BROWNLOW'S KNOXVILLE WHIG.

WM. G. BROWNLOW, Editor and Proprietor. "PUT NONE ON GUARD BUT AMERICANS." TERMS:—TWO DOLLARS INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE

ESTABLISHED, APRIL, 1838. KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 2, 1860. VOLUME XXI.—NUMBER 44.

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KNOXVILLE WHIG.
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1860.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL UNION CONVENTION!
CONVENED.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, MAY 10th.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock A. M. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. McCron.

PRAYER.

O thou, whose empire is immensity, whose power is compassed of the forces of Omnipotence, whose duration is eternity, whose love has been manifested in the gift of thy only begotten Son, whose favor to us as a people is seen in the vast ranges of unbordered Confederacy, in the prosperities that have manifested it ever since thou didst give it an independent national existence—we now before thee in acknowledgment of that regard that has given to us our lines in pleasant places, and favored us with so goodly a heritage. We offer thee the thanksgiving of our hearts, that from the day of small things our nation has grown to be the admiration of the world, that its free institutions aroused the spirits of other lands to look forward to the possession of the rights which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, and to strive for that possession. O, Lord, may these prosperities continue, and may our advancement always be in proportion to this time, so that as our population increases, our prosperity may be intellectually and virtuously so great as to enhance our worthiness before the nations of the earth.

To this end, do thou, Oh God, give harmony to our councils, grow wisdom to our Senators, give patriotism to every soul that lives beneath the Heavens in this land, and let thy favor so rest upon our heritage that it may go onward and still onward on its upward progression, until all shall realize that to feed this is the fastened chain of the Almighty to the world's end age. Let the deliberations of this assembly—gathered together for the purpose of considering grand national topics—be attended by that patriotic love, that forbearance of spirit, that wisdom of thought and of expression, that shall insure a glorious success, and in bringing into office those who shall adorn the chairs of authority and wield the sceptre of power with justice and moderation. Oh God, we thank thee for the freeman's home, we thank thee for the freeman's privilege. Oh sanctify that gift, that we may use it right, to thy honor and to our good. Do thou, Lord, grant that this race united every, this constellation of confederated commonwealths, the only country worthy to be represented upon its banner by the stars, may long form one glorious national confederation, and may the smile of God illuminate it, may the favor of God be with it, may the power of God protect it, and may the wisdom of God direct it.

And, oh Lord! we pray thee that peace, that prosperity may ever attend its onginge. May thou give prosperity to our fleets, if necessary under the circumstances and strife of worldly experience. Give triumph to our armies. But, above all, oh Father, let the smile of approving Heaven rest upon all our deliberative and judicial assemblies; that our country may go onward in her song, and that thereby a power may be aggregated that can defy the aggressions of the world. We leave us in thy vote. Be thou our guide, our guardian, our help and our life. Smile upon us, oh Lord—perpetuate our liberties, institutions and country; and grant that this confederacy may go onward in its successful advances, until a ripe world is plucked by the hand of God. And to thy name shall be all the glory, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

By unanimous consent the reading of the Journal of yesterday was dispensed with.

The President said he desired to place before the Convention the letter of a distinguished gentleman from Missouri, who was for many years eminent in the councils of the Union.—He was chosen as a delegate to this body, and it was a serious regret to the Convention that he has not been able to be here.

The letter was read as follows:

To the Presiding Officer of the Constitutional Union Convention:

DEAR SIR:—It is with unfeigned regret I find myself unable to attend the Convention to which my State invited me. Professional duties, involving the interest of those who have confided their protection to my care, make it quite impossible for me to leave the Court in which we are now occupied. If the sacrifice affected my own individual concerns I should certainly disregard it whatever might be its extent. But I am not at liberty to deal with the interests of others, the protection of which was assumed previous to the knowledge of any interference with other duties.

Believing that your deliberations will exert a most material influence upon the permanent welfare of this great country, and with the most ardent solicitation that they may promote union and harmony amongst its various portions, I beg leave to assure you and your associates of my anxious desire to witness a wise, prudent and patriotic result to their labors.

With very great respect, yours, &c.,
E. T. CHAMBERS.

Centreville, St. Mary's county, 1860.

The President stated that the Chair had just received a despatch from a distinguished friend of the Constitution and the Union, of New York, as follows:

NEWBURG, May 10th, 1860.

To Hon. Washington Hunt, President Union Convention:

Put a platform give us the Constitutive and Washington's Farewell Address—though old, they are good enough for Union men.

WM. C. HASBROUCK.
Washington's Headquarters.

Mr. John S. Ehler, of Pennsylvania, rose to a question of privilege. He stated that some remarks which his colleague made yesterday were attributed to him. However willing he might be to take the credit passively of the very excellent speech, in many of its particulars, made by my very amiable and estimable colleague, I am unwilling to be placed in the false position which the reporter has placed me. While he gives me the credit of his speech, he also gives me credit of the demonstration which was made on the occasion of its delivery—of the hisses which were general throughout the Convention. I wish that the reporter may make the correction, and that he will not place me in a position so exceedingly painful to my feelings.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

Mr. Brooks, of New York, stated that the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, had been chosen as Chairman of the Committee on Business, and he was informed was now prepared to report.

Mr. Ingersoll then rose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

I have great pleasure in communicating to this large and most respectable assembly a resolution I have to present here are sufficiently comprehensive to meet every possible object which we have in view. [Cries of take the stand.]

Mr. Ingersoll having ascended the platform amid great applause, proceeded as follows:

I take great pleasure in communicating the result of the proceedings of the Committee that was appointed yesterday upon what was called the business of the Convention. They met with entire cordiality; they proceeded with entire good feeling, and they terminated their proceedings with great unanimity, and I may say with patriotism. [Applause.] I would not venture to present as an example at all to a great and highly respectable body like this the feeling and the courteous deportment of the gentlemen with whom I had the pleasure to sit as Chairman last evening; but I would say that a more entirely respectable set of men—in manner, appearance and in result—I never saw.—[Applause.] You will find, gentlemen, that all those who are in favor of the nomination of this body, "Constitutional Union," will not be disappointed in what your Committee did last night. [Applause.]

THE PLATFORM.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the various Conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles, other than

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY,
THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND
THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS;

[Loud and prolonged cheering.]

and that, as the representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the Country in National Convention assembled, we here pledge ourselves to maintain, protect and defend, separately and unitedly, those great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies, at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more restored to the country, and the just rights of the People, and of the States re established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain "a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." [Prolonged cheers.]

I have, Mr. President, said Mr. Ingersoll, a still further report to make, which will be received, I am sure, with great kindness by this convention, and perhaps be of equal importance, with a view to carry into effect the great objects and motives that are there suggested, with the motives and objects themselves. It was with regard to the mode in which the business was to be conducted. It was very briefly announced, and it was received and adopted with the same cordiality and the same unanimity as the important measure which I have just read to you. It stands thus:

Resolved, That each State shall be entitled to the same number of votes in this Convention as its electoral vote, and that each delegation shall determine the manner in which its vote shall be cast.

Resolved, That in balloting for President and Vice President, ballots shall be taken until the candidate nominated shall receive a majority of all the votes cast; that the candidate for President shall be first balloted for and selected, and then the candidate for Vice President.

A delegate from Tennessee enquired to know whether it was understood that the resolution gave the majority the right to control the vote of the minority.

Mr. Brooks, of New York, said that as there appeared to be some diversity of sentiment on the question of the last resolution, he moved that the vote be taken on the platform and the resolution.

The vote was put by the President and declared unanimously adopted, amid much enthusiasm and applause.

A delegate from ——— asked for a division of the question. He was wholly opposed to throwing into the hands of a majority of each delegation the right to cast the vote of the whole delegation—he had had a right to cast his own vote. His constituents had sent him here to express his opinion and theirs. He held that a majority of a delegation had a right to determine the vote of the whole delegation where the body appointing them had so determined; not otherwise.

He said there were several delegations here which were not unanimous; some might be for Houston, some for Bell, and some for Botts, and each man should be permitted to cast his individual preferences. He therefore asked a division of the resolution, in order that the Convention might pass distinctly upon that part which relates to the power of a majority to determine the vote.

Mr. Clark of Ga.—It may perhaps be presumptuous for me to attempt to address this audience, when I see I am surrounded by so much talent. But I was instructed by many of our constituents how to vote, and I came here untrammeled as to any man, and unprejudiced against any man; but I represent a portion of this confederacy which wants a Southern President with a clean record. I am satisfied that were we to attempt to make a platform, we would arouse a great deal of feeling in this assembly. But I must be candid to my constituents, and I must represent them rightly. I coincide in the views of the gentleman who last addressed us in reference to the power of a majority to control a minority.

Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio—Constituted as my mind is, I cannot imagine how it is possible that that resolution, comprised in so few words, could be made to bear a double interpretation. It was supposed in the committee that some mode of transacting the business of this Convention must be adopted, and the question now seems to be only whether the delegations from the several States, understanding what the views of their constituents are, shall determine in what mode or manner the preferences of those States shall be conveyed to this body; or whether this body as a whole shall undertake to dictate to the general delegations how that shall be done. I understand that the exception taken to the resolution, brings up that alternative, whether each State shall decide for themselves, or whether the Convention shall decide for all the States. It is to be presumed it would contribute to that harmony of the Convention, for each State to express its own opinion in its own way.

Mr. Warren, of Massachusetts—We have come according to our professions, to form a Convention that shall give a just and impartial expression to the sentiments we represent at home. [Applause.] The first thing that appears in the official action of to-day, is the report of our Committee on Business, said to have been unanimous in its expression, that we shall adopt one of the old party tricks which have been used before to control Conventions. For myself I protest against it. If my State had instructed me, even by the faintest expression of a wish, I would follow those instructions. Otherwise than that I come here a trammelled and it is not right for this Convention to come here this morning and seek to put it in the power of a majority of my delegation the right to control my vote and stultify me. [Applause.]

I oppose this resolution, therefore, first, simply as a principle of operation for our political action, and secondly, because it is an act of injustice to the minority. In a small delegation it makes comparatively but little difference. If the delegation consists of five, and three are in favor of one man, those three not only control the other two, but one of those three carries by his own action three votes. If there are twenty-seven men in a delegation, and fourteen are for one man, and thirteen for another, the fourteenth man carries fourteen votes. Thus you see it has been as it is. I hope this resolution will be voted down, and that each delegation may be left to vote for those whom it may wish to support, and I am authorized to say that this is the unanimous sentiment of the Massachusetts delegation.

Mr. Coate of Mi—I had the honor to offer this resolution to the consideration of the Baltimore Convention. The gentleman from Mass. (Mr. Warren) never feels uneasiness, if he means or to any one intimates that there was the slightest intention upon the part of Committee to perpetrate upon this Convention any thing like a party trick.

Mr. Warren—I most certainly had no such intent as that—none in the least. I only look at it as it comes before us, and oppose it as a matter of principle.

Mr. Pearce—Then the only question now is as to the expediency or propriety of the adoption of this resolution by the Convention. As has been properly stated by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Pendleton,) we thought that gentlemen who represented a given State in this Convention, thrown together in one delegation, could, in the same spirit that seems to actuate every member of this entire Convention, could in that same spirit of forbearance and union and harmony, decide best for themselves the manner in which that State shall cast its own vote.

We did not desire that this should be made a subject of contention before the entire Convention. In adopting that resolution in Committee, we proposed that the same spirit of generosity that prevailed throughout this entire Convention would likewise abide in each delegation. And, although there may be a division of sentiment in the delegation from Massachusetts, for instance, as to the particular candidate we shall support, I do not suppose for a moment, that that delegation would put anything like a tyrannical heel upon the neck of the minority; but that acting as Union men, in a fraternal spirit, in a spirit of compromise and conciliation, it would determine not to smother the voice of the minority, but let the voice both of the majority and minority be heard. [Applause.] Are not the delegates of a given State more competent to decide for themselves and us, between themselves as to the particular man for whom they shall cast their votes, than is this Convention.

Last night, my brethren of Maryland met together, and decided that in the mode of casting their votes in this convention they would not smother the voice of the minority; but, that acting in that manly, open and charitable spirit which seems to and ought to characterize us all, we were willing that every part of the State should be heard, and the sentiment of the whole people should be expressed. [Applause.]

Therefore, in this light, the convention have only to consider if it be not better to leave to the brotherly feelings of each delegation to decide this question for themselves, relying upon the fact that the delegation have not come here bound to the coat tails of any man. They have come here for mutual conference in a spirit of harmony, so as to reach the selection of the man who shall be best able to bear the standard of this great Constitutional party to victory, and to oust from power the corrupt men who have so long had possession of the government. This was the spirit that actuated your committee in adopting this resolution, and we trust this convention will ratify it.

Mr. Partridge, of Mississippi, said that the question before the Convention was simply this: whether the delegations shall settle this question for themselves, or whether the Convention shall settle it for them. The report of the Committee proposes to leave it entirely to the delegation. As the Convention probably understood the question fully, I would call the previous question.

Mr. Morehead, of N. C., said he hoped that there would be no gag law here; he trusted that this was a Convention of the free and sovereign people of the United States.

Mr. Partridge, of Mississippi, stated that he would withdraw his call for the previous question, in order that the gentlemen from North Carolina could be heard.

Mr. Morehead, of N. C.—I agree entirely to sentiment with the gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. Pearce) except in the manner of application. I am satisfied that we shall have unanimity in our balloting here, and also in the voting for the man upon whom we shall have presented before the people of the United States for their ratification, and that he will be chosen to honor the executive chair of the United States for the next four years. I am not for repressing the sentiments of any freeman in the United States, and who it is in our power to give him an opportunity to express that opinion, why leave it to any man or set of men to say what shall be done.

To illustrate: New York is entitled to thirty five votes; the State of North Carolina is entitled to 10 votes; and those ten votes, I think, will be cast as a unit—or if not, I am not yet apprised to the contrary. Now, suppose that the North Carolina delegation should be willing to let every man in North Carolina be represented upon this occasion; we would say to each district, come forward and cast your vote, be it for Gen. Houston, or anybody else.

A voice—John Bell. [Applause.]

Mr. Morehead—I should say Graham myself. [Applause.] But I say let each delegation from each district come forward and cast his vote for whom he pleases. Suppose that North Carolina casts five votes for Gen. Houston, and five votes for Mr. Bell—if you will have it so. [Laughter and applause.] there is great liberality on our part, and our State is fully and fairly represented.

Now suppose—and I assure the New York delegation that it is only a supposition—that 18 of 35 votes of New York shall determine that her whole vote shall be cast as a unit, and in no other way, seventeen districts of that State are silenced. Put that seventeen to our ten districts, and you have twenty seven districts in these United States that are overwhelmed by eighteen districts in the State of New York. Is there any republicanism in that? Is there any American sentiment in that? Is that the manner in which the sentiments of freemen should be represented upon this floor? What would be more unjust than that? These are not American principles of action, and I cannot sustain them. There is no difficulty about having harmony among us. Two of the North Carolina delegation will settle how its votes shall be given. And let every man of the ten hand in his vote to me, as Chairman of that delegation, and say that he wants to have his vote cast for this or for that man, I will give expression to his vote as well as to the other. There can be no confusion about that. It is just as easy for the State of New York to say that seventeen vote for such a man and eighteen vote for some other man. Why compel the minority of any delegation to submit to the vote of the majority?

It is said that it is to be presumed that the majority will act magnanimously towards the minority. They may or they may not; we cannot say. But when we have the power in our hands to say that is what shall be done, why should we abandon that power. I therefore hope that portion of the resolution will be so amended as that each State may vote as it chooses, and not be compelled to vote as a unit, because the majority may so determine.

I will mention another thing: suppose any State delegation is instructed to vote as a unit. To whom are they responsible? To us? No sir, if they violate their instructions they must settle with their constituents at home. But then, how comes a delegate not selected by a convention of the State, but by his immediate constituents, who instruct him to vote for some particular person, shall they be allowed the power to compel him to vote as they say, and not as his constituents desire? What kind of a mode of voting is that among freemen as we are here? If we are a union loving people, let it be a union that proceeds from free choice and not from compulsion.—[Applause.] I therefore hope the resolution will be so amended that the opinions of any freeman in the United States can be expressed upon this floor, by his immediate representative upon this floor.

Mr. Stevens, of New York—I move to amend the resolution in regard to the manner of voting; so that it shall read as follows:

Resolved, That the delegates in this Convention shall each be entitled to one vote.

That will give every man in the Convention a right to his individual vote, as he thinks best.

Mr. Johnson, of Pennsylvania—I move to amend by providing that the delegates from each district shall be entitled to one vote.

Mr. Stevens—I would say, least my amendment may be misapprehended, that according to the other part of the resolution, each State is entitled to as many votes as it has Electoral votes.

Mr. Comegys, of Delaware—I would say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that if we adopt his proposition, Delaware, which has but one Congressional district, would be deprived of two votes.

Mr. Stevens.—How would you have it?

Mr. Comegys—I would have it that every man in this Convention should have the right to vote for the man of his choice. [Applause.]

Mr. Hill, of Ga.—I trust the Convention will not be precipitate in the adoption of amendments, lest we fall in error. I was one of the committee which adopted the resolution now under discussion. In some States, my own for instance, there are two delegates from each Congressional district. Suppose after consultation those two delegates should disagree as to the person for whom they should cast their votes; then they would be no voice at all from that district.

There are other States which have sent similar double delegations. In reference to my own delegation, I take this occasion to say, that prior to the meeting of the Committee, that delegation had determined as a matter of convenience, that our chairman should express the vote of the delegation. It might be unanimous or nearly so, but if there were even one district, the delegates from which were not agreed, he was also to speak for them. I would state that the resolution was adopted by the committee for the sake of convenience, and not for the purpose of placing a minority under the control of a majority, but that the chairman of each delegation might announce the vote of the State according to the manner in which the delegates had agreed among themselves.

I take it for granted that no such hard rule will be laid down by any delegation as to force any man to give a vote which he does not wish to give. I do not think, and the committee did not think, that any such thing would be done. Though there is great unanimity among the delegates with whom I am associated, there is not the slightest desire to prevent any gentlemen who desires to express a different opinion, from expressing it. Suppose the vote from Georgia be a unit, why is it necessary to call upon every member of that delegation to state here upon the floor how he will vote? It would be a useless consumption of time, and it was in part to obviate that difficulty that the resolution was reported by the committee. Some States have three delegates to each district, and some more, and the idea of voting per capita is not to be entertained for one moment. Georgia has fourteen delegates, and she is entitled to but ten votes, and I think it best that we should agree how and in what manner that vote shall be announced, and I pledge myself to that delegation that no injustice shall be done to any gentleman who forms a part of it. I think no evil can grow out of the adoption of the report of the committee, with the interpretation I have placed upon it.

A delegate stated that he raised a question of privilege; that the Convention had adopted the rules of the House of Representatives, and he believed that the rule there was that every member should cast his own vote. Hence the delegation of a State cannot determine the mode and manner of casting the vote of that State.

The President thought that the subject under consideration was clearly within the discretion of the Convention, still he would observe that if it was the desire of the different delegations, as it undoubtedly is, to preserve the rights of the minority, that a simple proviso attached to the resolution would be sufficient to attain the object.

Mr. Watson, of Mississippi—Here is the proviso that meets the case.

Mr. Stevens—I am now ready to present my resolution in writing, in the form in which I have finally modified it.

Mr. Watson of Mississippi—Shall I not be permitted to read my resolution?

The President—A resolution is offered by the gentleman from New York, which is yet to be read.

Mr. Stevens of New York—I call upon my colleague, Mr. Brooks, of New York, to present my amendment.

Mr. Brooks, of New York—It was never meant by the committee on business, that a majority of the delegation should coerce any member of the minority to conform to individual opinion to the will of the majority. Any reflection of that kind upon the business committee, does the action and opinion of its members great injustice. The idea was that the States represented by the several delegations there present could decide the question for themselves more harmoniously and more expeditiously, than the Convention could discharge that duty for them; and in order that I may do justice to the N. Y. delegation, against the unintentional reflection of the gentleman from N. C., let me say to him that New York with thirty five votes here, so far from determining that the majority shall control the minority, has left each member entirely at liberty to vote for whom he pleases.

The vote of New York shall be cast in this Convention and it shall be for A. B, or C, according to the will of each representative for each Congressional district.

Now that the views of the Committee as well as the Convention may be carried out, I desire in behalf of my colleague (Mr. Stevens,) to offer a proviso as follows:

"Provided that each State represented shall be entitled to two votes for State electors at large, and that each district delegate shall be entitled to one vote to be given by the chairman of the State delegation or by the delegates as the State delegation shall determine."

Mr. Watson of Miss.—I offer a proviso to meet more fully the views of the committee as I understand them, and I believe it will meet the views of the convention. It is as follows:

"Provided, That no delegate shall be deprived of his individual vote without his consent." This I know will meet the views of an overwhelming majority of this body, as it met the views of the committee last night.

Mr. Hill, of Ga—I do not wish the opinion to go forth that the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi meets clearly the case where there are two delegates from a district. I would suggest to the gentleman that he shall modify it so as to provide that in no case shall more than one vote be given by any congressional delegation.

Mr. Watson—It has already been decided that if any electoral vote is represented by more than one person but one vote can be cast for each electoral vote represented, and one for each Senator.

The President—The original resolution covers that ground.

Mr. Rockwell, of Connecticut—I wish to inquire whether it is intended, where a State is represented only in part, that the delegates present shall cast the vote of the whole State to which she would be entitled were she fully represented?

The President—According to the resolution each State will be entitled to its full electoral vote without reference to the number of delegates present.

Mr. Samuels, of Missouri—I offer this resolution,

"Resolved, That in balloting for President and Vice President, the roll of delegates from each State shall be called and the delegate from each electoral district shall answer for his own vote.

In the case where any State votes as an unit, the chairman of the State delegation shall give his own State. I contend that if we adopt the resolution already introduced here, that in case a districts not represented here, difficulties will spring up. Where a district is represented here, it will vote, and where there is no representation, it will not vote.

Mr. Rockwell, of Conn.—If the resolution is designed, as its language imports, to give to a State that is but partially represented here, the right to cast the vote of the whole State, then it ought not to be adopted by the Convention. It seems to me that those who are here representing a State, should cast their own votes, and not the votes of the State at large. Where a State entitled to a large representation is represented by but one or two individuals, they ought not to be permitted to cast the vote for the whole State. The fact of the indifference of some States to sending a full representation, ought to preclude the few who happen to be here from casting the whole vote. If that is the purpose of the resolution, I think it ought not to prevail.

Mr. Murphy, of New York—I would propose in lieu of the resolution this—

"*Resolved*, That each State be entitled to as many delegates in this Convention as they have Senators and Representatives in Congress; and that each delegate be entitled to one vote."

The proviso of the gentleman from New York, covers precisely the same ground, but it is offered as a proviso to the original resolution of the Convention. My resolution is brief and to the point, and there is no man in the Convention can misunderstand a resolution of that kind. Delaware, which has one Representative and two Senators in Congress is entitled to three votes in this Convention. I know there is an amendment to the amendment pending, but I throw out this resolution as a simple suggestion, and I move that it be substituted for the resolution and amendment already submitted to the Convention upon this subject.

Mr. Goggin, of Virginia—I wish to offer a resolution which I think embodies the views of each member who has spoken upon this subject, and beg leave to read it.

"*Resolved*, That the chairman of each delegation shall cast the vote of his State for each delegate, in such way as he may be instructed by the delegate entitled to vote, and when there is not a full representation from any State, then the majority of such delegation shall decide how the vote of the district unrepresented shall be cast; and where there be two delegates who cannot agree, each of said delegates shall be entitled to one-half a vote."

Mr. Wilson—I accept that as an amendment to my proposition.

Mr. Rockwell, of Ohio—I move to strike out that part of the resolution which gives a right to the delegates to cast the whole vote of the State where it is but partially represented. It is wrong in principle. In the case of a State entitled to a large representation, but only a few have appeared, there is no impropriety in letting them cast the vote of the whole State. In the case of a diversity of opinion, it will create a difficulty in deciding how and for whom the vote shall be cast. The only proper mode of representation is by having individuals upon the spot, and if a State has not shown interest enough to fill up the representation, there is no impropriety in allowing five men, for instance, to casting the vote for eighteen or twenty men. If that is not done, a nomination might possibly be made by a minority, in fact, of the Convention.

Mr. Goggin, of Va.—We have already passed a resolution that each State shall have as many votes as it is entitled to electoral votes.

Mr. Rockwell—Provided they are represented here by individuals.

Mr. Hill, of Ga.—Texas is entitled to four votes, but she has but one representative here. Now, shall she have but one vote?

Mr. Rockwell—I beg to say that she has here four representatives directly before me, and every one of them are good looking men. [Laughter.]

The amendment of Mr. Rockwell was not agreed to. The amendment of Mr. Goggin was agreed to, and then the resolution as amended was adopted.

Mr. Morehead, of North Carolina—A word of explanation. The gentleman from New York, (Mr. Brooks,) seems to have understood me as casting some implied reflections upon his State. Certainly he did not hear my remark, for I expressly disclaimed any such intention. I referred to the State of New York as an illustration, because she is conspicuous in this Convention for her numbers, and therefore furnished a fit comparison for me.

Sol. Smith, of Missouri, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention now proceed to vote for a candidate for President of the United States, and if no nomination be made in three ballotings, the person receiving the lowest number of votes on the third ballot shall be dropped, and so on, dropping the lowest on every third ballot, until a candidate be nominated by a majority of all the votes cast.

On motion of Mr. ———, of Missouri, the resolution was laid upon the table.

Mr. Duer, of New York, moved that the Convention now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States, and continue to ballot until a candidate shall be selected.

The motion was agreed to.

The President requested the various delegations to consult together prior to casting their votes, and be prepared in a few minutes.

On motion the President appointed Mr. Brooks, of New York, Mr. Rockwell, of Connecticut, Mr. Watson, of Mississippi, and Mr. Pickett, of Kentucky, as tellers.

Mr. Swann asked permission to allow the Maryland delegation to retire for fifteen minutes to consult, as there was some misunderstanding with regard to the resolution of Mr. Goggin.

Mr. Barnett, of Minnesota, said he was the only delegate here from that State, and as he was here by proxy, he desired to be excused from voting.

The Convention at first refused to excuse him, but the President decided that the gentleman must be allowed to use his own pleasure.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for candidate for President of the United States.

The Chairman of the respective delegations in announcing the votes of their delegations made appropriate remarks, which will appear hereafter in full.

FIRST BALLOT.

States.	Douglas	Breckinridge	Bell	Douglas	Breckinridge	Bell	Douglas	Breckinridge
Alabama	9							
Arkansas		3	1					
Connecticut		6½	6½					
Delaware		3						
Florida				4				
Georgia			10					
Indiana					13			
Illinois		11½				11½		
Kentucky			12					
Maine	8							
Massachusetts	13		8					
Maryland		1½	7½					
Mississippi							7	
Missouri	9							
New York	35	3	1					
New Jersey	7	1	5			8		
North Carolina					10			
Ohio	2	3	21			4	3	
South Carolina		8						
Pennsylvania		13½	15½					
Texas		4						
Tennessee			12					
Vermont				5				
Virginia							1	15
Total	15	57	99½	9	23	23½	11	15

The President then announced the result as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	334
Necessary to a choice	168
Of which John Bell, of Tenn., received	99½
Hon. Houston, of Texas	57
Stephen A. Douglas	47
Edward Everett	39
Wm. A. Graham	27
John McLean	25
Wm. C. Rives	15
John M. Botts	15
Wm. L. Dayton	14
Wm. L. Goggin	6

No candidate having received a majority of the votes cast.

SECOND BALLOT.

The Convention then proceeded to a second ballot.

When the State of Virginia was called, Mr. Summers, of Virginia, stated that the delegation asked to be allowed a few