

ADDRESS TO THE Democracy and the People OF THE UNITED STATES.

By the National Democratic Executive Committee

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ROOMS, Washington, July, 1860.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The election of the next President and Vice-President of the United States is at hand. Four distinct organizations are in the field. The Republican party making bold and open war upon the institutions of fifteen sovereign States of this Union.

Why is it that the Democratic party is disrupted, and its wings arrayed in bitter opposition to each other? Why is it that the veterans who achieved its time-honored triumphs no longer move with the old energy and harmony to meet the antagonists they have so often defeated?

In 1856 the Democratic party, after a most bitter contest, elected James Buchanan President, and John C. Breckinridge Vice-President of the United States. The new administration was inaugurated and went into operation.

This was looked upon by all sound Democrats as the final settlement of the question, and it was believed that the agitation of slavery would be forever withdrawn from the halls of Congress.

Now we are presented to the country the sad spectacle of one once valiant champion exerting his entire energies to overthrow the party which had honored him, and with the flag of rebellion and insurrection in his hand, endeavoring to seduce the party from its principles.

Owing his election in Illinois to the Senate, over his competitor, Mr. Lincoln, to the position maintained throughout that canvass, that no matter what was the decision of the Supreme Court, the Legislature of a Territory could lawfully exclude slavery therefrom by anti-slavery legislation.

It must be remembered, too, that the resistance to Mr. Douglas's nomination was not confined to the Southern States. It was widespread throughout all the States, and was predominant in Oregon, California, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Under such circumstances were his claims vehemently urged for the Presidency. The press, telegraph, and every art of management was used to secure the election of delegates favorable to his nomination.

Heretofore, the delegates chosen by the Democracy of the United States met in National Conventions as brothers, to consult together in a spirit of harmony and concession—to lay down the principles of party, and to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, not objectionable (in numbers) to any respectable portion of the party.

gave their interpretation of the democratic creed, and a portion of them insisted upon its recognition by the Convention as the condition of their support. They were denied this, and withdrew from the Convention.

But, notwithstanding the withdrawal of fifty-one delegates, no nomination was made at Charleston; and, after a struggle of 10 days, an adjournment was had to Baltimore, under the following resolution:

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns it adjourn to reassemble at Baltimore on Monday, the 18th of June next, and that it is respectfully recommended to the Democratic party of the several States to make provision for supplying all vacancies in their respective delegations to the Convention when it shall reassemble.

BALTIMORE CONVENTION. The Convention met at Baltimore. Most of the States responded to the invitation above recited, and the delegates presented their credentials, and asked admission into the Convention. How were they treated by the friends of Mr. Douglas?

Benjamin F. Hallett was regularly appointed a delegate from Massachusetts to the National Convention; the same Convention appointed K. L. Chaffee as his alternate. Owing to sickness, Mr. Hallett was unable to attend the Convention at Charleston, and, in his absence, Mr. Chaffee, his alternate, took his place.

The same course was adopted in regard to the Eighth Electoral District of Missouri. Mr. Johnson B. Gardner, the regular delegate, was unceremoniously ousted out of his seat, and Mr. O'Fallon, the contingent, voted in.

The next step was to vote on the regular delegation from the State of Louisiana, who were re-appointed to Baltimore by the convention that originally appointed them, and also to exclude the regular delegates from Alabama, who were appointed by a new convention called by the Democratic committee of the State.

Representing States, nearly all of which were hopelessly Black Republican, they claimed that they were entitled to dictate both the platform and the credentials, and to this end the system of tactics, which we had witnessed outside of the Convention, was, for the first time in our history, and we earnestly hope the last, steadily and persistently enacted in it.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the following rule, known as the unit rule: "That in any State which has not provided or directed by its State Convention how its vote may be given, the Convention will recognize the right of each delegate to cast his individual vote."

By the votes of the minority, in the delegations of Indiana, Vermont, New York, and Ohio, amounting to 27, or 33 delegates, opposed to Mr. Douglas, were thrown for him; while on the final ballot, at Baltimore, it gave him votes in Massachusetts, 10; Pennsylvania, 10; New Jersey, 23; Maryland, 24; Virginia, 3; North Carolina, 1; Arkansas, 14; Missouri, 44; Tennessee, 3; and Kentucky, 3; in all 41, which he would not have received had the ancient usages and rules of former Conventions, leaving the majority in each State to determine how the vote of the State should be cast, been adhered to.

In the case of New Jersey, where the State Convention recommended the delegates to vote as a unit, the Douglas delegates overruled the decision of the President that by the term recommended the Convention had provided the mode for casting the vote of the State, and allowed the two or three Douglas delegates to cast their individual votes.

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Arkansas), although full delegations, and unauthorized, in case of any secession, to cast the whole vote of a State proffered only to cast that which would be a fair proportion between the seceders and themselves, and yet others, (as in the case of Delaware, and portions of the delegates from Kentucky and Missouri) declined to vote, but refused to secede.

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Table showing the results of the ballot for Breckinridge, Guthrie, and Douglas across various states like Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, etc.

On motion of Mr. Clark, of Missouri, at the instance of Mr. Hope, of Virginia, the question was then proposed from the Chair, whether the nomination of Douglas should or should not be, without further ceremony, the unanimous act of the Convention, and of all the delegates present.

As it irregular thus to propose a candidate? If so, Lewis Cass was irregularly nominated at Baltimore, in 1848, which no man ever pretended, for the same method was adopted in his case.

First: It is not true that General Cass was nominated, in 1848, in a similar manner. Such a procedure, the nomination of a candidate by resolution prior to his receiving two-thirds of the vote of the Convention, where there was a contest, never before was witnessed in a National Democratic Convention.

Under the decision of the Convention, the two delegates, Messrs. Flournoy and Stirman, who remained in the Convention at Charleston, were allowed to cast one vote; the three bogus delegates from the first Congressional district, one vote; and the withdrawing delegates who were reelected to Baltimore, two votes.

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counted in favor of the resolution; even admitting the proposition that his mere ipse dixit had the power to bind the delegates who did not dissent, even in the face of their declaration that they would not vote, we now proceed to show that no opportunity was afforded to any delegate to object to the passage of the resolution.

By no rule of justice or of right can the 144 votes given for Mr. Breckinridge and Mr. Guthrie be counted as having been cast for the resolution declaring Mr. Douglas the nominee.—Having steadily, through repeated ballots, voted against Mr. Douglas, they were not allowed to object to the resolution when it was offered, nor even given the opportunity of voting against it. Here are the proceedings at this stage:

Mr. Clarke then moved to declare Stephen A. Douglas the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. [Applause.]

Mr. Hope of Virginia, offered a resolution to that effect, which was read.

The vote in favor of the resolution was alone taken? The negative vote was not put to the Convention!

But the nine votes counted for the 18 delegates who refused to vote, with the 144 votes cast for Messrs. Breckinridge and Guthrie, added to the 184 given for Mr. Douglas, gives only a total of 205, seven less than the vote claimed by this committee.

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Convention, entitled to cast one-half a vote, yet he is recorded as having cast one vote.

These make a total of 11 votes, which added to the 18 bogus delegates from Alabama, the 12 bogus delegates from Louisiana, and the 3 bogus delegates from Arkansas, counting 164 votes, make a total of 274 votes to be subtracted from the 1814, leaving the vote of Mr. Douglas at only 154!

But even this was a forced vote—forced by a violation of the usages of the democratic party, by which the votes of 31 delegates from New York, in addition to the two above alluded to, 12 from Ohio and 9 from Indiana, making a total of 52 delegates, entitled to 26 votes, hostile to the nomination of Mr. Douglas, were voted for him.

Had the rules and usages of former Conventions whereby the vote of each State was to be determined by the majority of the delegates, been followed Mr. Douglas would have gained 1 vote in Maine, 2 1/2 votes in Connecticut, and lost 10 in Massachusetts, 2 1/2 in New Jersey, 10 in Pennsylvania, 2 1/2 in Maryland, 3 in Virginia, 1 in North Carolina, 1 1/2 in Arkansas, 4 1/2 in Missouri, 3 in Tennessee, 3 in Kentucky, making a net loss of 37 1/2, to which add the votes of Alabama 9, and Louisiana 6, represented by the bogus delegates, who would not then have gained admission into the Convention, and we have 524 votes to be deducted from 1814, leaving 1290 as the true vote under the rule of former Conventions, really cast for Mr. Douglas in the Convention.

THE VOTE FOR GEORGIA—OFFICIAL. The following table shows the official vote. Gov. Ellis has a majority of 6,328. The whole vote cast is 118,852, an increase over the Ellis and McRae vote of 19,675, and 10,336 over the Bragg and Gilmer vote. Ellis's vote is increased 3,378 over his vote two years ago, and 2,035 over Bragg's vote.

Table showing the vote for Georgia—Official, listing candidates and their counts across various counties.

At Baltimore, the seceding delegates from Georgia, reappointed by the State Convention, refused to take their seats; but one of them, (Mr. Gauden,) however, came into the Convention, but did not pretend to vote, because, under the decision of the Convention, he was not entitled to vote, as the majority had determined not to take their seats in the Convention.

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