

PAST PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS.

BY JAMES PARTON. We continue the publication of the interesting articles by Mr. Parton, on the means by which the various Presidents secured their nominations.

The measures taken by General Jackson to insure the succession to Mr. Van Buren shall now be briefly indicated. During the first summer of his Presidency, the General was in such feeble health that his friends concluded that he could not survive the term for which he had been elected, and it occurred to one of them, Major William B. Lewis, that, if the President should die, Mr. Calhoun would succeed him, and Mr. Van Buren's prospects be ruined. To prevent so dire a result, he induced the General to write a letter, to be published in case of his death, warmly commending Mr. Van Buren, and severely denouncing Mr. Calhoun. This letter contained the following passage:

"Permit me here to say of Mr. Van Buren, that I have found him everything I could desire him to be, and believe him to be, not only deserving my confidence, but the confidence of the nation. Instead of his being selfish and intriguing, as has been represented by some of his opponents, I have ever found him frank, open, candid, and manly. He, my dear friend, is well qualified to fill the highest office in the gift of the people, who in him will find a true friend and safe depository of their rights and liberties. I wish I could say as much for Calhoun and some of his friends."

The letter proceeds, at considerable length, to descant upon Mr. Calhoun and his political errors. To guard against accidents, a copy of this letter, signed by the General's own hand, was retained in the secret archives of the White House. It is, however, the event which it contemplated never occurred, the letter was never used, and the old friend of the President, to whom it was addressed, never knew its real object.

Vice-President Calhoun was too important a character at that time, and had too many claims upon the support of his party, to be easily set aside. It was therefore concluded, in the secret councils of the White House, that General Jackson must serve a second term, and measures to this end were taken, early in the spring of the General's first year. An adroit letter was written in the White House to a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, a thorough-going adherent of the Administration, which contained a suggestion, that bore fruit. "I am not authorized to say," said the author of this epistle, "that the General would permit his name to be used again; but, knowing him as I do, I feel confident that, if he believed the interest of the country required it, and that it was the wish of the people he should serve another term, he would not hesitate one moment. If, then, it is the desire of your State that he should serve another term, let the members of her Legislature express the sentiments of the people upon that subject. Let it be done in such a way as not to make it necessary for him to speak in relation to the matter."

The hint was promptly taken. In a few days an address appeared in the designated newspaper, requesting General Jackson to serve a second term, and it was signed by sixty-eight members of the Legislature. Similar tactics elicited similar addresses from the Legislatures of New York and Ohio; so that, before General Jackson had served fourteen months of his term, he was brought forward conspicuously, as the candidate of his party, for a second. The sweeping removals from office, and the filling of all valuable posts with unscrupulous partisans of the Administration, made it the easiest thing in the world for the President to call forth expressions of opinion in favor of any man or measure.

Mr. Calhoun, who was not match for the President and his Kitchen Cabinet in political craft, was continually giving them advantages over him. He thought to injure Andrew Jackson's popularity by publishing his hostile correspondence with the President, forgetting that the President controlled the Democratic press of the country, and could thus give to the party his own interpretation of that correspondence. Jackson accepted the defiance, and promptly dismissed from his Cabinet the three members of it who regarded the Vice-President as their political chief, and appointed in their place three of his own friends. It was thought to be necessary, also, for Mr. Van Buren to withdraw from the Cabinet, and thus escape the operation of the rule which excluded Cabinet ministers from the succession. His resignation was accepted, and, to remove him for a time from the scene of political strife, he was sent as Minister to England.

Then the Vice-President blundered again. Allying himself, for the moment, with Whig Senators, he formed a combination powerful enough to reject the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, who was thus compelled to return from England after holding the post of Minister for a few months. Mr. Calhoun was considered that such an emphatic censure by the Senate of the United States, would lay his rival prostrate forever. He was overheard to say to one of his friends: "It will kill him, sir, kill him dead. He will never kick, sir, never kick." Seldom has a man been more mistaken. The Democratic party welcomed Van Buren's return as they would have welcomed a conqueror, and General Jackson instantly set on foot measures to make the rejected minister Vice-President of the United States.

There was a difficulty in the way which much perplexed the White House managers, and the solution of which has had important and lasting consequences. How should Mr. Van Buren be nominated? The Whig gentlemen had their eyes upon the post, and Martin Van Buren had not the national reputation which could call forth a spontaneous and universal nomination. It was also highly important that this nomination should appear spontaneous, and especially that the President's hand should not be seen in it. It was Major William B. Lewis, the President's most confidential friend, and an inmate of the White House, who suggested the solution of the problem. In a letter to Simon Kendall, of May, 1831, he reviewed the situation and the claims of the several candidates, and added the following words: "Surrounded by so many difficulties as the case is, and taking every thing into consideration, many of our friends (and the most judicious of them) think it would be best for the Republican member of the respective Legislatures to propose to the people to elect delegates to a National Convention, to be held for that purpose at Harrisburg, or some other place, about the middle of next May. That point is preferred, to prevent an improper interference by members of Congress, who about that time will leave this city for their respective homes. If the Legislature of New Hampshire will propose this, I think it will be followed up by others, and have the effect, no doubt, of putting a stop to the nominations. You had better refer upon this proposition, and, if you think well, make a suggestion to our friend Hill." (One of the Senators from New Hampshire).

This ingenious proposition was approved by Mr. Kendall and Mr. Hill. The docile legislators of the Granite State, to the number of one

hundred and sixty-nine, immediately met in caucus, and adopted the plan which Major Lewis had suggested. The Globe seconded the proposal for a National Convention; other Legislatures sanctioned it, and due care was taken by the friends of the Administration, that the right delegates should attend it. The Convention met at Baltimore, in May, 1832, and it consisted of three hundred and twenty-six delegates. Leading members, who were given distinctly to understand that they must vote for the President's candidate or be prepared to quarrel with the President. Such was the power of the Administration, and such the discipline of the party, that, out of the three hundred and twenty-six delegates, only thirty-six presumed to give their vote against Martin Van Buren—just enough to impart to the deliberations of the Convention a slight show of independence. The people, however, were not quite so obedient to the mandates of a party chief. General Jackson received two hundred and nineteen electoral votes in 1832, while Mr. Van Buren received but one hundred and eighty-nine; which, however, was forty-four more than he needed.

Thus was inaugurated the system of nominating candidates by National Convention; which has continued to the present time. State nominating Conventions had been frequently held; and, when railroads were about to make all parts of the country easily accessible, the system properly and naturally became national.

The plan is open to objections, as every plan would be; but it is probably the fairest and best which the cast admits. The great objection to the system does not exist in the system itself, but in the overshadowing influence of an administration through its control of the office-holders. So long as the President possessed an unlimited power of removal, a nominating Convention consisted, necessarily, either of men in office who desired to keep their offices, or of men out of office who desired to have office. No Convention for the nomination of Presidential candidates has ever yet been held, which did not chiefly consist either of office-holders or office-seekers. The Convention, for example, which nominated Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency in 1836, was almost entirely composed of men pledged to his support, and whose defection would have been instantly visited by their dismissal from valuable posts, or the dismissal of their friends.

It was in no sense a deliberative body. No choice was given it. No regiment of the army could feel itself more bound to obey the orders of its colonel than this Convention felt itself bound to comply with the known desires of the President. It is well for the people to understand this. A President who remains united with the party that elected him, and who has an unlimited power of removal from office, is in a position to dictate to the Convention of his party the man it shall nominate.

Andrew Jackson was gone from the scene. Men whose will is stronger than their intelligence are disturbing influences in public affairs, like hurricanes and earthquakes in the natural world; and it is surprising to notice how speedily the ordinary tendencies resume their sway when the disturbing influence is withdrawn. The nations of Europe, for example, took their ancient boundaries and institutions the moment Napoleon was suppressed, and things went their usual course, as though that conqueror had never existed. Andrew Jackson, by the force of his tyrannical will, had put Van Buren up, but he could not keep him up; and he had put the nullifiers down, but he could not keep them down. The old feuds remained, and the natural antagonisms revived. Mr. Van Buren, however, besides being an excellent political manager, was naturally inclined to conciliation, and the personal ambition of Mr. Calhoun was at that time more powerful than his attachment to the compact league of Southern States, and not the chief of Mr. Van Buren opened the door of reconciliation very wide, and the country was soon surprised to see the South Carolina a favored guest of the White House, and a defender of Mr. Van Buren's Administration. The Democratic party, therefore, was still united, and Mr. Van Buren experienced not the slightest difficulty in securing a party nomination for a second term.

It was formerly part of the unwritten law of politics, that a President in full communion with his party was entitled to a nomination for a second term. The example of General Washington, in declining to serve a third term, no President has been willing to disregard, and it appears to be as binding as though it were a part of the Constitution. But a failure to be once re-elected used to be considered in the light of a stigma. So the first Adams regarded it, and so the second Adams. It was as though they had been tried in the administration of the Government and had been found wanting; and it was therefore regarded, not as a dignified retirement from an exalted station, but as an ignominious dismissal from it. John Adams, indeed, was so indignant at his rejection by the people in 1800, that he could not bring himself to remain in Washington to witness the inauguration of his rival, but hurried away at daybreak on the last morning of his term. And it was many years before the people generally regarded him in any other light than that of a man rejected and disgraced. His wife, but less gifted son submitted with a better grace. Not the less, however, was his defeat in 1825 considered ignominious by the party which had elected him.

Mr. Van Buren, faithful to the principles of his illustrious predecessor, and having at his absolute command the whole army of office-holders, was renominated in 1840 without the slightest formidable opposition. He fully expected to be re-elected. From his remarks upon the campaign of 1840, in his work recently published, we may conclude that he died without understanding the causes of his defeat, which he attributed to a momentary popular delirium, excited, he says, "by a ruthless war of eight years," waged against him by the friends of Henry Clay. He even expected, like General Jackson, to name his successor, and that successor was to have been Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.

But in the United States there is always a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the people do rule. Party managers frequently appear to control the course of events; but, upon the whole, and in the long run, they do so only so far as they execute the real wish and intention of the people. Everything which they do, every part of their mysterious and extensive plans, is executed with a distinct, a conscious reference to its influence upon elections, which is only another way of saying that their aim is to anticipate and execute the public will. Skill in party management chiefly consists in leading the people in the way in which they desire to go.

We refer, the consequences of which were inherited by Mr. Van Buren, was not the destruction of the bank, but the destruction of it without providing a suitable depository of the public money to take its place. The substance of the Government was scattered about among twenty-five State banks, and the possession of these funds gave to the banks an unnatural and pernicious expansion of their capital, and tempted other banks to increase the volume of their currency. Thus the country was flooded with paper money, which stimulated the wildest speculation in land, and brought about a state of things similar to that which prevailed during the third and fourth years of the late war. Three months after Mr. Van Buren's inauguration, the reaction reached a crisis, the bubble burst, the banks suspended, merchants failed, credit ceased to be, and ruin filled the land. General Jackson had sown the seed, and his successor reaped the whirlwind. The retribution was just, for nearly every important financial measure of General Jackson had received Mr. Van Buren's support.

"I arrived," he tells us in his posthumous work, "at New York, by my brief mission to England, after the 'Bank bill' had passed both Houses, and on the day it was sent to President Jackson for his approval, and left the next morning for Washington. Arriving there at midnight, I proceeded at once to the White House, in pursuance of an invitation he had sent to New York in anticipation of my coming. I found the General in bed, supported by pillows, in miserable health, but awake, and anxious, and peevish, every member suffering me to take a seat, and whilst still holding my hand, he, with characteristic eagerness when in the execution of weighty concerns, spoke to me of the bank, of the bill that had been sent for his approval, and of the satisfaction he derived from my arrival at so critical a moment; and I have not forgotten the satisfaction which beamed from his countenance when I expressed a hope that he would veto it, and when I declared my opinion that it was in that way only he could discharge the great duty he owed to the country and to himself. Not that he was ignorant of my views upon the subject, for in all our conversations in respect to it before I left the country—and they had been frequent and anxious—my voice had been expressed as well against the then existing as against any other National Bank. Neither that he was himself in doubt as to the course that he ought to pursue, for he entertained none. But the satisfaction he evinced, and which he expressed in the most gratifying terms, arose solely from the relief he derived from finding himself so cordially sustained in a step he had determined to take, but in respect to which he had been severely harassed by the stand taken by the leading members of his Cabinet, and by the remonstrances of many friends, and not a few false friends, and as yet been encouraged only by the few about him in comparatively subordinate positions, who were all faithfully united to him."

So the great banks which had for twenty years received and disbursed the public money, passed out of existence, and that public money, distributed all over the country in weak banks, became a public curse. Mr. Van Buren, singularly ignorant of finance, was utterly unprepared for the financial storm which drove him from power. A few days before his inauguration, Colonel Benton took the President elect aside, and predicted the coming crash. Mr. Van Buren, though the best tempered of men, was a little nettled, and said, "Your friends think you a little exalted in the head on that subject." Colonel Benton was silent, and, as he says, "milded." As he left the room, talking with the President elect on other subjects, he said to himself, "You will soon feel the thunderbolt." The thunderbolt fell in May, 1837, and the fleets of many friends and not a few false friends, and it was through the pockets of many of them that their understandings were reached.

[To be continued to-morrow.]

SUMMER TRAVEL.

VIA NORTH PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD. SHORTEST AND MOST PLEASANT ROUTE TO WILKESBARRE, MATCH CHUNK, EASTON, ALLENTOWN, MOUNT CARMEL, HAZLETON, BETHLEHEM, AND ALL POINTS IN THE LEHIGH MAHANOY, AND WYOMING VALLEYS. Commodions Cars, Smooth Track, Fine Seating, and Excellent Hotels are the specialties of this route. Through to Wilkesbarre and Match Chunk without change of cars.

EXCURSION TICKETS. From Philadelphia to Principal Points, issued from the TICKET OFFICES ONLY, at Reduced Rates, on Saturdays, good to return on Monday evening. EXCURSION TICKETS TO WILKESBARRE, GOOD FOR TEN DAYS, issued any day. Through to Wilkesbarre and Match Chunk without change of cars.

CAMP MEETING, VINELAND, NEW JERSEY, COMMENCING WEDNESDAY, JULY 17. WEST JERSEY RAILROAD LINES. Leave foot of MARKET Street (Upper Ferry), as follows, commencing July 17, 1867: FOR VINELAND, 8:30 A. M., 9:30 A. M., 3:30 P. M., and 5:30 P. M.

LEAVE VINELAND FOR PHILADELPHIA at 10 A. M., 12:30 P. M., 3:30 P. M., and 5:30 P. M. RETURNING TICKETS, good any time during the season. W. J. B. SUPERINTENDENT.

628 HOOP SKIRTS, HOPKINS' OWN MAKE, 628. I afford you much pleasure to announce to our numerous patrons and to the public that in consequence of a slight decline in Hoop Skirt material together with our increased facilities for manufacturing, and a strict adherence to BUYING and SELLING for CASH, we are enabled to offer our HOPKINS' OWN MAKE HOOP SKIRTS at REDUCED PRICES. And our skirts will always, hereafter, be found in every respect more desirable and ready cheaper than any single or double spring Hoop Skirt in the market, while our assortment is unequalled.

AMMONIATED PHOSPHATE. AN UNSURPASSED FERTILIZER. For Wheat, Corn, Oats, Potatoes, Grass, the Vegetable Garden, Fruit Trees, Grape Vines, Etc., Etc. This Fertilizer contains Ground Bone and the best Phosphate, and is the most valuable of any. Price 50c per ton of 2000 pounds. For sale by the Manufacturers. WILLIAM ELLIS & CO., Chemists, 125 1/2 N. 7th Street.

RAILROAD LINES.

PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL RAILROAD. SUMMER TIME, TAKING EFFECT JUNE 2, 1867. The trains of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad leaving PHILADELPHIA at THIRTY-FIRST and MARKET Streets, which are reached directly by the cars of the Market Street Passenger Railway. Those of the Chestnut and Walnut Streets Railway run within one square of it.

TRAINS LEAVE DEPOT, VIZ.: 7:00 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 7:30 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 8:00 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 8:30 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 9:00 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 9:30 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 10:00 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 10:30 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 11:00 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 11:30 A. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 12:00 P. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 12:30 P. M. Philadelphia Express, to Allentown, Harrisburg, and Pottsville. 1:00 P. M. 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