to go home with our hearts too full for utterance in gratitude at the feeling manifested on this occasion by the voice of Tennessee for the son three times elected a Democratic Governor of Massachusetts (applause), and who, whether elected or defeated, was always admired, honored and beloved from the hills of Berkshire to the sands of Cape Cod, and who, if he had lived longer, would have been honored and loved and have been set on high in this whole country as he was in his native State." (Applause.)

The memory of the lamented statesman was then greeted by the convention by three rousing cheers.

Judge S. S. Savage, of Kentucky—Mr. Chairman, I have been requested to read the following telegram from William Lindsay, a Senator from Kentucky.

The Chairman—You may read the telegram if there is no objection.

No objection being made, Judge Savage read the following telegram:

"FRANKFORT, Ky., Sept. 2, 1896.—Hon. G. M. Davie, Kentucky Delegation: Give us an unequivocal Democratic platform and an old-time Democratic ticket, and all will be well. WILLIAM LINDSAY."

Judge Savage—With such influential men as Mr. Lindsay, Colonel Breckinridge and others of our State in favor of our ticket, with a man like General Buckner as the nominee of this convention for the office of Vice President, there is no more chance of Bryan carrying Kentucky than there is of the blessed Master visiting Chicago. (Laughter and applause.)

John DeWit Warner was invited to the platform and made a brief, but rousing, address on the money question, in which he said that the battle must be fought upon the lines which had been pointed out by the intelligent press of the country. He said that it was impossible for this government to prosper in its affairs with free silver coinage. He said the Democratic party was in this battle in behalf at once of Democracy and honesty, because he believed that Democracy and honesty were one and inseparable. (Applause.) A man had the right to pay $10 for a coat if he chose and the other man has as well the right to sell the coat for $10. Democracy, he said, defended the right of every man to buy such a coat as he pleased, and to buy it where he pleased, and it also defended the right of every Democrat when he bargained for dollars, to buy just such dollars as he pleased, and when he bargained for them to receive the dollars for which he had bargained. For one he believed that gold was the best standard for the currency of this country. He thought that our government should regulate its affairs so that a man should receive compensation in the same kind of money as that which could be legally tendered at the time the contract was made. He thought that if any one wanted to make a contract for money payable in silver they had a right to do it, but he had yet heard of no one, either Democrat, Republican or Populist, who had insisted upon making any such contracts as that. He said that it did not require legislation to buy and sell silver, that it could be done without a free coinage act by contract.

Mr. Warner's speech was frequently applauded and well received throughout.

MR. LEHMAN, OF MISSOURI.

At the conclusion of Mr. Warner's speech, Mr. Outhwaite, of Ohio, inquired if the committee on resolutions was ready to report, and on being informed by the chair that it would be shortly, made a motion to take a recess until 2:30 o'clock. This motion was greeted with cries of "No, no," from all parts of the hall, and there being no second Mr. Outhwaite withdrew his motion. The chair then introduced Mr. F. W. Lehman, of Missouri, who addressed the convention as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Convention—The Democratic faith is simple and it is single. It may be expressed in one article and that is: 'Equal opportunity for all and special aid to none.' (Applause.) The application of that principle is as various and as manifold as the needs and emergencies of government. We have met here because we wish to protect the good faith of the Democratic party of the United States in the application which it has proposed of its principles during the last twenty years, and upon every one of which the convention at Chicago put the stamp of fraud and false pretense. (Applause.) We are here because we are not willing to meet with the people of this country and tell them that whatever we professed to them in the years gone by was a lie. (Applause.)

"In 1876, under the leadership of Samuel J. Tilden (applause), applying this Democratic principle to the civil service of this country, we declared that merit should be the sole test of appointment to office. (Applause.) We renewed that pledge in 1880, again in 1884, and upon the faith of that we elected Grover Cleveland to the presidency of the United States. (Applause.) He, on his part, accepting that as an honest expression of Democratic purpose, undertook to give it force and effect in his administration of the government, and in 1888 his action was approved by the Democratic convention, and he was commended for having taught not only by precept, but by example, the purest function of government. We sought inspiration from him in 1892, and declared that public office is a public trust (applause); and now, he having given to that principle wider scope than ever before, our so-called Democratic convention meets in 1896 and says that this system to which we pledged ourselves through twenty years is a system of life tenure and of oppression of the poor and the humble. (Applause.)

"Acquiescence in the will of the majority when constitutionally expressed in the form of law is the absolute condition of free government. No matter how genuine the grievance, no matter how just the resentment which prompts to revolt and to resistance of authority, whenever that revolt and that resistance makes itself manifest the government must maintain its authority by all the force of its people. Under a free government we cannot admit the brand or the bullet as weapons of redress. The only weapon that we can admit is that of the ballot, a weapon which comes down as still as snowflakes fall upon the sod, but executes a freeman's will as lightning does the will of God. (Applause.)

PROFFER AID TO SILVER BARONS.

"We have declared that the only just purpose of taxation is to minister to the needs of the government, economically administered, and that whatever taxation goes beyond that in measure, and whatever taxation is applied to a different purpose, is unjust taxation; and that principle, to which we have been committed through the past twenty years as the most vital and essential to the welfare and prosperity of our people, we relegate to the distant future by the action of the Chicago convention. We cease our protest against the favor which our legislation has shown in years gone by to the iron barons of the Alleghenies, and we now proffer a similar aid and a similar protection to the silver barons of the Rockies. (Applause.)

"Why? Because we are told that the gold dollar, which is now the basis of our currency, is too good a dollar; it buys too much. On that score we stand not simply as the representatives of a party, but as the representatives of the homes of this country; and we take our instruction, not from party platforms, out from the practice of our housewives. When the good housewife gets the dollar which is the expression of her husband's toil, as she goes out shopping she cheapens every article which she wishes to buy. She exhausts the resources of her ingenuity to transmute and to translate it into as much as possible of everything that she wants to minister to the comfort, the welfare and the happiness of her family; and I prefer that practice of domestic economy, the instinctive wisdom of the woman, to all the political economy that was ever preached by Bryan or by Bland. (Applause.)

"We have been asked to form an alliance with those who have heretofore been, and who are now, strangers to our faith. It was current for a time in the political history of this country that the Sherman purchase act of 1890 was passed as a matter of party expediency to relieve a Republican President from the embarrassment of signing a free-silver bill; but only recently the truth has come out, and it now appears that the passage of that bill was made a condition by the representatives of the silver States of the passage of the McKinley act of 1890. (Applause.) It was done by these men who profess themselves now to be the especial friends of the plain people for the sake of enhancing the product of their mines—not the products of their toil, but something that God in his bounty had stored away to be of equal benefit to all people.

FREE COINAGE OF WHEAT.

"Our silver friends have had much favor at the hands of this government. They have a representation in the Senate beyond that of any other section of the United States. The State of Nevada, with its 30,000 people, is represented by two Senators. If the county in which we hold this convention were represented in the Senate upon the same basis she would be entitled to a baker's dozen, and if the whole United States were thus represented, you could not crowd the Senators into this hall, though you packed them like sardines. They have received in the price of their product purchased directly by the United States a sum more than $150,000,000 in excess of its market price to-day. If there is any power in legislation to establish a ratio between silver and gold, if there is power in the legislation of this country to fix immutably the value of one thing in relation to another, then I insist that the great Mississippi Valley, which has been neglected throughout the hundred years of our history, be given an opportunity, and that we have a law declaring a dollar in gold to be the price of a bushel of wheat. (Laughter and applause.)

"We are asked what we expect to do. We stand out in solitary array. We are met by our ancient enemies with urgent invitation. Both tell us that standing alone we can do nothing, and that the logic of our position compels us to the one side or to the other if we would make our action effective. But we answer that success is never the duty of the individual. The duty of every man is to make himself right as his conscience points out the right to him, and if he succeeds in that he can trust that God in His own good time and in His own good way will crown his cause with victory." (Applause.)

MR. BYNUM'S ADDRESS.

Judge Moran, of Illinois, offered a motion inviting Mr. Bynum, of Indiana, to address the convention. The motion prevailed and Mr. Bynum spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Convention—For more than six weeks I have been earnestly laboring to bring about this convention, and it has been a producer of great anxiety, and, therefore, when I saw my hopes realized beyond expectation I say to you that reaction at once set in. When I entered the hall last evening and witnessed the proceedings at the mass meeting I was almost impressed with the conviction that it must be a dream and not a realization. In this hall, not very long ago, I struggled two hours to get five minutes to address a Democratic, or a so-called Democratic, convention. (Applause.) How the scenes have changed! (Laughter and applause.) I did not despair then that the conscience of the true Democrats of this country would be aroused to a realization of the dangers that threatened this country, and I have now simply to say that I am gratified that that realization has come true; and I can say to you that the sentiment, the earnestness and the courage that is displayed here is taking root in every State in this Union, and you will witness one of the most vigorous, aggressive and successful campaigns that was ever waged in behalf of a principle in this country." (Great applause.)

The chair inquired of Mr. Eckels, of Illinois, whether the committee on resolutions was ready to report. Mr. Eckels rose in his seat to reply, but in response to vociferous demands from all parts of the house he took the platform and spoke as follows:

CONTROLLER ECKELS ON POPOCRACY.

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—It seems to be a dangerous thing to arise in this convention. I arose simply to announce that the committee on platform had agreed and that there would soon be presented by the distinguished Senator from the State of Wisconsin a platform which will add credit to this assembly.

"No one looking over those who are here gathered would dare assert that the Democratic party does not still represent the champion of the people's rights, the quick avenger of its wrongs, the best custodian of the liberty of our country. Here are gathered those who are met for conscience's sake. (Applause.) Here are met those who are not struggling for the spoils of office or moved by pride of public praise. We are here in no unkindly spirit towards any one. We deprecate the fact that a leadership has taken possession of many of the misguided people of this country, and for selfish purposes is committing them to great financial and great national wrongs. We could extend to those who have been carried off by specious reasoning, by pyrotechnic oratory, by the jingling sound of a metaphor and the elegant expression of a phrase—such a platform and such candidates that he who runs may read the error of his way, and find here sufficient of the true Democratic party and sufficient of the true Democratic faith to once again desire to make this his haven of refuge and to here offer his obligations and his blessing to the only true Democratic faith. (Applause.) If we have accomplished that this convention has not been held in vain. If we have pointed out their errors; if we have withdrawn attention from Populistic to Democratic doctrine; if we have filled again the Democratic party with Democratic thoughts, with Democratic ideas, with Democratic aspirations, we have done sufficient to make a grateful party wish us the blessings which a party best can bestow and a grateful country render to us—the homage that is due to patriotism that has sufficient courage of its convictions to stand up against their wrong and to defiantly assert a right. (Applause.)

CAUSE OF THE DEPRESSION.

"Gentlemen of this convention, a long series of extravagances in public and in private expenditures, undue speculation upon the part of individuals and of corporations, the fostering care of monopolies through unwise legislation, the building up of wrong theories of finance by unwise fiscal legislation, the curtailing of credit through the operation of these unwise financial laws, have brought the country to the state of discontent with existing conditions which these men have played upon and taken advantage of, not of the merit of the question involved, but of the passions and the discontent of men, and have builded up a party and a faction which, under right and normal conditions, would not for a single day stand the test of American reason, American common sense and of American honesty. (Applause.) They have built their party upon the false ideas of finance which they are teaching, unworthy of a great and mighty people. They have fostered their growth by discontent and appealing to passion and to prejudice, but, thank the God who reigns above, there still remains in every nook and corner of this great land of ours sufficient pride of American honesty, sufficient patriotism of American yeomen, sufficient strength of American character to drive them in the coming elections from the spoils of office and into the slough of such a despondency that they shall never again rise to bother the American public or make uncertain the question of whether this is a debt-paying Nation." (Cheers.)

Colonel Hammond, of Georgia, was introduced and said he had come from away down by the Gulf of Mexico as one of a goodly company of faithful Democrats. Their creed was based upon the statement in scripture that a false balance was an abomination to the Lord, and that a just weight was his delight. (Laughter and cheers.) Upon this proposition Democrats would rally from the broad savannas of the South, from the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies to the farthest plains of Texas, and they would stand by their faith to the bitter end. Attempts had been made to divert Democrats from the path of rectitude by such specious arguments as had been promulgated from the Chicago convention, but these attempts would be only failures, because true Democracy knew the path of right and would follow it. As to free silver, Colonel Hammond said true Democrats believed that honesty was the best policy. On the practical side of the question some people down in his country had gone into the business of making free silver without the proper precautions prescribed by the government, and the consequence was that they were now enjoying the hospitality of the United States in various penitentiaries of the country. (Laughter and applause.)

In conclusion Colonel Hammond said: "Gentlemen of the convention, we will be content with your platform; we will be proud of your leaders. Let us proceed speedily to the selection of the champions of our principles. Let us follow, trust and obey them and all will be well with us. Put into the hands of our leader the banner of Democratic fealty to principle and bid him fling that banner forth skyward and seaward high and wide, proclaiming from its ample folds the faith in which our fathers died." (Cheers.)

A motion by Mr. Griffin, of New York, to take a recess of an hour was defeated by an overwhelming vote, and the Chair announced that the committee on resolutions was about ready to make its report. While waiting for the committee the band in the gallery played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the convention and the audience joined in singing the patriotic lines.

THE PLATFORM.

Adopted by a Unanimous Vote Without Argument.

At ten minutes to 2 o'clock Senator William F. Vilas, the chairman of the committee on platform, appeared in the hall and was escorted to the platform, where he was warmly greeted by Mr. Caffery, the chairman of the convention.

Chairman Caffery—Gentlemen of the convention, the committee on resolutions is now ready to report. (Applause.)

Senator Vilas—Mr. President, I am instructed by the committee on resolutions to report the following as a platform of principles for submission to this convention; and at the conclusion of the report to make a formal motion that it be adopted.

At the conclusion of the reading of the platform it was greeted with wild cheers, the delegates rising to their feet and shouting their approval, and by the waving of many small flags. When the noise had somewhat subsided the band in the gallery played the national air, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

Upon the conclusion of the music Senator Vilas said: "Mr. President, before such a body as this no argument can be necessary to the full understanding of the proposals and principles set forth in the platform which is proposed for your consideration, and, therefore, with a due recognition of all the circumstances of the hour, I shall omit any argument or speech for the purpose of advancing its consideration, and will proceed directly to discharge the office which the committee has imposed upon me, and move the adoption of these resolutions.

The motion was put by the chair and unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

At the conclusion of this business Mr. Outhwaite, of Ohio, moved that the convention take a recess until 3:30 o'clock p. m., but he was so dismayed by the shouts of "No, no," that his heart failed him and he did not insist upon the motion. The platform is as follows:

TEXT OF THE PLATFORM.

"This convention has assembled to uphold the principles on which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party. The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men, of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the federal government in its constitutional vigor and to the support of the States in all their just rights; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money, and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

"The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary and the authority of the President to enforce federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation, to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon, for Republican allies, the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy. In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention nor be bound by its acts.

"The Democratic party has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago. The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of class legislation by the Republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law, and it proposes no remedy for existing evils, except oppressive and unjust taxation.

"The National Democracy here convened, therefore, renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times. Taxation, tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriations made by Congress. The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government.

"We arraign and condemn the Populist conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their co-operation with the Republican party in creating these conditions, which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection. We, therefore, denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the Republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money. In fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only.

"We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies towards American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which were long ago abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the Nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the stars and stripes almost an unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen. We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

"The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of their natural qualities gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency, assuring the most stable standard and especially the best and safest money for all who earn livelihood by labor or the produce of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the money changer at their cost.

"Realizing these truths, demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party, in the interests of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement and likewise entirely divorced the government from banking and currency issues. To this end, the established Democratic policy, we adhere and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the government, and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion. But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril. We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

"The fidelity, patriotism and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the Nation are fully recognized by the Democratic party and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the Republic.

"We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its efforts to extend the merit system still further. We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the undemocratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

"We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the government.

"We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

"We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

"The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three co-ordinate branches of the government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land without fear or favor must be maintained. We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

"The Democratic party ever has maintained, and ever will maintain, the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination or attempt against the just right of property and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

"Believing these principles to be essential to the well being of the Republic, we submit them to the consideration of the American people."

THE NOMINATIONS.

Watterson's Name Withdrawn by Mr. Carroll, of Kentucky.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, moved that the convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President, and the motion prevailed by a unanimous vote.

The roll of the States was called by the secretary, and Alabama, the first State called, yielded to Kentucky.

Mr. Carroll, of the latter State, took the platform for the purpose of withdrawing the name of Henry Watterson. He said:

"Some weeks ago when it was problematical as to the proportions this movement would assume, and when even the most enthusiastic could not believe that in so short a time there would be so great an uprising among the sober, thoughtful people in the Democratic party as to insure the assembly of so magnificent a convention as this, there were a number of gentlemen outside of Kentucky who believed that there might be difficulty in securing a man of sufficient proportion to lead the fight and that it might be necessary to draft some one to head a forlorn hope.

"They turned their eyes toward Kentucky, knowing, as we are to believe, that in that State they could find men big enough, and broad enough, and brave enough to lend strength to any movement and whose fidelity, too, was such that they would shirk no responsibility or refuse to take any burden when their country or their party called, no matter how great the sacrifice to themselves. They turned to one of Kentucky's sons whose name is indissolubly linked with that of the Democratic party and whose fame is not confined to the limits of the continent. That citizen of Kentucky was and had been for some months absent in foreign climes engaged in a work in which his heart and mind are enlisted; a work of committing to the pages of indelible history the story of the life and deeds of a man born in Kentucky, whose character has furnished one of the imperishable glories of the Republic.

"In his retirement among the mountains of Switzerland came to him messages from many of his countrymen, telling him that he must put aside his wishes and desires, lay down his pen and take up again the banner of Democracy, which, through all the years of his manhood, he has helped to hold aloft. Persistently he refused, expressing his earnest and honest desire that the labor be placed on another's shoulders, but at length, when the impression was made upon his mind that it was in the nature of an urgent duty, he responded in a published interview, in which, after reviewing the personal sacrifice it would entail and reiterating the desire that some one else be chosen, he made the statement that he had never in his life asked any one to go where he would not go himself, and that for country, party and principle he would make the fight if no one else could be found to make it, even though it led to the stake.

"Since that time this splendid gathering of undaunted Democrats has sprung into being, and there has been found a number of most worthy leaders who will make the fight. In view, therefore, of the fact that this great cause will not suffer for lack of a general, and in view of the further fact that Kentucky has indorsed for consideration at the hands of this convention the claims of another of her illustrious sons, who in his person and character typifies and stands for all that is best in Kentucky manhood, he has sent a message across the sea, and as his fellow-townsmen and close friend, I am authorized to say that he does not desire his name to be presented to this convention. No words of mine can express the warmth of the feeling which I know is in his heart toward those who have sought to do him honor and are engaged in this great fight, but I feel that I can say that in the future, so long as life and strength remain, he will always be found as in the past, battling for the right as he sees the right, and for the undying principles of Democracy."

SENATOR PALMER

Placed in Nomination by Mr. Kilbourne, of Michigan.

The roll-call of States was then proceeded with. Arkansas had no candidate, but when California was called Mr. Irish, of that delegation, announced that the California delegation yielded her place to the State of Michigan.

Mr. Kilbourne, of Michigan, spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Convention—I come from the State of Michigan, one of a body of twenty-eight delegates, to this Democratic convention, for the purpose of assisting in rebuilding the Democratic temple and erecting within it a shrine at which none but Democrats shall ever kneel.

"We in the State of Michigan have had an opportunity to know something of the gentlemen who talk of free silver. Two years ago our people, beguiled by the siren's cry, yielded in a weak moment and placed in their platform a declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, because we were told by the advocates of that theory that we could carry the State against our Republican adversaries, and that we would bring untold blessings to the laboring people of the commonwealth. We yielded in a weak and evil moment, with the result that, whereas Mr. Cleveland lacked only 23,000 votes of carrying that State four years ago, the nominee of the free-silver Democratic convention of Michigan was buried under a Republican majority of 104,000.

"A few months ago, when the people of my State were engaged in their town meetings and had to elect a Judge of our Supreme Court, a gentleman who had presided as the Chief Justice of that tribunal, but who had yielded to the heresy of free silver, placed himself before the people as the exponent of the doctrine of free coinage, and he said to his friends throughout the State: 'I will show you now that this doctrine meets the approval of the intelligent people of this commonwealth of Michigan.' At that town meeting, when the votes were cast, the free-silver candidate was buried under a majority of 88,000 votes. (Applause.)

"So, my friends, we in Michigan have reason to adopt another and a different standard. We sent delegates to the convention held at Chicago who represented the sentiment of the true Democracy of Michigan, and when they reached there we found their faces turned to the wall.

"Humiliated and ashamed, we left that convention, little knowing where we might go for consolation and relief. But soon there gathered at Grand Rapids, in our State, a body of loyal Democrats, a few in number, but they issued a call for a State convention to be held at the capital. That convention was held, and while in unison with the gentlemen who assembled

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