#### DEMOCRAT, CHARLOTTE, N. C. WESTERN

# 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. The Constitutional Union party, repudiating all platforms and standing on the catch words "Constitution and the Union." Two parties, each calling itself Democratic, one, however, following the fortunes of one man, Mr Douglas, and differing from the Republicans in making insidious, instead of open, war upon the opposition of the minority to his nomination as en-South. The other, standing inflexibly on the Constitution of the country, makes no concealments as to its interpretation of that instrument, its rallying cry being the equality of the States. We purpose, calmly and impartially, to survey the field, and to give the reasons why the latter party should be considered as the Democratic party, and how the dearest interests of country, race, and of human Democracy together with bands of steel, and made they treated by the friends of Mr Douglas? progress, are concerned in its success.

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? What firebrand has been thrown into their midst, lighting up intestine fires, and consuming as with a devouring flame? Let the plain unvarnished record views of the seventeen reliable Democratic States, answer.

In 1856 the Demoaratic party, after a most bitter contest, elected James Buchanan President, and John C. Breckinridge Vice-President of the no claim that even one of them should be nomina-United States. The new administration wis inted. They were willing to take any one of the augurated and went into operation. Its policy illustrious and distinguished statesmen of our parwas foreshadowed in the inaugural address The Supreme Court, in a case before it, the Dred Scott ty, except Mr Douglas. He had made himself obnoxious to them for the reasons already mentioned, case, gave its decision on the question of difference and they asked that he should not be thrust down in the Democratic ranks-a decision which pretheir throats. Was the request an unusual one? viously every democrat had solemnly pledged him-Our history as a party shows that it was not. Was self to abide by, as the authoritative expesition of the request an unreasonable one? Who will say so. the Democratic faith. That august tribunal dewhen they reflect that upon the States that made elared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and void; enunciated the right of the South to it, chiefly devolved the task of electing the nomitake and hold their slave property in the Territories; -denied to the Territorial Legislature any right to interfere with such property, and proclaimed that a Territory could only settle the question of slavery reign State This was looked upon by all sound Democrats as the final settlement of the question, and it was behas kept up this agitation? Who has resisted this decision? Who has declared that: "It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question, whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under States?" From this uneviable position no ingenuithe Constitution, the people have the lawful means | ty nor device, nor wholesale and reckless charges to introduce or exclude it, as they please." And, again: "No matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, the right of the people to make a slave Territory, or a free Territory, is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill?" Mr Douglas thus, in his Illinois contest, set the people above the Constitution, and violated his own pledges in the Kansas-Nebraska | Convention, was, for the first time in our history, Now was presented to the country the sad spectacle of our once valuant champion exerting his entire energies to overthrow the party which had so honored him; and, with the flag of rebellion and insurrection in his hand, endeavoring to seduce the party from its principles. His friends have rything was made to bend to the one great purnot hesitated to affiliate with the Republican party to compass his ends. In Oregon, they united with the Republicans in the canvass of last year and this, and Mr Legan, the leading Republican of that State, fought the canvass on the doctrine of squatter sovereignty alone. In New Jersey his ly virtually broken up. friends, Messrs Adrian and Riggs, were returned to Congress by the votes of the Republican party, and against the regular Democratic party. So with Reynolds, Haskin and Clarke in New York; with Hickman and Schwartz in Pennsylvania; with John G. Davis in Indiana. Republicans were returned to Congress over Democrats by the opposition, and with the collusion of the friends of Mr Douglas. Thus was Arnold defeated in Connecticut, Hughes and Ray in Iudiaoa, Taylor and Russell in New York, Philips, Leidy, Ahl, Gillis and Dewart in Pennsylvania, Hall and Burns in Ohio, and Wortendyke in New Jersey. Mr Douglas himself, all the while, has vehemently opposed and denounced the democratic administration in the Senate; has refused to be governed by the voice of his party; has warred upon all his Democratic colleagues, with a single exception; has voted against them, not simply on the vexed question of slavery, but against their nominations, and has even joined the Republicans in their efforts to extee for its approval. At this latter meeting, when clude from the Senate the two democratic Senators from the State of Indiana.

Presidency and Vice-Presidency, not objectiona- and a portion of them insisted upon its recognition ble (in numbers) to any respectable portion of the by the Convention as the condition of their support. They were denied this, and withdrew from party, and therefore likely to receive its united and the Convention. They at least did nothing more harmonious support. For this purpose was the two-third rule adopted in the first National Demo- than pursued the course Mr Douglas announced in to cratic Convention that was ever held in this coun- his Dorr letter he would pursue in the event of his try; and actuated by the motives which begot it, platform not being adopted; for, if he could not stand on a different platform as a candidate, it the Democracy have repeatedly in National Convention, whenever a respectable opposition presented logically followed that his position was that of anitself, refused to nominate some of its ablest states- tagonism and resistance both to platform and canmen, and by the nomination of others less objec- didate.

velopement and enforcement of their principles .--

It will be recollected that Mr Van Buren received

a considerable majority at the Democratic National

Convention in 1844, yet no one then contended

that he, therefore, was entitled to the nomination.

On the contrary, the Convention, regarding the

whom there was no objection,) and under his ban-

ner, the democrats achieved one of its greatest

triumphs. It was this principle of harmony and con-

cession, of respect and consideration for the opin-

ions and views of the minority, which bound the

them invincible on the day of battle. It was the

talismanic motto under which we marched to vic-

tory-the secret and the key-stone to our success.

ton and Baltimore by the friends of Mr Douglas.

They came to nominate him, or break up the Con-

vention. Many of their prominent men boldly

and openly avowed the purpose-"Rule or ruin,

was their motto. They met the opinions and

almost united in opposition to the nomination of

The Democratic States were wedded to no one

man. They had their favorites, but they put forth

pose for which they assembled-the nomination of

Mr Douglas. It cannot certainly be considered

strange that honorable men, unused to such scenes,

should leave the Convention, and that it was final-

THE UNIT RULE.

The Committee on Permanent Organization re

ported 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." This

rule was in violation of the rule of all former con-

ventions, which left to the delegation from each

State the right to determine how the vote should

be cast; and it was smuggled into the report of the

committee and brought before the convention in

the following manner: At the first meeting of the

committee, when all its members were present.

this rule was brought before the committee and

rejected. The committee went on, discharged

their own business, and adjourned to an informal

meeting in the morning, to enable the chairman to

make out the report and submit it to the commit-

some six or eight members of the committee op-

posed to the rule were absent, not having received

notice of the called meeting for other business and

regarding the work as virtually finished, the rule

was again brought forward and adopted. In this

By it the votes of the minority, in the delega-

ons of Indiana, Vermont, New York, and Ohio,

CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

The first act of injustice was

Mr Douglas, with insult and derision.

Far different was the spirit displayed at Charles-

But, notwithstanding the withdrawal of fifty-one tionable, have marched on to victory, and the dedelegates, 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 titled to consideration and respect, refused to nominate him, but nominated Mr Polk, (against reassemble."

#### BALTIMORE CONVENTION.

The Convention met at Baltimore. Most of the States responded to the invitation above recited. and their delegates presented their credentials, and asked admission into the Convention. How were

BOGUS DELEGATES-MASSACHUSETTS.

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 Chaflee, his alternate, took his place. At Baltimore, however, Mr Hallett was present, but the Convention actually turned him out; actually turned out the regular delegate, and gave the seat to his alternate !

#### MISSOURI.

The same course was adopted in regard to the Eighth Electoral District of Missouri Mr Johnson B. Garder, the regular delegate, was unceremoniously ousted out of his seat, and Mr O'Fallon, the contingent, voted in. Heretofore, it has always been considered that the alternate acted only in the absence of the principal, but this Convention gravely determined that the true test for admision into that Convention consisted in an affirmative answer to the question, Are you for the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas?

## LOUISIANA AND ALABAMA.

The next step was to vote out the regular delenees of the Convention? Yet the Douglas delegates not only turned a deaf ear to this request. gation from the State of Louisiana, who were re-apbut in the most high-handed and reckless manner pointed to Baltimore by the convention that originally appointed them, and also to exclude the reguwith sacriligious hands tore down the landmarks

State, preferred only to cast that which would be a fair proportion between the seceders and themselves; and power to bind the delegates who did not dissent, yet others, (as in the case of Delaware, and portions of the delegates from Kentucky and Missouri,) declined to vote, but refused to secede. This accounts for the fact that upon the second ballot, by State, Mr Douglas received only 1811 votes, Mr Breckinridge receiving 101, Mr Guthrie 4 votes, the States of South Carolina shows that debate upon this resolution was decided (eight) and Florida (three) having authorized no delegates to any Convention at Baltimore. Here is the ballot as recorded: to be out of order; and under this ruling, Mr Jones, of Pennsylvania, who rose to enter his dissent, ballot as recorded:

having voted for the resolution.

proceedings at this stage :

that effect, which was read.

which lasted a considerable time.

when they again refused to vote !

greeted with renewed cheers.

[Applause.]

Convention!

By no rule of justice or of right can the 141

"Mr Clarke then moved to declare Stephen A.

"Mr Hoge of Virginia, offered a resolution to

"The resolution declaring S. A. Douglas the

unanimous choice of the Convention for the Presi-

dency was adopted by a shout of ayes and cheers,

the gallery and struck up a tune, which was

candidate for the Presidency. [Loud cheers."]

"The band of the Keystone Club appeared in

"The President (Col. Todd) declared Stephen

The vote in favor of the resolution was alone

But, as if still further to demonstrate that the

eighteen delegates from Kentucky, Delaware and

Missouri, took no part at all in the proceedings,

we call attention to the vote for Vice President,

SEVEN VOTES FROM GEORGIA AND ARKANSAS

COUNTED IN DEFIANCE OF THE UNIT RULE.

GEORGIA

who refused to vote, with the 144 votes cast for

uring a two-thirds vote for Mr Douglas!

take their seats, and Mr Stirman withdrew.

ACTUAL VOTE CAST FOR MR DOUGLAS.

votes, represented by 26 delegates; sixteen of these | Wilson

delegates withdrew, and joined the Breekinridge Yadkin,

and Lane Convention, leaving, we repeat, but ten

the right to cast five votes. She is reported as

having given the whole five to Mr Douglas, in-

stead of 41, one of the delegates (Mr Stoughton)

having withdrawn and joined the other Conven-

Vermont was represented by 10 delegates, with

He is thus reported:

205 to 212 votes.

Let us examine the matter.

delegates to cast five votes.

tion.

main after what had been done."

ARKANSAS.

But the nine votes counted for the 18 delegates

taken? The negative vote was not put to the

Douglas the Democratic nominee for the Presidency.

Ba	ECKIN'IDGE.	GUTHRIE.	DOUGLAS	
Maine	0	0	7	
New Hampshire	0	0	5	
Vermont	0	0	5	
Massachusetts	0	0	10	
Rhode Island	0	0	4	
Connecticut	4	0	31	
New York	Ő	0	35	
New Jersey	0	0	24	
Pennsylvania	10	24	10	
Maryland	0	0	21	
Virginia	0	0	3	
North Carolina	0	0	1	
Alabama	0	0	9	
Louisiana	0	0	6	
Arkansas	0	0	13	
Missouri	0	0	41	
Tennessee,	0	0	3	
Kentucky-	0	14	3	
Ohio	0	0	23	
Indiana	0	0	13	
Illinois	0	0	11	
Michigan	0	0	6	
Wisconsin	0	0	5	
Iowa	0	0	4	
TALLAND MORPHONE MADE AND A STREET	2	1		

Minnesote "On motion of Mr Clark, of Missouri, at the instance Mr Hoge, of Virginia, the question was, then propounded from the Chair, whether the nomination of louglas should or should not be, without further ceremony, the unanimous act of the Convention, and of all the delegates present; the Chairman distinctly requesting that any delegate who objected (whether or not having a vote,) should signify his dissent. No delegate dissented; and thus, at last, was Stephen A. Douglas unanimously nominated in a convention representing more than two-thirds of all the electoral votes, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency

"Was 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 nomnated, in 1848, in a similar manner. Such a procedure, the nomination of a candidate by resoution 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. This resolution was another innovation upon Democratic usages.

Messrs Breckinridge and Guthrie, added to the 1814 Second. It is not true that the Chairman notified given for Mr Douglas, gives only a total of 205, the delegates that those who did not object should seven less than the vote claimed by this commitat the time it came to form a constitution, pre- of the party, and trampled upon Democratic comi- lar delegates from Alabama, who were appointed be counted as voting for the resolution. No pub- tee. Where do they get the remaining seven paratory to its admission into the Union as a sove- ty and usages, in order to foist that one man upon by a new convention called by the Democratic lished proceeding of that Convention puts any such votes? From Georgia and Arkansas. The State the Convention. With any other democrat they committee of the State. The history of the case remark into his mouth. On the contrary, every of Georgia was entitled to 10 votes in the Con-

ples of party, and to nominate candidates for the gave their interpretation of the democratic creed, Arkansas,) although full delegations, and unauthorized, counted in favor of the resolution; even admitting Convention, entitled to cast one-half a vote, yet he in case of any secession, to cast the whole vote of their the proposition that his mere ipse dixit had the is recorded as having cast one vote.

Tennessee, with only five delegates in the Con.

These make a total of 11 votes, which added to of Pennsylvania, who rose to enter his dissent, bogus delegates from Louisiana, and the 3 bogus was unceremoniously gagged. Having thus closed delegates from Arkansas, counting 161 votes, make their mouths, this committee contends, that because a total of 271 votes to be subtracted from the they did not then speak they must be counted as 1811, leaving the vote of Mr Douglas at only 1541 FORCED VOTES.

But even this was a forced vote-forced by a votes given for Mr Breckinridge and Mr Guthrie violation of the usages of the democratic party, by be counted as having been cast for the resolution which the votes of 31 delegates from New York declaring Mr Douglas the nomince .- Having in addition to the two above alluded to, 12 from steadily, through repeated ballots, voted against Ohio and 9 from Indiana, making a total of 52 Mr Douglas, they were not allowed to object to delegates, entitled to 26 votes, hostile to the nomithe resolution when it was offered, nor even given nation of Mr Douglas, were voted for him. Sub-the opportunity of voting against it. Here are the tract these from 154, and it leaves 128, as the actual strength of Mr Douglas in the Convention!

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 fol-lowed Mr Douglas would have gained 1 vote in Maine, 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> votes in Connecticut, and lost 10 in Massachusetts, 21 in New Jersey, 10 in Pennsylvania, 21 in Maryland, 3 in Virginia, 1 in North Carolina, 11 in Arkansas, 41 in Missouri, 8 in Tennessee, 3 in Kentucky, making a net loss of 371, 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 521 votes to be de-A. Douglas of Illinois, the unanimous choice of ducted from 1811, leaving 129 as the true vote the Democracy of the United States as their under the rule of former Conventions, really cast for Mr Douglas in the Convention.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.

# VOTE FOR GOVERNOR --- OFFICIAL.

The following table shows the official vote. Gov. Ellis has a majority of 6,328. The whole vote cast is 112,852, an increase over the Ellis and McRae vote of 19,675, and 10,336 over the Bragg and Gilmer vote. Ellis' vote is increased 3,378 over his vote two years ago, and 2,035 over Bragg's vote.

· · · · · · · /	1856.		1860.		
	1				
COUNTIES.	BRAGG	GILN'R	ELLIS	Poot	
Alamance,	916	645	771	793	
Alexander,	466	411	429	594	
Auson,	326	750	289	887	
Ashe,	734	708	379	779	
Alleghany			573	134	
Bertie,	469	545	532	570	
Bladen,	608	481	660	553	
Brunswick.	404	468	410	422	

910

584

1110

877

540

224

540

415

518

278

219

1255

430

419

832

861

690

1388

197

127

406

1028

200

461

345

978

2137

595

306

829

399

498

203

1714

164

864

212

349

256

486

265

359

757

834

843

532

713

609

122

133

1238

561

412

778

299

175

444

1567

565

681

1079

804

1065

579

470

425

1573

389

134

481

442

134

936

of the United States.

# SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

Owing his election in Illinois to the Senate, over his competitor, Mr Lincoln, to the position maintained throughout that canvass, that no mat- disrespectable manner was this rule brought before ter what was the decision of the Supreme Court, the | and adopted by the Convention. Legislature of a Territory could lawfully exclude slavery therefrom by unfriendly legislation, he resolved to engraft his heresy of squatter sovereign- amounting to 27 1, or 55 delegates, opposed to Mr ty, of which this was an exemplification, upon the Douglas, were thrown for him; while on the final creed of the democratic party; and he declared in ballot, at Baltimore, it gave him votes in Massahis Dorr letter that on this condition only would chusetts, 10; Pennsylvania, 10; New Jersey, 21; he accept the nomination of the Convention for Maryland, 21; Virginia, 3; North Carolina, 1; Arkthe Presidency. Thus one man undertook to lay ansas, 14; Missouri, 42; Tennessee, 3, and Kendown the platform of an entire party, and to place tucky, 3; in all 41, which he would not have reout of pale of that party its own President; all but ceived had the ancient usages and rules of former two of its Senators; all but some half a dozen of its | Conventions, leaving the majority in each State to Representatives in Congress; to brand as anti-de- determine how the vote of the State should be mocratic the platforms and the men of nearly every cast, been adhered to. Yet the ink was hardly State where the party was in possession of the dry that recorded the passage of the resolution, government. Is it to be wondered at that the before the very men who clamored for its adoption, South became alarmed; and that it lost its confi- sought to violate it, and actually succeeded in

up this one man as paramount to the Union of the States? Are they not guilty of having divided the party? Did they not thus, take "the first, fatal, and irrevocable stride towards disunion of the against others, can relieve them. "Inexorable mittee called a new convention to be elected by logic" stamps the grave crime upon their brows .-the Democracy of the several counties. This con-Representing States, nearly all of which were hopelessly Black Republican, they claimed that they were entitled to dictate both the platform and the candidates, and to this end the system of tactics, which we had witnessed outside of the never cast a Democratic vote in his life, and who be manufactured out of 196 votes all told, 141 of (and we earnestly hope the last,) steadily and per-

openly avowed that he was going to Baltimore to which were cast against him? sistently enacted in it. Rules were made and violated at pleasure. The decisions of an impartial vote for Mr Douglas, in order to break up the President were adopted, and then overruled, as it Democratic party! Yet the so-called national consuited their purpose. The usages of Democratic Conventions were followed, and then shamefully the Democracies of these States, and voted in the violated, as it accorded with their designs. Evebogus delegates!

### ARKANSAS.

In the case of Arkansas, the Congressional Convention of the State which nominated the Democratic candidates for Congress, re-appointed the delegates to Baltimore. Yet this Convention deliberately voted out the regular delegates so elected in the first district; while they declared that the regular delegates, elected in the same manner, in the second district, were entitled to their seats! and then, in defiance of the resolution ! of the Democratic State Convention of Arkansas instructing the delegates to vote as a unit, and in utter violation of their own unit resolution, they divided the vote of the State, giving the bogus aelegates from the first district the right to cast one vote, and the regular delegates from the second district two votes; nay, they even went further, yielded everything except personal honor to heal the and resolved that, in case the regular delegates divisions which existed. He proceeded to condemn the from the second district did not vote, the bogus delegates from the first district. were to cast the full vote of the State! And yet, after such highhanded procedure as this, we are meekly told by the Douglas Committee that "it must be conceded that the report of the Committee on Credentials was so liberal and conciliatory towards the seceders and their friends as to be hardly just to the representatives of the National Democracy from his State!"

#### GEORGIA

In the case of Georgia the Douglas men themselves called a State Convention for the purpose of having the seceding delegates repudiated by the Democracy of that State. Every shade of the Democratic party of that State participated in the election of delegates. The Convention met, and upon taking a vote, the regular or seceding delegates were sent back to Baltimore, by a vote of ballot was had." 299 to 41. The forty-one Douglas delegates then bolted, and also appointed delegates. Yet the Douglas Committee on Credentials at Baltimore, in defiance again of the resolution of the Georgia Convention instructing their delegates to vote as a unit, and in utter violation of their own rule upon the subject, reported in favor of dividing the vote of the State, giving one-half to the regular delegates, and one-half to the bogus appointees of the 41 bolters! But this was too great an outrage even for this Convention, and they voted to admit the regular delegates, and thus placed the brand of bogus upon the brow of H. V. Johnson the Douglas candidate for Vice-President! Comment-

could have had harmony and union, and presented is this. After the secession at Charleston, the published proceeding, including, those published vention, to be cast by 20 delegates. The Demoto-day the spectacle of a united and invincible party. Democratic Central Committee of Louisiana, the at the time in the Baltimore, Washington and New cracy of Georgia, however, appointed 40 delegates lieved that the agitation of slavery would be for- We put it to the conscience and the judgment of only association in that State having the power to York papers, reported by different reporters, con- to cast the 10 votes, and instructed them to vote ever withdrawn from the halls of Congress. Who every honest man. Are they not guilty of setting assemble the Democracy in convention, called to- clusively demonstrates that he gave utterance to as a unit, the majority to determine the action of Cabarras. gether the State convention representing every coun- no such language. But, even if he did, it was not the State. Eleven of the delegates remained in ty in the State, and that convention re-appointed the in his power, and was not within the scope of his the Convention, but the majority who seceded same delegates to Baltimore. A few irresponsible duties as a presiding officer, to dictate to delegates protested against these eleven being allowed to men called another convention, at which the De- what course they should pursue, or to bind them vote, and the convention decided, by a vote of 148 mocracy of the State were not represented. In by his mere ipse dixit. Each delegate had the to 100, that those remaining from that State were Cherokee, the case of Alabama, the Democratic Central Com- right to vote, or not to vote, as to him seemed not, under the unit rule, entitled to vote. proper; and of this he was the sole judge, answera-At Baltimore, the seceding delegates from Georble for his course to his constituency alone. The gia, reappointed by the State Convention, refused vention met, and sent back the regular delegates | Convention has decided that, in accordance with to take their seats; but one of them, (Mr Gaulden,) to Baltimore. A number of persons however, issu- the established usages of the party, it required however, came into the Convention, but did not ed a call, published in three papers in the State, two-thirds (202 votes) of the electoral votes to pretend to vote, because, under the decision of the addressed to the people, not the Democracy of nominate. The highest vote at any time attained Convention, he was not entitled to vote, as the Alabama, for another convention, which met and by Mr Douglas was 1811, and the whole number majority had determined not to take their seats in appointed a set of delegates, the leader of whom cast 196. How were 202 votes for Mr Douglas to the Convention.

Eighteen delegates remained in the Convention

as spectators, taking no part whatsoever in its devention voted out the regular delegates elected by liberations, and expressly declaring that they were not bound by its decision. Various devices were tried to compel these 18 delegates to vote. Mr Church of N. Y., had offered a resolution de-

claring Mr Douglas the nominee, when he had received only 1731 votes. We quote the following proceeding which then ensued:

"The question was loudly called for. Mr Jones, of Pennsylvania, said he was ready to support the nominee of the Convention when he shall be nominated by the rules of the Democratic party. Charleston it was determined that two-thirds of all the electoral college was necessary to a nomination. It was objected that debate was not in order. The President (Mr Todd) so ruled. Mr Jones raised a question of order-that the rule

adopted at Charleston could not be repealed except on one day's notice. Mr Church explained the action at Charleston. New

York had come here to pour oil on the troubled waters and had faithfully endeavored to do so. They had action of the seceding delegates.

Mr W. S. Gittings, of Maryland, entered a protest against the propositions of Mr Church, of New York. A rule was adopted at Charleston that two-thirds of all the votes of the electoral college was required to nominate a candidate for President.

The Chair explained, that at Charleston the then President was instructed not to declare any one nominated unless he received two-thirds of the votes of the electoral college, (202 votes.)

Mr Gittings said there were two thirds of the electoral college here, and if gentlemen voted who declined to vote, Douglas would be nominated by a two-third vote. He hoped that there would be more ballots to see what gentlemen would do, and that Mr Church would withdraw his resolution.

Cries of 'That's it-that's it-yes-yes.' Mr Hoge, of Virginia, said he hoped there would be

to vote did not vote, he should treat them as out of the Convention. Mr Church then withdrew his resolution till another

o more ballots, and if those gentlemen who declined

Yet, after this notice served upon these 18 delegates, they again refused to vote; and it is simply ridiculous to say that the President could record their votes as cast in favor of the resolution. Mr Church boldly declared that the "resolution was intended to change the rule of instruction adopted at Charleston," requiring a two-thirds vote to nominate the candidate.

Of the 18 delegates who remained in the Convention as spectators, five were from Kentucky, six from Delaware, and seven from Missouri.

The five delegates from Kentucky filed a writ- Minnesota is recorded as having cast her full following: ten protest, in which they stated that though they vote for Mr Douglas, when three of her delegates

Brunswick. 404 468 410 958 787 918 Bancombe. 569 505 603 539 833 637 Beaufort. 665 429 426 425 370 438 Caldwell 945 Caswell. 1120 211 481 402 493 Carteret. 96 107 473 Camden 968 158 960 Catawba 664 632 574 305 Chowan. 291 230 759 556 146 Currituck 1245 1166 1162 Chatham. 718 589 306 Columbus 1109 998 138 Cleaveland 800 Craven. 784 645 1023 1575 92B Cumberland 481 353 486 Davie. 972 Davidson 823 1199 1358 Duplin, 1113 155 1095 1563 189 Edgecombe And yet these are the persons decided by the Franklin, 810 744 334 1015 Convention to be mere spectators, and not dele-1080 Forsyth, 926 gates, who had no right to vote, and never did 759 133 860 Gaston, 431 459 392 Gates, vote in the Convention, who are now represented 421 432 289 Greene. as delegates by the Douglas Committee, and press- Granville, 1225 994 1143 ed into the service, for the purpose of manufact- Guilford, 457 571 2059 788 736 584 Halifax. 537 254 577 Haywood 586 447 Henderson. 665 353 Under the decision of the Convention, the two 335 Hertford. 303 392 500 lelegates, Messrs Flournoy and Stirman, who re-Hyde. 602 Harnett mained in the Convention at Charleston, were al-351 1349 381 Iredell. lowed to cast one vote; the three bogus delegates Jackson, 572 598 106 from the first Congressional district, one vote; and Johnston 1044 1036 817 275 the withdrawing delegates who were reaccredited 261 180 Jones. 499 263 Lenoir. to Baltimore, two votes. The latter declined to 530 222 Lincoln 614 400 Macon, 367 396 Madison, 575 250 693 "Mr Stirman, of Arkansas, when his State was call-746 340 Martin. 706 1274 1024 d, said, in justice to himself, and with sorrow, he Mecklenburg, 623 parted with the Convention, he could not longer re-Montgomery, 211 625 175 677 749 Moore, 733 457 McDowell, 536 295 Thus a majority of the delegates actually ad-New Hanover. 1522 1549 mitted to the Convention had withdrawn or refus-779 Northampton, 695 428 ed to take their seats, and, under the unit rule, the Nash. 1107 1058 93 minority had no right to vote. Yet the committee | Onslow, 771 841 1045 1109 1119 have counted the 1 vote of Mr Stirman, who had Orange, 360 330 502 Pasquotank. withdrawn, increased the one vote awarded by the 304 348 298 Perquimans, convention to the bogus three, to a vote and a Pitt, 771 775 716 half, and thus secured an additional vote from Ar- Person. 620 678 324 kansas in favor of the resolution. In this way Polk 325 1168 439 1137 the Douglas Committee got six additional votes Rockingham, 1281 448 566 Randolph from Georgia, and one from Arkansas in favor of 251 Richmond 246 556 the resolution, thus increasing their figures from Robeson, 773 669 844 Rowan, 885 905 1160 701 781 1070 Rutherford, 166 797 89 Stanly. 877 933 We now propose to show, beyond cavil, that Surry, 1042 even the vote (1811) given by the Douglas Ex-497/ 990 Sampson 813 769 Stokes, 498 ecutive Committee, in the foregoing table, as hav-213 124 309 Tyrrell. ing been cast for Mr Douglas, is based on error. 931 1491 273 835 Union, 1693 1124 Wake. Massachusetts is put down at 10 votes for Mr Wayne, 1201 1332 274 874 10I 819 Douglas, when there were only ten delegates, en-261 212 377 Washington, titled to cast five votes, remaining in the Conven-259 257 394 Watauga, tion from that State. Massachusetts had thirteen 614 1419 609 1263 Wilkes,

> 736 888 899 633 774 474 810 320 56,769 44,175 59,590 53,263 53,282 44,175 Bragg's maj. 12,594 Ellis' maj. 6,328

DOUGLAS ELECTORS DECLINING .- The Knoxville, Tenn. Register, of the 9th inst., contains the

Yancey,

We are authorized to state that Captain John J. Reece declines accepting the appointment of electoral candidate for the Second Congressional Distriction the Douglas ticket. He also declines serving on the Executive Committee for Douglas. We have a rumor from Cannon county that II. a speech at Woodbury, on Monday night, in which he declined to accept the position. A gentleman who lives in Jackson county was bilities resting upon them before the people. In con- in our office, yesterday, and informed us that Mr clusion, he announced their determination to vacate Galbraith had declined the electorship on the Douglas ticket for the 4th District .- Nashville Union.

dence in him who once was by them trusted and their efforts. admired?

In the case of New Jersey, where the State It must be remembered, too, that the resistance Convention recommended the delegates to vote as to Mr Douglas' nomination was not confined to the | a unit, the Douglas delegates overruled the deci-Southern States. It was wide-spread throughout sion of the President that by the term recommenall the States, and was predominant in Oregon, ded the Convention had provided the mode for California, Pennsylvania and New Jersey-States, casting the vote of the State, and allowed the two whose votes, with an almost united South, were or three Douglas delegates to cast their individual essential to success in the coming election. It was votes. also predominant in Massachusetts. WITHDRAWAL OF DELEGATES FROM THE

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. The maxim of the immortal Jackson was reversed, and the man was made to seek the Presidency, not the Presidency the man.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

Heretofore, the delegates chosen by the Democ- the South the same right to state the terms upon vet retained 424 delegates, or 212 electoral votes; being NO OPPORTUNITY GIVEN TO DISSENT FROM THE racy of the United States met in National Conven- which they would hold fellowship with their sister whole Union. But some of these delegates (as in the tions as brothers, to consult together in a spirit of States, as Douglas had to dictate to them the plat- case of Georgia) refrained from voting, the majority of harmony and concession-to lay down the princi- form of their democracy? The Southern States the delegation having retired; others, (as in the case of notice that those who did not object should be

ing upon this action, the Douglas Executive Com-

mittee characterizes it as an "extravagance of liberality!"

Thus was the Democracy of sovereign States wantonly disfranchised in a National Convention, at d thus were Democrats compelled to give up all Thos. J. Young.) fellowship with men so regardless of their own honor, and the welfare and unity of the Democratic party.

VOTE

The record of proceedings shows this withdraw-But it is claimed that Mr Douglas was nomi- deemed proper." al was done in sorrow and not in anger; not for nated by a two-thirds vote. The Douglas Exthe purposes of disunion, but to receive instrucecutive Committee, in a recent address, declare : tions from their constituents. The friends of Mr "After all secessions as well as the refusal of certain would take no part in its deliberations. And Douglas at least, should not complain. Words, delegates from Georgia and Arkansas, together with these are the votes upon which this committee however, are inadequate to express the bitterness the entire delegations from Texas and Mississippi to base their two-thirds vote for Mr Douglas! of their animosity. Had not the Democracy of occupy their seats, our National Convention at Baltimore

ticipate in its deliberations, nor hold ourselves or withdrew from the Convention :

our constituents bound by its action, but leave both at full liberty to act as future circumstances may dictate;" (signed by G. A. Caldwell, W. W. Williams, W. Bradley, Samuel B. Field, and

half of the six delegates from his State who remained in the Convention, but refused to vote, MR DOUGLAS NOT NOMINATED BY A TWO-THIRDS that "in future they should decline to vote, reserving to themselves the right to act hereafter as they their scats, taking with them the credentials which accredited them to the National Democratic Convention."

The seven delegates from Missouri gave notice that they would remain in the Convention, but

RESOLUTION NOMINATING MR DOUGLAS. But even admitting that the President did give to 21 votes, remained in the Convention.

remained in the Convention, they "will not par. entitled to 11 votes, refused to vote for him, and "Mr Becker, of Minnesota, said he and two of his colleagues wished to announce the conclusion at which they had arrived; they went to Charleston, and came to Baltimore, actuated only by a desire to promote the J. St. John, Fsq., who was appointed Douglas harmony, union, and integrity of the Democratic party; elector for the Fifth Congressional District, made but unfortunately for them and the country, their de-Mr Saulsbury, of Delaware, announced, in be- sires and efforts had failed; they had been ready for any exertions and sacrifices. to promote their object, and they now took this step, in view of the responsi-

> Mr Seward got on his high horse at Boston. Pennsylvania is put down as having given 221 votes, when 12 of her delegates entitled to 6 votes | His predictions of Lincoln's success are magnifiwithdrew and joined the other Convention. As cent. He promises him 80,000 majority in the Pennsylvania is only entitled to 27, she cast 11 State of New York, and the same thing substanmore votes for Mr Douglas than she was entitled to. tially in relation to all the free States. He also Virginia appears to have given 3 votes for Mr gives notice that "with this vietory comes the end Douglas, when only five of her delegates, entitled of the power of slavery in the United States," and that "the last Democrat in the United States is North Caroling had but one delegate in the born."