

NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT.

NATIONAL conventions for the nomination of party candidates for President and Vice-President, and the building of platforms of political principles, are peculiarly an American device and custom. No other country exhibits these tumultuous and excited assemblies, sprung from the town caucuses and State conferences of the land. They are the necessary result of the constitutional method of choosing the Chief Magistrate; and although they have not always been in vogue, but are modern in their invention, they have proved to be, on the whole, the best way of selecting candidates, and thus concentrating the strength of the several parties on a single name. One who has ever attended a national convention in which there was a contest on the nominations will not easily forget the excitement attending its proceedings, the peculiar American traits it exhibited, the characteristic speeches and stratagems, the inspiring harangues, the sudden wave of enthusiasm rolling over and "capturing" the convention when its decision was on the eve of being made. It is a scene full of infectious emotion. It is the caldron of American politics heated to the boiling-point. Within it is every variety and style of politician, from the veteran war-horse of the party and the ponderous big-browed Senator, to the ardent young aspirant for legislative honors, the village pet or genius. You will find among the delegates the votaries of every profession and almost every calling. When the convention is called to order, you may be sure that some clerical delegate in white neck-tie will be forth-coming to open its proceedings with prayer. Of lawyers there is sure to be a legion, seeking to persuade with glib tongue and the "jury droop," and to carry their points by strategies of an eloquence with which the bar has made them familiar. Prosperous doctors, with a taste for fancy politics, will not be wanting; political professors will be seen, spectacled and dogmatic, in the throng. Here, too, you will not fail to observe nabobs of commerce, well fed, with shining bald heads and bushy side whiskers and heavy watch chains; men of weight always, from whom the sinews of the political war to ensue are confidently expected, and whose preferences, therefore, it is well to consider. Bluff farmers appear, with very decided convictions, uttered in an equally decided dialect; railroad kings and lobbyists and county oracles have their share in the noise and in the contest.

There is always a peculiar tone to a national convention, differing from that of other public bodies—a general emulation in the utterance of patriotic sentiments and in the indulgence of spread-eagle speeches. Motions are made with rhetorical exordiums;

names are proposed with "glowing tributes," each orator leading up to the name of his favorite by an ascending series of rhetorical points, so that the climax may provoke an echo in the thundering plaudits of the house. Often dramatic episodes occur, especially when the name of some unthought-of candidate is sprung upon the convention so skillfully as to impel it to a sudden nomination. In such a body many amusing and stirring incidents can not fail to occur, and the spectator becomes as much absorbed in the proceedings, whether he be a politician or not, as in a thrilling play at the theatre.

In view of the conventions which are to meet the present year, it will perhaps be interesting to give a sketch of those which have already been held in the course of our political history; for such a sketch will deal with familiar names, the fate of famous ambitions, and what may be called the romance of our politics.

At the formation of the government the law provided that the person having the highest number of electoral votes should be President, and the person having the next highest, Vice-President, of the United States. This rule was found to operate sometimes to defeat the will of the people. It once made Aaron Burr, who was the Republican candidate for Vice-President, the rival of Jefferson, the candidate of that party for President. These two received an equal number of votes, the voters intending that Jefferson should have the first place and Burr the second. The election being thrown into the House of Representatives, it was for a long time not improbable that Burr might, as a result of this state of affairs, attain the Presidency. Jefferson was, however, finally chosen, according to the evident popular will. The other way in which the law operated to the reversal of the popular will was where there were two candidates of opposite parties, the majority would choose the President, indeed, but the opposition candidate would receive the next highest number of votes for President, and so become Vice-President. This was the case when John Adams was chosen to the chief place, and Jefferson, his opponent, chosen by this method Vice-President. The law was in consequence altered, so that the Electoral Colleges should specifically designate their choice for the two offices.

Our Presidents and Vice-Presidents were at first nominated by caucuses composed of the Senators and members of the House of Representatives belonging to each party. This caucus system, although we often see it decried by English writers and papers, was really derived by our early politicians from England. It became the habit of the Parliamentary leaders of the Whigs and Tories, soon after the revolution of 1688, to meet at taverns or club-houses in order to provide

discipline for the party ranks, to discuss and decide on measures, and even on special votes, and to designate the *personnel* of new ministries. Many an entertaining story of these conclaves, which often partook of a festive and literary as well as deliberative character, has come down to us in the writings of Addison, Steele, Hervey, and Horace Walpole; and although they were not known as "caucuses," they were such in form and in purpose.

Even before the Revolution, American politics had taken a distinct party shape, and what were virtually caucuses were held in the quaint old inns of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, on the part both of the Tories and the patriots. It was often decided in these conferences who should be sent to the General Court, who should be made colonel of militia, who should be delegated to the Continental Congress. At the "Green Dragon," in Boston, notable conferences of the caucus order were wont to be held, in which Hancock, Adams, Otis, and Warren were leading and inspiring spirits.

For the first three Presidential elections, however, there were no nominating caucuses of Congressmen, for the reason that the candidates were very clearly designated by the events of the Revolutionary and Constitution-forming period. The will of the young nation was already demonstrated so clearly that caucuses were useless. Certain men were so pre-eminent that the general voice proclaimed them candidates. Washington was chosen with one accord, and by the aid of no political conclave or party machinery; and although, when his first term approached its end, there had grown up a serious opposition to his Federalist sympathies, and especially to the paramount influence of Hamilton, no attempt was made to set up a rival candidate. By the time the third election, that of 1796, came round, however, the Republican opposition had become strong enough to contest the country. But even now there was no need of a caucus. John Adams, the Vice-President, was clearly the most eminent Federalist after Washington; nor was Jefferson's position as the founder, chief, and guide of the Republican party less well established. These two, therefore, naturally took position as candidates. The result of the election betrayed that the parties had nearly equal strength; for while Adams had 71 electoral votes, Jefferson had 68.

It was in the year 1800, when a successor was to be chosen to President Adams, that the first caucus recorded in our history was held. It met at Philadelphia, was called by the Republican opposition, and comprised thirty-seven members of the Lower House and nine Senators. There was nothing very strict or formal about the meeting. These gentlemen met to discuss candidates, very

likely in one of those coffee-houses which early Congressmen used to frequent in the Quaker City, and there seems to have been no very sharp rivalry for the places on the ticket. The caucus was of one accord that Jefferson should be presented to the people for the Presidency; and although there was some opposition to Burr, the New York representatives insisted that he should be taken for Vice-President, to carry the Empire State and to checkmate Hamilton. The Federalists, who were generally favorable to giving Adams a second chance, accepted him as their candidate, only to see him defeated by the Republican chief, while Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was their unsuccessful candidate for Vice-President. Jefferson's administration was so brilliant and successful that no caucusing was done when the period came for his re-election. There is scarcely a doubt that he, like Washington, might have had a third term by simply accepting it; but, again like Washington, he saw too clearly the evil precedent that this would establish, to gratify his ambition to the country's injury.

The first caucus in which there was a contest was held in January, 1808. Jefferson was about to retire from the Presidency. It was certain that the nominee of his party would be elected. Virginia, that had already furnished two out of the three Presidents, supplied the rival candidates to the Republican caucus. One was James Madison, who, having begun as a Federalist, had become a strong political adherent of Jefferson, and was now Secretary of State. The other was Colonel Monroe, who had been minister to France. The caucus comprised ninety-four Senators and members, and Madison was nominated by 83 votes, George Clinton, the then Vice-President, receiving a renomination for that office. For a second term Madison received a unanimous caucus nomination in 1812, and Elbridge Gerry was named for the Vice-Presidency, after it had been offered and declined by John Langdon, of New Hampshire.

Great dissatisfaction with the caucus system had now grown up. The monopoly of the Presidency by Virginia was bitterly complained of, especially by New York, which had a favorite candidate in De Witt Clinton. It was seen that the Congressional caucuses were controlled by Virginia influences, and that that State still desired to supply Presidents to the country. Still the Republicans adhered to the caucus system a while longer. A caucus to nominate Madison's successor met in the Representatives' Hall on the 16th of March, 1816, 119 members attending. Nineteen Republicans refused to be present, from dislike of the caucus method. Henry Clay, then the leader of the House, was opposed to caucus nominations, but consented to go to the meeting, where

he offered a resolution that a caucus nomination was not expedient. The motion was voted down; and now, amidst much excitement, an informal ballot was taken. Monroe, Secretary of State, was the Virginia and administration candidate, and received 65 votes; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, the choice of those Republicans who were opposed to the Virginia succession, received 54 votes; and Monroe was nominated. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins had 85 votes, and Simon Snyder 30; and Tompkins, a New York rival of De Witt Clinton, was chosen. There was great discontent among the defeated faction, and at one moment it seemed probable that they would coalesce with the Federalists. The latter supported Rufus King and John Eager Howard for the two offices, and, after an exciting contest, the Monroe ticket was chosen by 183 electoral votes against 34 for Mr. King. Mr. Clay gave his support to Monroe.

In 1820 the hostility to the caucus system had become so formidable in the ranks of the Republican party that it was resolved that no nomination should be made. This proved in the sequel a wise forbearance; for Mr. Monroe was re-elected by every electoral vote but one, that one being cast by Mr. Plumer, of New Hampshire, for John Quincy Adams, on the ground that it was dangerous to give a President a unanimous vote. We now reach the period which witnessed the final struggle between "King Caucus" and his enemies.

As Monroe's second term approached its end, it became evident that a sharp contest for the Chief Magistrate's chair was about to ensue. Several eminent men loomed up as aspirants, each with a strong force of followers. There was the polished and genial Crawford, of Georgia, who had already been put forward to oppose Monroe. There was the eloquent and chivalrous Harry Clay, the ablest of Speakers and the most dashing of party leaders. There was rough-hewn Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans. There was, finally, John Quincy Adams, scholarly and vigorous, who now occupied the office of Secretary of State. Against the protest of a large number of Republicans, a caucus was called to make choice of one of these four. Only sixty-eight members attended, but some of them brought proxies of absent Republicans. After a vain attempt to procure an adjournment, Mr. Van Buren induced the caucus to proceed to a nomination. A ballot being taken, resulted as follows: William H. Crawford, 64; John Quincy Adams, 10; Andrew Jackson, 1; Nathaniel Macon, 1. A ballot for Vice-President resulted in the nomination of the venerable Albert Gallatin. The sequel soon proved that this result of the caucus system was distasteful to the mass of the dominant party in the country. Every where

appeared protests against it. The Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature nominated John Quincy Adams, and this nomination was confirmed by the Legislatures of New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island, and by conventions in several other States. Tennessee put General Jackson into the field, and Kentucky named Henry Clay; so that there were four candidates, all professed adherents of the administration party. The result, as is well known, was that there was no choice by the people, and the election of President and Vice-President devolved upon the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay was a leading member of that body; and when it was found that he cast his influence in favor of Adams, and that immediately upon the latter's election Clay was appointed Secretary of State, loud accusations of a bargain were made by the disappointed Jackson men.

General Jackson became the candidate of that section of the Republicans who took up a position of opposition to the Adams administration, and who now assumed the name of "Democrats;" and when election year came around again, in 1828, there was no need of caucus or convention to nominate him. He triumphed in the Electoral Colleges by a vote of 178 to 83.

It was in the year 1831 that the first national conventions to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President met. The example was set, curiously enough, not by either of the regular political parties, but by the faction which came into existence solely to oppose the secret order of Masonry. It is worth while to notice that it was this movement which gave an opening to the public careers of two men who afterward rose, one to the Presidency, the other to the Senate and the Secretaryship of State. These were William H. Seward and Millard Fillmore. The Antimasonic party grew out of the excitement produced by the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, a member of the order who was supposed to have divulged its secrets. In September, 1831, a national convention of this party assembled at Baltimore. John M'Lean, of Ohio, since judge of the United States Supreme Court, was adopted as their candidate for the Presidency, but he promptly declined. The convention then tendered the nomination to the famous Maryland lawyer, William Wirt, formerly Attorney-General, who accepted it; and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, was added to the ticket as candidate for Vice-President.

The caucus system was now evidently extinct; no party would have dared to attempt its revival. The system of national conventions, exemplified by the Antimasons, was seen to be the only feasible substitute. As the supporters of Jackson now called themselves "Democrats," so his opponents adopted the designation of "National Re-

publicans." The latter party was first in the field to call a national convention, and this convention met at Baltimore in December, 1831. Its session was brief, for public opinion had already marked out Henry Clay as its candidate. Clay was nominated on the first ballot, and John Sergeant was given the second place on the ticket. Thus the opposition to Jackson, which was strenuous and hot, was yet divided at the start of the race between Clay and Wirt.

The Legislature of New Hampshire issued the first call at this time for a Democratic National Convention—the first of that long series of powerful and exciting conclaves which have so often designated our rulers since. This body met in May, 1832. The Democracy rallied in large numbers at Baltimore, which may be called the City of Conventions, as well as of Monuments, so often has it been chosen for their meeting-place. General Lucas, of Ohio, was chosen president. One of the first motions passed by this convention was to adopt the famous two-thirds rule, which more than once afterward did deadly work with the aspirations of statesmen. The form of this rule as adopted at Baltimore was as follows:

"Resolved, That each State be entitled, in the nomination to be made of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to a number of votes equal to the number that they will be entitled to in the Electoral Colleges under the new apportionment in voting for President and Vice-President, and that two-thirds of the whole number of votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice."

There was no doubt at all of the renomination of President Jackson; and the wording of the first part of this resolution is explained by the fact that the contest was upon the nominee for Vice-President. John C. Calhoun had occupied this office, but had separated from the Jackson party, and had become the apostle of nullification. On the other hand, Martin Van Buren, one of the shrewdest of politicians, and the President's most familiar friend, had been rejected for minister to England by the Whig Senate. General Jackson was understood to be very desirous that Van Buren should have the second place on the ticket; and as the convention was composed largely of Jackson's adherents, Van Buren was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 203 votes, to 49 for Philip Barbour, of Virginia, and 26 for Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

The result of the campaign thus inaugurated by the first national conventions in our history was terribly disastrous to Mr. Clay, and was the second of the long series of his defeats in attempting to reach the Presidency. General Jackson was re-elected by 219 electoral votes; Mr. Clay had but 49; Wirt carried Vermont's 7 votes; Pennsylvania cast its vote for William Wilkins; and South Carolina voted for John Floyd, of Virginia. Martin Van Buren was abun-

dantly consoled for the rejection by the Senate of his nomination as envoy to London, for he became Vice-President, and was already designated as the favorite of General Jackson for the succession to the executive chair.

General Jackson's political policy was of so bold and aggressive a character that toward its close all who were not his submissive supporters had been driven into opposition. Some time before the period of a new Presidential election, General Jackson not only intimated to his followers his wish that the Democratic nominations should be made by a national convention, but that his successor in the executive chair should be the Vice-President, Mr. Van Buren. There was great opposition to Mr. Van Buren in the Democratic ranks; and his opponents were resolved not to go into the convention, but to concentrate their support on another candidate. As has been seen, the Legislatures of the States had been in the habit of making nominations for the Presidency for some years. Indeed, after the cessation of the Congressional caucus system, this had generally been the method by which candidates had first been brought before the country, though afterward sometimes formally named by the national conventions. This method was now adopted alike by the opponents and by the friends of Mr. Van Buren—by his opponents as a substitute for a convention, and by his friends in order to strengthen the decision of the Democratic Convention when it met.

Early in the year 1835 the Tennessee Legislature nominated Hugh L. White, one of the Senators from that State, a pure and venerable man. He was the chief of those who had broken away from General Jackson, and opposed the succession of Van Buren; and this nomination was confirmed by the Alabama Legislature and the Tennessee delegation in Congress. Mississippi nominated Van Buren. Meanwhile the Whigs, who had as yet held no national conventions, had not been idle. They hoped to profit by the dissensions in the Democratic ranks; and early in the year a large Whig public meeting at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, placed General William Henry Harrison in nomination. Then a Whig caucus in Ohio presented the name of John M'Lean of that State; and the Whigs of the Massachusetts Legislature put their Titan, Daniel Webster, into the field.

Such was the state of the campaign when the Democratic Convention, six hundred strong, assembled in Baltimore in May. It was not an interesting convention, for it included only the devoted adherents of General Jackson, and its work had been already laid out for it at the White House. On the first ballot Mr. Van Buren was unanimously nominated for President. A brief

struggle ensued on the Vice-Presidency, which was claimed by the Virginia delegation for William C. Rives. But Colonel Richard M. Johnson was nominated, in accordance with General Jackson's wish.

The course of events during Van Buren's Presidency was such as to cause people to look forward with keen interest not only to the election, but to the nominating conventions, of 1840. The bright prospects before the Whigs brought several rivals to the front as candidates for their nomination; for the first time the two giants of that party, Webster and Clay, were face to face as antagonists. It was seen that it would be at last necessary for this party, which had hitherto looked upon national conventions as a Democratic device, to adopt this system of choosing a candidate, or else submit to defeat in consequence of rival Legislative nominations. The first convention, however, held in view of the election of 1840 was that of the Abolitionists, who met at Warsaw in November, 1839, and selected James G. Birney, of Michigan, and Francis J. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, as their candidates for President and Vice-President.

Then came the first and memorable Whig National Convention, which assembled at Harrisburg in December, 1839. It was a remarkable body, comprising an unusual number of distinguished men, and full of party zeal; there seemed to be a consciousness in the breasts of all that they were about to choose the next President, the first Whig occupant of the chair. Its proceedings were awaited with the keenest anxiety at New York and at Washington. The friends of the gallant and eloquent Clay were especially sanguine; and although it seemed probable when the convention gathered that there would be some contest, Clay and his friends thought the result assured. Clay had just made a stirring speech at Buffalo, beseeching his party to take his name out of the way if it presented the least obstacle in the way of unanimity. The convention met, four hundred delegates being present. Governor Barbour, of Virginia, presided, and in his opening speech he announced as the Whig creed, "One Presidential term, the integrity of public servants, the safety of the public money, and the general good of the people." The organization effected, the convention proceeded, amidst intense excitement, to take an informal ballot. This resulted in a small plurality for Henry Clay. The politicians who opposed his nomination, on the ground that the Antimasons and anti-tariff Whigs would not support him, now began to work like beavers among the delegates. Besides Mr. Clay, the candidates voted for were Generals Scott and Harrison. A few votes were cast for Mr. Webster, but his friends held him back in the hope that the other candidates would kill each other

off and make a way for him. The first formal ballot showed Mr. Clay still slightly leading; the next proved that he was weakening. Twenty-four ballots were taken, when, General Scott having been killed off, and Webster's friends having at last cast their whole strength against Clay and in favor of General Harrison, the "hero of Tippecanoe" was nominated. The last ballot stood, for Harrison, 148; for Clay, 90; and for Scott, 16.

This event was a most bitter blow to Henry Clay. When he heard of his defeat, he gave way to ungoverned rage, declared his friends faithless and worthless, complained that he was always nominated when there was no chance, and always deserted when there was, and swore that he would bid adieu forever to public life, in which there was neither gratitude nor honor. Happily for his party and his own fame, this determination was but momentary, and gave way when the excitement of defeat had passed.

The Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore in May, 1840, and Governor William Carroll, of Maryland, was made its president. Twenty-one States were represented in it. This body assembled under very discouraging circumstances, for the temper of the country had already betrayed itself as enthusiastically favorable to the Whig ticket. President Van Buren was, however, after some opposition, renominated by resolution—a mode which had not before been adopted. It was this convention which first framed a "platform" of party principles—an example which has been followed ever since. This platform embodied a declaration in favor of State rights, and against internal improvements and a high tariff, asserted the necessity of economy in the government, opposed a national bank, and asserted the broadest principle of suffrage and citizenship.

The defeat of Van Buren was decreed by the tone of public feeling long before election day; but the Democrats did not yield till after a gallant struggle. The "log-cabin" and "hard-cider" campaign of 1840, with its squibs, pasquinades, and caricatures, its barbecues and torch-light processions, is, perhaps, the most noted in our political history.

The Whigs only sowed victory to reap disaster. The death of Harrison, the defection of Tyler, and the turbulent politics of the latter's Presidency revived the hopes and the energies of the Democrats, still more or less inspired by "Old Hickory" from his retreat at the Hermitage. The apparent demoralization of the Whigs brought an unusual number of candidates for the Democratic nomination into the field; and when the convention met at Baltimore in May, 1844, its action was awaited with anxious suspense by the party it represented. The friends of ex-President Van Buren mustered

in large force, and confidently expected to secure his nomination. Others were scarcely less sanguine. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was the choice of some of the Western, and John C. Calhoun of some of the Southern, States; Kentucky hoped to secure ex-Vice-President Richard M. Johnson as the candidate, and Pennsylvania presented the name of James Buchanan. Colonel Wright, of Pennsylvania, was chosen president of the convention, which contained 325 delegates, entitled to 226 votes. The first motion made was intended by the opponents of Van Buren to shut him out from the nomination. It was to adopt the rule requiring two-thirds of the votes cast to make a choice. There was a long and bitter contest over this motion, but it was finally carried. Then the convention, amidst a hubbub of agitation, proceeded to ballot. On the first ballot Mr. Van Buren polled 146, a majority of all the votes cast, but not two-thirds. On the second he fell to a plurality; on the third he dropped still lower; on the fifth Cass passed him, and received a plurality; on the seventh Cass had a majority, but not two-thirds. The convention now adjourned to the next day. During the night Calhoun effected a stratagem which was to take all the existing candidates out of the field. Van Buren's friends, enraged at his defeat, and resolved to kill Cass at all hazards, agreed with the Tennessee delegates, who were prompted by Calhoun, to support James K. Polk after the next ballot. When the convention met, and a ballot was taken, the vote stood, for Van Buren, 104; for Cass, 114; for Polk, 44; and on the next ballot the whole Van Buren and a large portion of the Cass party went over to Polk, nominating him by a vote of 232, to 29 for Cass, 2 for Van Buren, 1 for Calhoun, and 1 for Marcus Morton. The convention then nominated Silas Wright for Vice-President; but he declined, and George M. Dallas replaced him on the ticket. A platform of principles, much like the former, was adopted.

The Whigs met in convention at Baltimore, and now once more the friends of Clay had it all their own way. The great Kentuckian was nominated by acclamation. A short struggle ensued on the nomination for Vice-President. The candidates were Millard Fillmore, John Davis, of Massachusetts, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, the latter finally succeeding. But Clay, to his intense disappointment and the despair of his devoted supporters, lost the State of New York by an imprudent letter, and Polk became President after an exciting contest.

The war with Mexico ensued, and provided a number of military as well as civil candidates for the parties in 1848. Most prominent among these were General Winfield Scott and General Zachary Taylor, the one an old Whig, the other "innocent of politics."

The Whig Convention, called the "Slaughter-house Convention," from the deadly havoc it made with great Whig names, met at Philadelphia in June, 1848. Once more, and now for the last time, the friends of Henry Clay made a desperate rally in his behalf. Webster, too, was awed in the field, and, as in 1840, the rivalry of these giants was destined to prove the political ruin of both. The military candidates, Taylor and Scott, were both denounced as unfit for the Presidency; and a fifth aspirant appeared in the person of Judge M'Lean, of Ohio. But the conflict between Webster and Clay was exceedingly factions and bitter. The friends of the former said that Clay had twice had his chance, and that a long debt was now due to the "Expounder of the Constitution." Clay's friends insisted that he should be the standard-bearer of the Whigs just once more. Such was the state of feeling when the first ballot was taken. It resulted thus: General Taylor, 111; Henry Clay, 97; Daniel Webster, 21; General Scott, 46; Judge M'Lean, 2. A second ballot being equally ineffectual, the convention adjourned. The next morning a ballot was again taken, with similar results. A second ballot showed these figures: General Taylor, 171; Mr. Clay, 30; General Scott, 63; Mr. Webster, 12. The hero of Buena Vista was thus nominated, to the intense chagrin both of Clay and Webster, the latter of whom declared, in a petulant moment, that it was "a nomination not fit to be made." Millard Fillmore was nominated for Vice-President by one of those sudden, happily conceived speeches which have not seldom captured conventions, his name being presented by John A. Collier, of New York.

The other two conventions of that year present little of interest. A Free-soil Convention, held at Utica late in June, put ex-President Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams in the field. The Democratic Convention had been held at Baltimore in January, with ex-Speaker Andrew Stevenson as president. The two-thirds rule was again adopted. The quarrel of Van Buren and the "Softs," with Dickinson and the "Hards," in New York, resulted in the nomination of Lewis Cass for President on the fourth ballot, he receiving 179 votes, against 38 for Levi Woodbury, 33 for James Buchanan, and 3 for General Worth. General William O. Butler was named for Vice-President, and a platform was adopted. The defection of the Van Buren Free-soilers defeated Cass, and Taylor and Fillmore were chosen.

Both the conventions of 1852 were remarkable bodies, the fields of sharp and uncertain contests between eminent aspirants, the results of both of which were surprises to the country. Both were held in the month of June, and both at Baltimore. The Demo-

crats came together first, rallying nearly three hundred delegates. Four men of first-class ability, and each with a strong following, were ranged as rival candidates. These were General Cass, whose friends claimed for him a renomination; James Buchanan, who had now become a perpetual candidate; Stephen A. Douglas, then rising to be the Democratic leader in the Senate; and William L. Marcy, who had been Polk's Secretary of War. No less than forty-nine ballots were taken. On the first Cass had 117; Buchanan, 93; Douglas, 20; and Marcy, 27. Cass rose for a while and then fell, and after several days of balloting, Virginia suddenly cast her vote for Franklin Pierce, who was thereupon nominated in a fit of abrupt enthusiasm. The struggle in the Whig Convention was even more prolonged. Senator Evans, of Maine, presided over it. The contest lay between Fillmore, Scott, and Webster. On the first ballot Fillmore had 132; Scott, 131; Webster, 29. Fifty-three attempts were then made, and the fifty-third ballot resulted in the nomination of Winfield Scott by the following vote: Scott, 159; Fillmore, 112; Webster, 21. This was the death-blow of Daniel Webster, who did not survive it till the end of the year. The Free-soilers nominated John P. Hale and George W. Julian. The Know-Nothings, then just organizing, put Jacob Brown in the field; an "Abolition" Convention named William Goodell; and a "Southern Rights" Convention paid a similar compliment to George M. Troupe, of Georgia. Thus there were six tickets in the field; but Pierce carried the Union like a whirlwind, completely routing Scott, who only secured the votes of the four States of Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Since Monroe's time there had not been so complete a party victory.

The campaign of 1856 was especially notable as that in which the Republican party, rising on the ruins of the Whigs, contested the Presidency as a national organization; comparatively little interest attached to the Democratic Convention, by which it was nearly certain that James Buchanan would be made the candidate. The convention met at Cincinnati on the 2d of June. Buchanan's principal rival was President Pierce. The first ballot resulted in 135 votes for Buchanan, 122 for Pierce, 33 for Douglas, and 5 for Cass. After several ballots Pierce's supporters passed over to Douglas, when the vote stood, Buchanan, 168; Douglas, 121; Cass, 6. Finally, on the seventeenth ballot, Buchanan received the unanimous nomination. John C. Breckinridge was nominated on the second ballot for Vice-President.

The first Republican Convention met at Philadelphia on the 17th of June. Over a thousand delegates made their appearance, and Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, was chosen

president. Many names of eminent Free-soilers appeared as candidates for the nomination. The strongest seemed that of William H. Seward; but he had formidable competitors in Salmon P. Chase, N. P. Banks, John M'Lean, Charles Sumner, and John C. Fremont. But the convention made quick work of the aspirants, and promptly showed its preference for an "available" man. On the first ballot John C. Fremont had 359 votes; John M'Lean, 196; Sumner, 2; and there was one vote each for Banks and Seward. On the second ballot Fremont was nominated by a unanimous vote. The candidates for the Vice-Presidential nomination were William L. Dayton, Abraham Lincoln, David Wilmot, Preston King, Charles Sumner, Thomas H. Ford, Cassius M. Clay, and many others; on the second ballot William L. Dayton was chosen. The convention made a long platform, and adjourned with enthusiastic hopes of victory.

The defeat of the Republicans in 1856 was really a Bunker Hill, presaging triumph four years afterward. When the election of 1860 approached, that party had waxed stronger as the result of events, and the manifest dissensions of its opponents made it highly probable that the Republican candidates would succeed. There were two wings in the Democratic party, those who sustained and those who opposed the "Little Giant" of the West, Stephen A. Douglas. When the Democratic Convention met in Institute Hall, Charleston, on the 23d of April, 1860, it was evident that the struggle would be a long and severe one. The Southern delegates were mostly resolved that Douglas should not be the candidate; the West was enthusiastically in his favor. For seven days the contest went on over the platform to be adopted, and it was not till the afternoon of the eighth day that a ballot was reached. The vote was proceeded with amidst intense excitement, and its result was as follows: Douglas, 145½; James Guthrie, 35½; Daniel S. Dickinson, 7; R. M. T. Hunter, 42; Andrew Johnson, 12; Joseph Lane, 6; Jefferson Davis, 1½; Isaac Toucey, 2½; Pierce, 1. For three days the convention balloted ineffectually, Douglas leading with 150½ till the twenty-third ballot, when he gained two; on the thirty-sixth ballot he fell to 151½, which he continued to poll until the fifty-seventh ballot. Failing to nominate him by the necessary two-thirds vote, the convention adjourned in despair, to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June.

Before it re-assembled, the Republican Convention had met at Chicago, May 16, and made its choice. Here Mr. Seward was at first the strongest candidate. Having made their platform, the delegates proceeded to vote as follows: Seward, 173; Lincoln, 102; Bates, 48; Cameron, 50; Chase, 49; M'Lean, 12; Dayton, 14; Collamer, 10.

The greatest excitement now prevailed, and it was seen that the struggle was between Seward and Lincoln. On the second ballot the latter gained very largely, Pennsylvania casting her votes for him. This ballot stood, Seward, 184; Lincoln, 181; Chase, 42; Bates, 35. On the third, Lincoln had gone up to 231, and Seward fallen to 180. This settled the contest, and Lincoln was then unanimously nominated. The struggle for Vice-President was brief, for Hannibal Hamlin was chosen on the second ballot, Cassius M. Clay being his chief competitor.

The Southern Democrats, who had seceded from the Charleston Convention, met at Richmond early in June, but adjourned daily to await events at Baltimore. At the re-assembled convention at Baltimore, Douglas was at last nominated by 181 votes, to 7 for Breckinridge and 5 for Guthrie. Then the seceders lost no time in putting Breckinridge and Lane into the field.

The "Constitutional Union" party, comprised of old Whigs and Know-Nothings, held a convention at Baltimore in May, and selected John Bell and Edward Everett as their candidates.

The subsequent conventions are in the recollection of most of our readers; and we have occupied so much space in our rapid sketch of these interesting bodies down to the rebellion that there is none in which to

detail those which have followed. Lincoln was renominated, with Andrew Johnson for Vice-President, in 1864, his opponent being General McClellan. Both nominations were foregone conclusions, and hence comparatively little interest attached to the bodies which made them. The same was the case with the fore-ordained nomination and renomination of General Grant in 1868 and 1872, the interest in the Republican Conventions of those years centering upon the contests for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention which nominated Horatio Seymour at New York in 1868 was an exciting, though not a very eventful one, as it already seemed certain that Grant would be elected. The "Liberal Republican" Convention which met at Cincinnati in 1872 was watched with deep interest. The contest there was between Charles Francis Adams, Lyman Trumbull, and Horace Greeley; and when the latter was finally nominated, the Democrats had only to meet and adopt their old foe of the *Tribune* as their candidate.

The conventions which are about to meet to select candidates for the "Centennial" Presidency promise to be unusually exciting, as on neither side does one man stand forth so prominently above his competitors as to relieve the nominating bodies of a contest.

[Copyright, 1876, by HARPER & BROTHERS.]

DANIEL DERONDA.

By GEORGE ELIOT,

AUTHOR OF "ADAM BEDFORD," "MIDDLEMARCH," "SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE," ETC.

BOOK V.—MORDECAI.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Were uneasiness of conscience measured by extent of crime, human history had been different, and one should look to see the contrivers of greedy wars and the mighty marauders of the money market in one troop of self-lacerating penitents with the meaner robber and cut-purse, and the murderer that doth his butchery in small with his own hand. No doubt wickedness hath its rewards to distribute; but whose wins in this devil's game must needs be baser, more cruel, more brutal, than the order of this planet will allow for the multitude born of woman, the most of these carrying a form of conscience—a fear which is the shadow of justice, a pity which is the shadow of love—that hindereth from the prize of serene wickedness, itself difficult of maintenance in our composite flesh.

ON the 29th of December Deronda knew that the Grandcourts had arrived at the Abbey, but he had had no glimpse of them before he went to dress for dinner. There had been a splendid fall of snow, allowing the party of children the rare pleasures of snow-balling and snow-building, and in the Christmas holidays the Mallinger girls were content with no amusement unless it were joined in and managed by "cousin," as they had

always called Deronda. After that out-door exertion he had been playing billiards, and thus the hours had passed without his dwelling at all on the prospect of meeting Gwendolen at dinner. Nevertheless that prospect was interesting to him, and when, a little tired and heated with working at amusement, he went to his room before the half-hour bell had rung, he began to think of it with some speculation on the sort of influence her marriage with Grandcourt would have on her, and on the probability that there would be some discernible shades of change in her manner since he saw her at Diplo, just as there had been since his first vision of her at Leubronn.

"I fancy there are some natures one could see growing or degenerating every day, if one watched them," was his thought. "I suppose some of us go on faster than others; and I am sure she is a creature who keeps strong traces of any thing that has once impressed her. That little affair of the necklace, and the idea that somebody thought her gambling wrong, had evidently bitten into her. But such impressibility tells both ways: it may