THE CONVENTION

Proceedings of Democratic National Convention at Chicago Yesterday.

Hubbard, Temporary Chairman, Wins Applause by Naming Tilden.

Tammany Hall Appeals to the Convention Against the New York Unit Rule,

And Is Defeated by a Large Majority—The Convention Adjourned Until 11 a. m. To-Day.

CONVENTION CALLED TO ORDER.

[To the Western Associated Press.]

CHICAGO, July 8.—At 12:40, Chicago time, the convention was called to order by ex-Senator Barnum, chairman of the Democratic national Democratic committee.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. D. C. Marquis, of the Northwest Theological seminary. He prayed for a blessing on this great assembly of of representative citizens; that they should be endowed plentifully with that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable and gentle and easy to be entreated; that nothing should be done through strife and vain jealousy, but that they should be filled with that charity which is not puffed up, and doth not behave itself unseemly. He prayed that their deliberations would be guided to such conclusions as would best promote the glory of God and the welfare of the nation.

EX-SENATOR BARNUM,

the chairman, said: Gentleman of the convention—harmony seems to be the sentiment of this convention. Even the air seems saturated with a desire and determination to nominate a ticket for president and vice president which will be satisfactory to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west. Nay more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy throughout the Union and insure victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the national committee. No effort was made to nominate a temporary chairman in the interest of any candidate, but on the contrary, one who shall preside over the deliberations of this convention with absolute impartiality, in that spirit and to that end have been directed by the unanimous vote of the national committee to name the

HON. RICHARD B. HUBBARD,

of Texas, for temporary chairman of this convention. As many as favor the election of Hon R. B. Hubbard for temporary chairman will say aye, contrary no. Hon. R. B. Hubbard, of Texas, is unanimously elected temporary chairman of this convention. The chair appoints Senator B. F. Jones, of Louisiana, George T. Barnes, of Georgia, and Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a committee to wait upon Mr. Hubbard and conduct him to the chair.

"Gentlemen of the convention, I have the distinguished honor of presenting to this convention Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, elected absolutely impartial temporary chairman of this convention."

CHAIRMAN HUBBARD

came forward amid loud applause, and said: Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Democratic convention of the Union, [cheers] I am profoundly grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me, in ratifying the nomination of the national executive committee, who have done your bidding for the last four years, and by your authority I accept it, my fellow Democrats, not as a tribute to the humble citizen and your fellow Democrat, who speaks to you today, but rather as a compliment to the great state whence I came, [applause] a state which more than any other state is absolutely cosmopolitan in every fibre of its being. [Applause] In its early days and struggles that he came to our relief as the winds sweep across the sea, men of Illinois and New York, men of Maine and New England, men of Georgia and along the coast, and gave their lives at the Alamo and San Jacinto for the freedom of Texas. [Applause.] I can only recall to you in the brief moments which I shall detain you the fact that our neighboring sister states, her women, her glorious Spartan women, sent to us the twin cannon that reached into glorious victory at San Jacinto, but, above all, we accept it as a tribute to the fact, my fellow Democrats, that Texas with her over two million people greatly at each recurring election places in the ballot box over 100,000 Democratic majority. [Applause.] Fellow Democrats, we have met upon an occasion of great and absorbing interest to our party as well as to our common country. The occasion would not justify me nor demand that I should attempt to speak of its great history and its distinctive principles through two-thirds of the most

GLORIOUS HISTORY

of our country. I could not stop to discuss if I would its magnificent policy of progress, the part which she has taken in building up our country its powers, its territory and its wealth. I can only say to day in brief that the Democratic party in all essential elements is the same as it was when founded by the framers of the constitution nearly three-quarters of a century ago. [Applause.] Men die as the leaves of autumn, but principles are underlying liberty and selfgoverament, the right of representation and taxation going hand in hand. Economy in the administration of the government that lay the burdens as least they may be laid upon the millions who constitute our countrymen. These and other principles, underlying the Democratic party which cannot be effaced from the earth though their authors may be numbered with the dead. [Cheers.] I thank God, fellow citizens, that though we have been out of power for a quarter of a century, we are to-day in all that makes adherence, confidence and zeal as much a party organized for

AGGRESSIVE WARFARE

as when the banners of victory were perched upon our heads. The Democratic party, fellow citizens, since the war times, commencing with reconstruction, with our hands manacled, with our ballot boxes surrounded by gleaming bayonets, with carpet-bag rulers, with the voice stilled, the voice of free men who pay their taxes to the government. The Democratic party has lived to see through all this misrule, the day come when in a great majority of our states the Democratic party has resumed its control and its power. It has your house of representatives and but for treason stalking in the senate chamber we would have that too. [Loud applause.] We have had the presidency, too [renewed applause], but with impious hands, the hands of the robber, our rights were stricken down at the ballot, and through

PERJURY AND ROBBERY

and corruption were uttering falsehood through pale lips and chattering teeth in the very temples of liberty stole the presidency from this country. [Applause.] Some of the men who participated in it have passed beyond the river and stand to give an account of their stewardship, but history will not lie when it records, as it has, the electoral commission announced in the senate chamber through the house it would consider the question and the evidence of fraud returning the vote of Louisiana when the law was passed. It is the blackest page in our country's history. [applause] and all good Republicans to-day are ashamed of it. [Loud applause.] They turned their faces, as well as their consciences, but upon the promises of the past and refused to consider evidence all reeking with ignominy and bribery and shame, and counted in a man who had not received, under the constitution and the laws, the suffrages of his countrymen. That is a wrong that we have met here to right. [Applause]. Eight years have passed, that is through. We are told that the law has given the verdict to them. That is true. When a jury is in its box under the statute of your state, and a judge upon the bench who holds the scales of justice unevenly, holds with guilty hands a parchment from the executive of your State and allows the jury sitting in the box to condemn a man to death under the Ægis of law, he does what the lawwriters of civilization for hundreds of years have cursed and damned as

LEGAL MURDER.

[Applause.] Oh, the great sin of that electoral commission remains to-day unpunished and will ever be unavenged so long as the Republican party is in power in this country, [applause,] and in that connection, my fellow Democrats, be it said to the credit of the Democratic party that they exhibited none of that spirit of the Hotspur, and of that spirit which sought to engulf this country, fresh as it was upon the heels of a great and fratricidal war. But our great leaders

TILDEN AND HENDRICKS,

[here the speaker was interrupted by long continued applause, they rising to their feet and waving their hats], our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks, with the dignity of heroic statesmen, with the courage of men who love their country better than itself and its power, accepted the wrong and injury of perjury and of fraud, and they are grander to-day in the defeat, than men who wear the power at the expense of justice and right. [Cheers.] Thus we have succeeded in the face of federal power. We would have succeeded in 1880 but for federal gold and federal greenbacks, fresh and uncut from Washington [applause and laughter], money earned and held by star route contractors, and the loving friends of a venal administration. They bought the presidency. Fellow democrats, we want reform, God knows, not only in the personel in the men, as well as in the measures of the government as it is. [Cheers.] We want men there whose very lives and whose very names would be a platform to this people. We want men there who shall in all the departments of the government, in its departments of justice, in its postal affairs, its interior departments, everywhere shall follow its servants with the eye of the ministers of justice, and see that every cent that belongs to the government shall remain with the government. [Cheers.] No tribute shall be demanded, except the tribute that is due the government; that no assessments upon 100,000 office holders paid one hundred millions annually, five millions to go into

A CORRUPT POLITICAL FUND.

These, we thank God, will be corrected when the Democratic party shall get into power once more. [Applause.] We want

REAL REFORM,

A reform, my countrymen, that shall mean what it says and that will say what it means. [Cheers.] Moreover, I shall briefly close, fellow citizens it is not my business, as your presiding officer today, to enunciate anything that shall be embodied in your platform, but I wish to say one thing in this great assemblage of free men to your committee on platform, that you will endeavor to unite upon the basis of principles which we have advocated for the six years that are gone, and that you will have no delphic oracle speaking with double tongue on the platform, which shall be named by you. [Loud applause.] Let the committee say in our noble vernacular what they mean, so that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in reading it. In doing this we will declare against the corruptions of the government, that is, we will declare against the enormities of its system of civil service, its departments of so-called justic, its postal service, that

ROBBERY IN HIGH PLACES.

by the men in power. It will say moreover that the burdens of the government shall be placed alike equally and equitably upon all classes of our countrymen having respect for the greatest good to the greatest numbers that the hundred millions of surplus revenue shall not be allowed to accumulate as a corrupt fund, [Applause] and that there shall be a radical reformation and reduction in the taxes as well as the methods of taxation in our country. [Applause.] But, fellow citizens, let me say that harmony and conciliation should rule your councils. There never was a time in the history of the Democratic party, when the enemy invites the victory as now.

The Democratic party, while it may have its local differences, when the onset of the charge comes, will be together and whoever you may nominate, of all the great and good names that are before you, from the east to the west, from the north to the south. He who stands back in the hour of peril forsooth his own state, or himself shall not have received the choice. Yea, the choice of his heart is less than a good Democrat, and hardly a patriot in this, our country's hour of peril. The Democratic party is loyal to the Union. The

BLOODY SHIRT,

in the vulgar parlance of the times, has at each recurring election been flaunted in the face of southern Democrats, and in your own face. With Logan on the ticket' I presume it will be again. Blaine can hardly afford it. [Laughter.] Had he indulged much in that unpleasantness, (laughter and applause) they will endeavor to stir up the bad blood of the past. My countrymen, the war is over for a quarter of a century and they know it. Why, our boys have married the young maidens of the north land, and children have been born to them since those days. (Applause and laughter.) They will continue to go to the altar, and side by side at dying beds they will talk of that bourne whence no traveler returns, will lie down and be buried together. Why the boys in blue and the boys in gray have slept together for a quarter of a century, upon a thousand fields of common glory. Let their bones alone, they are representing the best blood of the land, and though differing in the days that should be forgotten the good men of all parties in our country, to-day, thank God, have united in the great common progress of our race, to forget the war memories of the war times.

I thank you, fellow citizens, for your attention, trusting that your forbearance will be extended to me. What mistakes I shall make doubtless you will treat lightly and kindly with corrective head, hoping that success may crown your efforts, that you may send a ticket to our country upon whom all may unite, is the wish of him whom you have honored with your suffrages this day. [Long and continued applause.]

The Chairman—Gentlemen of the Convention: There is a further report from the national committee which will now be submitted for the action of this body. The secretary, Mr. Prince, of Massachussetts, of the national Democratic convention, makes the following report on temporary organization: For temporary chairman, Hon Richard R. Hubbard, of Texas; for secretary, Fred A. Prince, of Massachussetts; assistan, secretary, E. L. Merrill, of Illinois, Geo. O. Guthrie, of Pennsylvania, G. L. Johnson, of Iowa, Robt. M. Bashford, of Wisconsin, Chas. M. Valandingham, of Missouri, H. J. Lynn, of Tennessee, Michael D. Barrett, of New Jersey. Reading clerks, T. O. Walker of Iowa, Thomas S. Pettit, of Washington, D. C., N. H. Bell, of Missouri, James E. Morrison, of New York, H. L. Bryant, of Delaware. Official stenographer, Edwin P. Dickinson, of New York. Sergeant-at-arms, R. B. Bright, of Indiana.

The Chair—The question is, gentlemen of the convention, upon the adoption of the report of the national committee, upon the question of temporary organization, as many of you as are in favor of the adoption of the report will say aye, those opposed, no. The motion is unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont—I was instructed by the national committee to make this report in the form of a resolution, the resolution which I will now send to the chair. The clerk read as follows:

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

Mr. Grady, of New York—Mr. chairman, I offer the following amendment to the resolution of the gentleman from New York: When the vote of a state is announced by the chairman of the delegation from each state is challenged by any member of the delegation, then the secretary shall call the names of the individual delegates from the state, and their individual preferences as expressed shall be recorded as the vote of such state. [Applause.]

The Chair—The question is upon the amendment of the gentleman from New York, to the resolution offered by Mr. Smalley, of Vermont. Are you ready for the question.

Mr. Fellows, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I desire to address the convention a few suggestions, which it seemed to me should govern their action, with reference to the amendment sent by my colleague from New York state convention, of New York, whose ambassadors and representatives alone we are upon this floor, elected by its will, clothed with all the authority that we possess, by its action and by none other, have directed, not requested, that in compliance with the memorial usage of the Democratic party in that state, the sentiments of its delegation shall first be ascertained through the expression of majority, and that New York shall give voice to that expression by the unanimous vote of its delegation, boldly and plainly, in no spirit of acrimony, but with an earnest desire that the trust reposed in us shall be accompanied by the conditions which those who gave the trust laid upon us. A convention was called according to the usages of our party at Saratoga, N. Y. Every element in our party was represented. The convention elected seventy-two delegates to represent New York, and express her will upon the floor of the national convention, and I beg leave to read what the state of Yew York has to say to those whom she appointed to express her will in the national convention.

Mr. Fellows then read that clause of the New York platform instructing the delegates to vote as a unit. He then said it was a solemn injunction laid upon the delegates of that state, which they may not violate. Kentucky or Texas has no right to decide what the will of New York is. We have met to advise with you; we are to council together. New York will hastily accede to the command of the voice of the nation when plainly declared. But New York alone has the right to command us. That resolution which I read in your hearing, received the vote of every delegate present in that convention. It does not instruct the delegates to vote as three, four or five units in the common sum; but as a unit upon all questions her 72 votes are to be cast unless we violate the obligations which New York has laid upon us. When the voice of New York is asked for in this convention the majority of our delegates by more than two-thirds have declared that the chairman of our delegation shall cast 72 votes in accordance with that expressed will. I do not deny the right of an individual to rise and state the reasons which impel him to differ with a majority, but what I do mean is this, that where a majority will is ascertained by the instructions of our state, our state must have its appropriate dignity, its appropriate character and strength by speaking its voice as one man, and with its 72 votes. You are asked to disregard the great sentiment of our state, and permit each member of this delegation to vote as an individual in violation of its instructions. I beg you pause long and consider carefully, gentlemen of our sister states. You who look to our state to have its place close up to the head of our victorious column this fall. [Applause.] I bid you to consider long and well before you strike down the sovereign power of our state expressed by the unanimous will of its delegales in state convention assembled, through the resolution that I have read in your hearing.

The Chair—An amendment is pending. You, Senator Brady, are entitled to the floor, pending which, however, an amendment has been offered to the amendment.

Secretary Bell—An amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. Menzie, of Indiana: No state shall change its vote until the result of the ballot has been announced.

The Chair—The gentleman from New York has the floor.

Senator Brady—I desire to address to this convention a few plain words in reference to amendments. It is part of the misrepresentation which has followed the hotels and corridors of your public buildings regarding the position of the delegation from New York, and the people of that state to say that there are less than 68 independent delegates from New York upon this floor, representing congressional constituency; that no state convention and state machine have power to disfranchise [Applaus.] Our state convention met; people from each of the assembled districts sent their delegates, the delegates from each congressional district met as a congressional convention, selected their delegates and handed in the names to the committee on electors and delegates to have them reported to the convention as selected by the congressional delegations so that from the congressional delegations the chairman of our convention would make up the proper credentials for our appearance here. I am here to say to you that there is no danger of this convention stripping the crown from the brow of the queen state of New York, but there is danger that through the power and influence of peticoat machinery the honest, truthful voice of New York may not have any effective voice upon this floor.

O. W. Power, of Michigan, spoke in behalf of the minority and in opposition to "the attempt to stifle the voice of a single delegate."

Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, spoke very decidedly in favor of the unit rule.

Mr. Power, of Michigan—Mr. President; I move you that the resolution of Mr. Brady, of New York, be relegated to the committee on rules for its action.

The Chair—The motion is not in order. We have no committee on rules.

Mr. Power—When appointed, the committee on rules to be hereafter appointed.

Mr. Cochran, of New York—Under the ruling of the chair I am entitled to the floor.

The chair—A motion has been made to refer this resolution of Mr. Brady, of New York, to the committee on rules for its action, when appointed.

Mr. Power—Whatever committee will present the rules to the convention, I mean that those resolutions be regulated to that committee.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont—I rise, Mr. Chairman, to state—

Mr. Cochran—I make a point of order that no gentleman can assume there will be even a committee on rules appointed. This is for the temporary government of the convention.

The Chair—The gentleman makes the motion that these resolutions be referred to a committee to be raised, and the convention can relegate them to that committee or not as they see fit. It is not for the chair to determine whether or not his motion is that they shall be referred to such committee as shall be raised.

Mr. Cochran—Is that motion open to debate?

The Chair proceeded to put the question, which was lost.

The Chair—The gentleman from New York, Mr. Cochran, has the floor.

Mr. Cochran, of New York—Sitting here in the place of Jos. O'Donohke, to whom I am an alternate, I desire to say but a few words to this convention. I do not suffer, sir, under the disadvantage of having been present at the meetings of the New York delegation, where much has been said that may have awakened the passions and sensibilities of the delegates as to the various candidates whom they support, and the few words that I desire to say here on the floor I hope will be accepted by the intelligence of the convention, for they are not intended to stir up its passions. I can't follow the gentleman from New York through all the various and conflicting figures, and meet the points which seem to be strewn along his rhetoric, but I know that the object of this resolution of Mr. Brady is to stifle the voice of the minority. I trust that no Democratic delegation will lend itself to this gagging process, at the very moment when it is going to ask the confidence of the county as to the result of its labors in the selection of the platform. What, sir, are the tawdry sophisim when gents from New York, my colleague has advanced here for the consideration of this convention, he talks about the majesty of the seat of the queenly figure she may assume in terms which are not proper in practical discussions of politics. The fact is, that by that system of political machinery which has grown to be the curse of New York politics, the expression is now sought to be made upon the floor of the convention which was conceded in councils of the state convention which was suppressed and evaded by the very gents who now seem to take advantage of the subterfuge by which they claim they are instructed by the state as a unit. [Applause.] I am stating here sir, nothing but what the history of the convention will justify, and I ask the attention of this convention to the further fact that the unit rule has always been an unholy device by which political managers and political engineers have sought to give a false expression to the voters of the state, and to perfect rather than to destroy the effects on the floor of a deliberative body. Has the memory of 1880 passed away from the minds of the delegates or is it here upon this floor and has the lesson taught by a Republican convention, the convention of a party which we accuse of perjury and of every form of political heresy, has its enlightened action been lost on this body representing that pure and patriotic force which we mention, Democracy. [Applause.] In 1880 the attempt was made in this very city to deliver the convention of the Republican party to the support of Gen. Grant for a third term in the presidency of these United States. Every man of sense throughout the country knew it was only by the operation of state instruction and unit rules that the nomination could be accomplished and fetters which these political managers sought to place upon the wrists of the delegates of the convention were thrown by the act of that body and managers who sought to throw the spirit of liberty and free speech, which is the great reliance of the Democracy, prostrate under the grinding hoofs of an odious machine whereby the acts of the party, we to-day denounce as unworthy of consideration. What is the argument that gentleman from New York has further advanced? He says that when his resolution was offered in the state convention the gentleman who now moves that every delegate of this convention have the right to a free expression of opinion was silent and did not raise voice in opposition to it. To be true, I confess I was in the convention, and remained silent, but giving the gentleman the full strength of his argumrnt our silence in a convention cannot betray the light of a great party, and although we were silent because we believed a majority of the delegation were coming here pledged to a candidate who is not the choice of the delegation to-day, still the fact remains, whatever may have been done in the state convention of New York can't be assumed to control the members who represent the national Democracy in this body. Now, sir, when that resolution was passed if it had any meaning at all, if there could be any sense in the unit rule it would be when a delegation was instructed for a certain man, for a certain candidate, or principal. Does the resolution which the gentleman from New York read here contain the slightest instruction to the delegation as to whom they shall support? Does it say a word as to the size of the convention and action of the delegates here [Applause.] and is the sinister influences which have caused a revolution of sentiment in the minds of any of the New York delegations, if the mysterious methods which caused one large body of delegates to express their preferences at the very eleventh hour, and thereby decided the complexion of the delegation itself, is the results, as the labors of small politicians are to be, as the expression of the voice of a very great state then, Mr. Chairman, in this convention, in this great covenant of the great Democratic party? Then in this great convention, in this great gathering of wisdom, of purity, we are prepared to announce and face that free speech and free discussion are thrown out of the window, and the majority of the delegates are prepared to submit themselves to the management of a few people who operate in New York.

The words that I have said, sir, are not for any particular candidate. Nay, more, they are not designed to defeat any particular candidate, but there is no power in this convention that I know of which will make a recording secretary place on the minutes of this body a living lie simply because a resolution in the New York state convention assumes to falsify our votes. [Applause.] If the chairman of the New York delegation records me and twenty-four of my colleagues voting for a certain candidate, for whom they have already denounced their determination not to cast their votes, he records, sir, what is not true in fact, and when the secretary of this convention proceeds to record the voting in a way that my lips deny, he performs an outrage on free speech and reduces representative bodies to a comedy and a farce, to which I hope they will never be reduced in this land of the free, and especially in this council office and enlightened Democracy. [Applause.]

Mr. Clunie, of California—Mr. President and gentlemen of this Covention: We come all the way from California to vote for the greatest political reformer of the age, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. [Applause.] We look to the great empire state to lead us in this struggle, but we don't want to start wrong. I apprehend that every delegate on this floor who is patriotic enough to come here came here for the single purpose of success in the coming election.

Carter Harrison here got the floor amid loud and contined applause, during which time the the chair seemed to be laboring under considerable difficulty to learn the name of our distinguished fellow citizen. Finally order was restored and the mayor said:

Mr. Chairman—The question is whether this convention shall make its rules or not. We are told by the gentlemen from New York, the delegates are instructed to vote as a unit. That may be true. If they failed to vote so then they disobeyed their state. But this convention has nothing to do with that question. It is for them to return to their constituents and to say to their constituents whether they have done well or bad, not for us here. I want harmony. I don't know but when the time comes but the gentleman from New York Mr. Brady, and I may be wide of each other. It is not a question of a candidate, but, sir, suppose the chairman of the state of Illinois announces that it casts so many votes for one man and so many for another, if he casts it improperly have I not the right to challange that vote? [Applause.] The chairman of the New York convention will announce, if he chooses, seventy-two votes from New York, but, sir, a man or a dozen men, or there may be forty men say that the chairman has not announced it correctly, are we here on every question to be compelled to ask whether the seats are instructed for unit rule or not! That's not for the convention to decide. We make our rules, and our rules should be that every man, when challenging the vote of a chairman, must be heard and must be righted, and for the sake of harmony if there be one or two or five votes from a state that wants to challenge a vote, I don't want a rule vote in this state to have a two-thirds vote announced a false vote. I want an honest vote, and I shall probably vote in opposition to my friend from New York on every occasion, but I want a free vote. [Applause.]

About forty delegates here jumped to their feet, and after considerable effort the chair finally succeeded in announcing that Mr. Jacobs, of New York, had the floor, who said: I am one of the minority of my delegation, and as one I exercise the privilege of holding against the choice of the majority, but as a Democrat, as a man loyal to my constituents and obedient to the orders of the convention that sent me here, I bow to the will of the majority.

Mr. Kelly, of New York—Mr. Chairman: I am pleased to see that a liberal view is taken of the amendment of the gentlemen of New York. The principle involved in this amendment goes to the very foundation of the Democratic party. The right to disfranchise the minority of a delegation in the Democratic convention from the state of New York. There are sixty-two counties in the state of New York, there are but ten of them Democratic, and by the argument of the senator from the state of New York, the great Democratic county of New York, which elects your Democratic president if an opportunity is given them, is to be disfranchised in a Democratic convention. That is the principle which he has here and now presented to the convention. When the question itself was before the state convention, it is true, as has been stated here, that no discussion took place, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could persuade and prevail on the majority of the convention to admit us on equal terms with those who are opposed to us in the county of New York, having accomplished that, and having also pointed out to them the danger of what they were going to do we have no other resource, no other opportunity but to appeal to a Democratic convention to give to the delegates from the great state of New York an opportunity to vote for their choice in this convention. The gentlemen say there are precedents for the position assumed by Mr. Grady. My recollection goes back to the convention of 1844, the very same question came up in that convention and by the wish, the will and good feeling and liberality which prevailed among the delegates, it was conceded that no man's voice representing a constituency in a Democratic convention should be ignored. [Applause.] I will not trouble the convention with a history of the Democratic conventions from that day to this, but I hope that this convention will take into consideration this important point which I desire to present to them. Suppose that you disfranchised the three Democratic counties to which I have made reference, what will be the feeling of the constituents that have sent their delegates here to represent them? In view of the fact that a majority of the delegates representing the state of New York are in a minority in their own counties, will our voices then representing the majority constituents be stilled in a Democratic convention? I appeal to the good sense, to the liberality, the sound judgment and the wisdom of the delegates here assembled to give the Democratic constituencies the same right which they expect for themselves, and having, Mr. Chairman, said so much, and not desiring to occupy the convention any further on the subject, I have stated to you as clearly as I understood, and I hope, as I said before, that the question will be met with that liberality which it deserves from a Democratic convention. [Applause and cries of question.]

The Chair—Mr. Fellows, of New York, has the floor.

John R. Fellows, of New York—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: My associates and a majority of this delegation have requested me to address the convention. The last words which the state of New York will have to say, so far as this majority is concerned, on the very great and important question now awaiting your decision. Sir, there has been an extraordinary misapprehension of the issue which is involved, as indicated by the very eloquent addresses of the gentlemen from California and others. The question is no that of stifling the voice or repressing the sentiment of any delegate from New York, or any delegate on the floor. The question is as to whether the state of New York has the right to say how the will of her majority shall be indicated on the floor of this convention. New York has something of pride in her greatness. Vast in her resources, vast in her population, commanding in the attitude she occupies in the sisterhood of states, she desires to come into a Democratic convention, as she has desired to do for more than forty years, giving all of the dignity and weight in character to her voice, and her sentiment that she possibly can, and she has always stated, as she states today, that she will not permit, if the delegates obey her instructions, she will not permit seventy-two separate units, seventy two conflicting sentiments and desires with regard to any question on the floor of a convention. [Loud applause.] She recognizes the Democratic method of ascertaining what her will is. How shall New York be known to the nation, through her majority or through her minority. She does not wish that any gentleman of this minority shall fail to tell the convention for what reason and by virtues, of what impulses they differ with that majority, but New York says only this: "Democrats of the country are you going to deny the assertion of that right?" She says that when the will of her majority is ascertained by Democratic methods she has a right to prescribe the form in which that will shall be expressed to the nation. [Loud applause.] That is all she asks of this convention. My friend from California has assumed that we came the elect of congressional districts. No theory could be wider of the fact. Any argument based on such a premise must of necessity have no relevancy to the real merits of the question involved. We are not here the products of congressional districts. The very eminent gentleman from New York, recognized as a leader there, heading a powerful Democratic organization, who last addressed this convention, and myself represent on the floor of this convention, so far as geographical divisions are concerned, the same congressional district. [Applause.] Will he tell me in what council of Democrats from that district he and I received the votes of the Democrats? What convention it was gave him one set of instructions and me another?

Mr. Kelly—Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. Fellows—With great pleasure.

Mr. Kelly—My friend from New York, Mr. Fellows, and I are on the best of terms in the world. You gentlemen will recollect that we shook hands over the "bloody chasm" in Cincinnati. [Applause and cries of "you will do it again."] Therefore in asking him to permit me to answer his question, I knew he would do it because before we adjourn in this convention we expect that he and I again will shake hands over the "bloody chasm." [Loud applause.] I will ask the gentleman this question, and before asking the question, if he permits me, I will make an explanation. Will the gentleman permit me?

Mr. Fellows—Certainly.

Mr. Kelly—There is a division of the Democratic party in the county of New York. There are three county organizations in all claiming to be the regular organizations of the Democratic party, in the good feeling which prevailed at Saratoga and in consideration of the great question which he and I had to meet at the coming presidential election, it was concluded that because he and I had shaken hands over the "bloody chasm" we should come here again to do the same, and consequently I was put on the tail of the ticket. [Loud laughter and applause.]

Mr. Fellows—My friend, Mr. Kelly, has well expressed the cordiality of relations of a personal character which exists between us, and I most heartily and cordially reciprocate them here. We may differ as to methods, we may differ as to organizations, but I say for him, as I say for myself, that we have but a common end to attain, and that is shared by every Democratic delegate on this floor. [Applause.] But his explanation hardly meets my inquiry. That was directed to the question as to how he and I obtained the credentials which permit us to be here at all, either from the same or from different congressional districts.

Mr. Kelly—I intended to ask a question, but I did not suppose that it was necessary to ask it. Now as he has referred to the manner by which delegates were chosen, I will say that he represents one Democratic party in the city and county of New York, and I represent another. [Laughter.]

Mr. Fellows—One Democratic organization of the same party. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. Kelly—Very well, and because we represent different organizations it was consented that he and I should represent the district, but the great point for the convention to consider is this: This gentlemen proposes now to ignore me and not to allow me to vote in the convention at all. [Laughter and applause.] Therefore he is willing to vote for me and it is against that that I protest to this convention. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Fellows—My friend is greatly mistaken, it is quite possible during the progress of this convention a dozen questions may arise in the New York delegation when he will be one of a very large majority, and I shall be in the minority, then he having his will expressed in the debate and the delegation finds his voice, and that is the point of this convention through and by the forms prescribed by the state, whose authority we bear. That is all there is of the question. Gentlemen of the convention, we are not sent to this convention by congressional districts. The convention at Saratoga appointed a committee to go on and report the names of seventy-two nominees to be elected as delegates to this national convention. When these names were presented the convention of the state of New York elected us delegates, and without that action we would have no authority. No, gentlemen, of the minority here will contend for one moment that if the convention had rejected those names, or voted them down, any of the names thus presented would have had any business in this convention. It was only the action of the convention of the state of New York that gave to its delegates any authority here. Now, that brings me to the question that my eloquent friend from California seems to have overlooked. When New York has expressed her will by a majority, how shall that will be indicated to the country at large. The state convention said, as it has said to every man in this convention whose hairs are whitened by the flight of time, as they sit before me were black with the hues or youth, sad that its state should vote as a unit when the will of a majority had been ascertained by fair Democratic methods. [Applause.] Now, gentlemen, a word or two further. What do they propose to do here? I reveal no secrets of our deliberations in the delegation rooms, because presently the result of these deliberations is to be indicated by our action, when I say that after a long conference it was agreed, and such was the sentiment of all our delegation, that its will being ascertained by a majority, the chairman of our delegation should arise in his place and say on the pending question, the state of New York obeying the instructions laid upon her delegates obedient to the will of the majority of the delegation casts seventy-two votes so and so, and that the result was arrived at by the following vote, (stating that vote to the convention). [Applause.] So you see, Mr. Chairman, that all we desire here is what our state instructed us to do, instruct its sentiment in a certain prescribed form. Do not take that right from us. It is a dear right to the state of New York. She claims the power inherent in herself, not granted her by the will of her sister states, but reposed in her strong arms, evolved from her own sense of right, the product of her own judgment. She claims the right to prescribe the methods and forms by which her embassadors shall execute her will. Do not undertake to strip her of that sovereign right, for I tell you that New York will feel degraded and dishonored by the action of this convention, if not over questions which are to be the object of your entire deliberation, but over questions which refer only to forms and methods of her own delegation, you shall undertake to right her laws instead of permitting her to do it herself. [Applause.] And apropos of this question and the discussion, it seems to me the delegates must have learned something of the possible motive which animates the convention. Now, through the expression which dropped from the lips of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Cochran, when he said that the reason they did not oppose the adoption of the unit rule at Saratoga was because they supposed then then they had a majority of the delegation. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Cochran, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask him a question; I would like to ask the gentlemen if he understands me today that that controled our action, or whether I did not say that we did not feel called upon to oppose it because nobody knew how the delegation stood.

Mr. Fellows—Oh, not at all.

Mr. Cochran—And that it was supressed by the engineer, who now give it expression for the first time.

Mr. Fellows—Not at all, Mr. Chairman. I did not understand Mr. Cochran to say anything of that sort.

Mr. Cochran—I desire to correct that gentleman.

Mr. Fellows—In what respect?

Mr. Cochran—To correct you as to the words which you have placed in my mouth.

Mr. Fellows—I stated the fact that he said the reason they did not oppose the unit rule at Saratoga was because at that time they imagined that the delegation would stand differently from what they find it to stand to-day.

I certainly did not understand him to say that it was that which influenced their operations. May the Lord of the Democratic hosts forbid of course that such base or sordid consideration should have actuated him. [Laughter and cheers.] All is harmony, all is perfect accord between Mr. Kelly and myself, since we presented ourselves in the attitude, he the David and I the Jonathan, before the Democratic hosts of this country and shook hands we are in tender sympathy with each other, [Laughter and cheers,] and I feel it a distinction to shake hands with him every hour in the day, but I confess I have a brighter hope set before me of better methods and purer forms when I find through the lips of these gentlemen such eloquent denunciation of machine methods. [Cheers and laughter.] Mr. Kelly and Mr. Grady and myself beyond us the country understands so well that everything we do in New York is a spontaneous outcropping of the popular will, [Great laughter] That the hand of an arbitrary power neither contests or imposes or dictates our action to make their protestations necessary now. [Laughter and applause.] I come to the question again in a solemn form of expression as I can present to you; let me say for a majority of this delegation that every vote the minority may cast will be proclaimed upon the floor and every single expression of individual sentiment they may be desired to utter will be heard upon this floor; but New York has told us that we shall meet in delegated form and take a vote upon every question submitted to us for action and when the majority is fairly ascertained that majority represents our Democratic will and sentiment, and he wants it proclaimed to the nation in a certain way. In no defiant speech, I say this; in a spirit of the utmost candor and consideration I say to you, gentlemen of our sister states, with regard to the reserved power of control over the forms and methods of our own delegation will you, dare you, strip her of it. [Applause.]

At this point there were roars all over the house for the question. The chair finally recognized Gen. Bragg, of Wisconsin, who stated his views to the convention at some length in very choice and argumentative language.

The Chair—Mr. Burke, of Louisana, has the floor.

Mr. Burke then addressed the convention in a neat and telling speech, in which he explained his own personal views as well as those of his southern confreres, on many points in controversy.

A large number of delegates then arose and tried to get the floor.

The Chairman—What was your motion?

Mr. Burke—I move the previous question.

Chairman—Has it a second!

Several delegates—It has. I second the motion.

The Chair—Did you name the previous question?

Mr. Tompkins—Probably the gentleman from Indiana will withdraw that motion.

Mr. Burke—I move to lay the motion on the table.

Several delegates—Mr. Chairman.

The Chair—I will state the motion before the house. A resolution has been offered by the gentleman from Vermont; an amendment has been offered to that resolution by the gentleman from New York. There is an amendment by the gentleman from Indiana to that amendment. The motion regularly before the house is upon the amendment to the amendment. Now do I understand the gentleman from Louisiana to move that the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table?

Mr. Burke—I move to lay the motion upon the table.

Several delegates—Mr. Chairman—

The Chairman—The motion is not subject to debate.

Mr. Grady, of New York—I arise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The Chairman—The gentleman from New York rises to a parliamentary inquiry. Will the gentleman state this question.

Mr. Grady—I wish to enquire from the chair whether if the motion made by the gentleman from Louisiana prevails. It will not have the temporary organization of this convention without any rules.

The Chair—That is a question for the convention to decide. The motion is to adopt certain rules. The original resolution and the motion to lay on the table has reference only to the amendment. We have no rule. The object of the motion is to constitute rules.

Cries of "Mr. Chairman" and "question."

The Chairman—There is no debate to be allowed upon the motion to lay upon the table.

Mr. Menzie, of Indiana—I moved for a division of the question.

The Chairman—The motion is to lay upon the table both amendments. The motion is for a division of the question.

A Delegate—Read the resolutions. The secretary did so.

The Chairman—Now gentlemen of the convention, a motion has been made to lay upon the table these amendments.

Several Delegates—Mr. Chairman!

The Chairman—I will not recognize you until I state the proposition. A motion has been made by the gentlemen from Louisana, to table both amendments, pending which a motion is made for a division of the question, which is always in order. The motion before the house, therefore, now is, shall the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table.

Mr. Grady—I rise to ask a question.

The Chairman—A gentleman from New York wishes to ask a question.

Mr. Wallace, of Pennsylvania—I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, it the vote of the convention be to lay these amendments upon the table, must not the original resolution, according to parliamentary law, also go to the table?

The Chairman—I sustain the point of order of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that is if he makes the point of order. I answer the question, that under parliamentary usage, a motion to lay the amendments on the table, takes the whole question, all would be laid upon the table. The question is not a subject to debate.

Mr. Burke—Mr. Chairman. I withdraw my motion, and in in its place I move the previous question.

Mr. Chairman—Does the motion receive a second?

Several delegates—"I second the motion."

The Chairman—The motion to lay upon the table has been withdrawn; a motion for the previous question, which has received a second, has been made.

Mr. Menzie—I withdraw the amendment to the amendment.

Several delegates—Mr. Chairman—

The Chairman—No debate can be allowed upon the motion.

Mr. Menzie—With the consent of my second I withdraw the amendment to the amendment, with the privilege of reoffering it at a subsequent time.

The Chairman—With the consent of the convention, whose property it is, it will be withdrawn.

Mr. Francis, of Missouri—I move the previous question on the amendment.

The Chairman—It is not in order. The question is upon the motion for the previous question. Shall the previ