

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION, HELD AT CINCINNATI, OHIO,
WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, AND FRIDAY, JUNE
14, 15, AND 16, 1876, RESULTING IN THE
NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-
PRESIDENT OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND
WILLIAM A. WHEELER**

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Proceedings of the Republican National Convention, Held at Cincinnati, Ohio, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, June 14, 15, and 16, 1876, Resulting in the Nomination for President and Vice-President of Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler by M. A. Clancy & Wm. Nelson

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RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

AND

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

Officially reported by M. A. Clancy, of Washington, D. C., assisted by
Wm. Nelson, of Paterson, N. J.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,

1876.

PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1876.

Pursuant to the following call of the Republican National Committee,—

The next Union Republican National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock, noon, and will consist of delegates from each state equal to twice the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and of two delegates from each organized territory and the district of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several states are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the government by honest, faithful, and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for

promotion of these ends, the direction of the government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of national unity in this centennial anniversary of the birth of the republic.

E. D. MORGAN,

Chairman,

WM. E. CHANDLER,

Secretary,

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876,—

the Republican National Convention met at noon this day in Exposition Hall, on Elm, Fourteenth, and Plum streets, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, and promptly at the hour was called to order by Ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who thereupon announced that the proceedings would be opened with prayer by the Rev. D. H. Muller, D. D., of Covington, Ky.

Dr. Muller offered the following

PRAYER.

O God, whose throne is the universe, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, in whose hands are the hearts of men, we acknowledge thee as the ruler of the nations, the author of every good and perfect gift. We come before thee with thanksgiving, for thou art a great God, and a great King above all gods. We acknowledge thee to be the giver of all national prosperity, and as our helper in past disasters; and we declare this morning, that "If it had not been that the Lord was on our side when men rose up against us, then had we been swallowed up quickly, when their wrath was kindled against us." Because thou hast blessed and helped us, therefore under the shadow of thy wing may we rejoice. Because thou hast heard our voice, therefore may we call upon thee as long as we live, and make thee our refuge and our portion.

In behalf of thy servants here assembled, we invoke thy blessing and aid. Bless them with health of body and mind. Preserve them from harm during their deliberations, and by thy providence return them in safety to their homes. By thy grace give to them the spirit of concord, that harmony may prevail in their counsels; a spirit of wisdom, that the right means may be discerned and used to promote the end for which they are convened; a spirit of patriotism, that the prosperity of the nation may overshadow all personal or sectional desires; a spirit of integrity, that they may be faithful to the deepest convictions of duty. Give grace, and wisdom, and strength to the presiding officers. For the work which thou hast wrought, for the Republic and humanity through the organized agency represented here, we give thee

thanks; and we earnestly pray that its future record may be more glorious than its past one, and that the issue of the consultations and acts of thy servants here may be ruled by thee to thy glory, to the good of this country, and to the prosperity, and welfare, and honor, and safety of thy people. Guide, we beseech thee, therefore, their efforts in the choice of the men who may be commended or presented to the confidence and suffrages of the people, to the conception and declaration of right principles; and, invoking such results, we pray thee that national peace, governmental purity, truth, justice, and liberty may be established among us for all generations. We pray thee that thou mayest uphold and bless thy servant the president of the United States, and all others in authority. By the help of thy Spirit may they be inclined to thy will and walk in thy way. Grant them health, and prosperity, and long life. For the mercies which thou hast given us as a nation, we praise thee. We pray, this morning, that thy work may appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children, and that the beauty of the Lord our God may be upon us. Establish thou the work of our hands; yea, the work of our hands, establish thou it. These blessings we ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The delegates having been seated, Governor Morgan made the opening address, as follows:

GOVERNOR MORGAN'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Convention: The day and the hour have arrived at which the representatives of the Republican party were invited to assemble to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States; and, in obedience to the authority of the Republican National Committee, I now respectfully ask that you will maintain order.

In 1856, at Philadelphia, in 1860, at Chicago, and in 1864, at Baltimore, acting under the same general authority, it has been my privilege to call Republican conventions to order.

If I except the action of the convention of 1864, the duties which this intelligent body has to perform, in comparison with former ones, are the most important of all.

There is no special or parliamentary authority for any remarks from the chair. In the nature of things, there cannot be any. Custom, only, is my excuse (if excuse is needed) for even a few words.

In June, 1864, we were in the midst of the war for the preservation of the Union. We had great armies in the field, but they had achieved only partial successes, and when successful, always at very great cost of life. The bravest and best of our young men had fallen in battle by tens and hundreds of thousands, or were in prison at Andersonville and Libby. President Lincoln, seventeen months prior to this, had by proclamation, but only as a war measure, declared the slaves free, while their masters kept them within their lines, and held full dominion over them.

It was then modestly suggested by your chairman of the national committee, that the convention would not discharge its whole duty unless, among its resolves, it should declare for such an amendment of the national constitution as would, when adopted by the requisite number of states, forever prohibit African slavery on this continent. The suggestion was received with unexampled enthusiasm by the conven-

tion. The resolution to secure this national blessing was written in your party platform on that day: both houses of congress very soon after passed the required amendment: twenty-nine sovereign states ratified it: the noble Lincoln proclaimed the result to the people;—and from that hour to this “the sun has not risen upon a bondman nor set upon a slave” in all this fair land. Not to the North, not to the South, but to that Supreme Being alone who controls the destinies of nations as well as the affairs of individuals, let us give all the glory. But all this is past, and the past we conclude is secure.

Pardon me, gentlemen, if again, with like modesty, I make a suggestion or two bearing directly on the present. This convention should emphatically demand the prompt and efficient execution of those solemn promises of both houses of congress, and the president, to redeem in coin the legal-tender obligations of the government on the 1st of January, 1879, and signify its opposition to any modification or repeal of this law that does not guarantee a still earlier or better method of returning to specie payment. Let no doubtful word go out from this convention upon the subject of honest money. Prices are already at a specie point. Stand firmly by your numerous resolutions and platforms a little longer, and your currency basis will be transformed into a coin basis so easily and naturally that you will be yourselves surprised, regretting only, as you will, that it was not determined upon at an earlier day.

Resumption accomplished, then, in all human probability, will follow ten or fifteen years of prosperity equal to that of any former period, perhaps greater than the country has yet seen. If you will, in addition, put a plank in your platform declaring for such an amendment of the constitution as will extend the presidential office to six years, and make the incumbent ineligible for reelection, you will deserve the gratitude of the American people.

As the mariner, when tossed for many days in thick weather, avails himself of the earliest glance of the sun to ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course, so in like manner, at the end of one hundred years from the foundation of our government, we too have come from the north, the south, the east, and the west, to take a political observation for the purpose of amending and improving our system of national government, so far as improvement is really necessary and possible. With this view we have come to this great and beautiful city of Cincinnati, on the banks of the grand but placid Ohio, containing nearly three hundred thousand souls, and where we now find every luxury that wealth, nature, or art can produce, but where not even a log cabin had been erected or a white man born when our government was organized.

The last three national conventions of our party have had indicated to them, in advance, the names of the candidates for the national ticket, so that they have been but little else than ratification meetings of decrees that had been made by the people, merely putting in form that which had already been decided upon. I allude to President Lincoln's second nomination, and to the nomination and renomination of the splendid soldier and patriot, General Grant. But such a state of things no longer exists. There appears to be at the present time no one to whom the unerring finger points as the only candidate. There seems to be no man rising so far above all others as to cause exultant voices to exclaim,—“Thou art the man!”

The consequence is, that many distinguished names among our party

friends have been mentioned as candidates, and will be brought before the convention when the proper time arrives for making nominations. Therefore it is that I have expressed myself as seeing greater responsibilities resting upon the delegates to this Cincinnati convention than upon any or all that have preceded it.

The history of the Republican party furnishes abundant evidence of its desire that the government shall be administered with honesty and economy, and as a means to that end that the civil service should be elevated by the introduction of all needful and proper reforms. With such a history, and at a time like the present, it cannot be doubted that the choice of the convention will fall on some one, whosoever he may be, clearly committed on this question—not only by his expressed opinions, but also by his public life and conduct.

I will not further anticipate the action of this honorable body, except to say that the firm support on the part of the nominees of all the recent amendments to the national constitution, and the support and maintenance of all other principles involved in the war for the preservation of the Union, must also be regarded as the pre-requisites for the high offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. With this accomplished, it will be the highest duty, and should be the greatest pleasure, for all in authority to extend the warm hand of fellowship to all good citizens of this Union, and as rapidly as possible to forgive and to forget the recent past, and to do every act to make us satisfied to be and remain in fact, as we are in name, one people, one country.

It is fit and proper, citizens of Cincinnati, that the Republican National Convention, in this centennial year, should be held in your city and under your auspices, as you, quite as fully as any other locality, represent in yourselves the industry, the enterprise, the sublimity, and the grandeur of our country's growth and greatness.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Gov. MORGAN. I am further requested by the national committee to make a nomination of the temporary presiding officer of the convention, and therefore nominate the Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, for that office. [Applause.]

The question having been put, Governor Morgan declared Mr. Pomeroy chosen, and designated Governor Baldwin, of Michigan, and Governor Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, to conduct the temporary president to the chair.

On the arrival of the gentlemen on the stage with the temporary chairman, Governor Morgan said,—“I now present to you the Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York.” [Renewed applause.]

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. Pomeroy spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this convention.

I have been so long withdrawn from practical participation in political affairs, that it is in obedience to custom, rather than my own inclination, that I occupy even a few minutes of your time in the consideration of the political situation, and of the principles so long and so successfully entrusted to the keeping of the Republican party. Events have chased each other so rapidly, from the inauguration of President Lincoln to the closing year of the administration of General Grant, fraught with such fundamental changes in the whole theory and practice of government, that the consideration of them, in the briefest manner, is precluded upon an occasion such as this. Brief as may be considered the existence of the Republican party, none other in the history of the nation has for so long a consecutive period controlled its government without encountering popular defeat; and still, notwithstanding popular jealousy of political ascendancy long continued by any party, it is in the power of this convention to designate the coming President of the United States. [Applause.] Our folly may concede what the wisdom of the opposition cannot achieve,—our defeat at the polls in November; but such defeat can come from no other source. We are met here, not as contending factions within the party to test under various leaderships our relative strength, but as representatives accepting a high responsibility to extract from the crucible of conflicting opinions that type of American statesmanship which shall be accepted as the worthy embodiment of the principles of the party. [Applause.] Men as well as measures are to be weighed in the balance during the coming canvass, and neither must be found wanting to secure success. [Applause.] The Republican party cannot continue to live by reason of its splendid achievements in the past, nor the Democratic party expect to be returned to power upon its glittering promises of reform in the future. [Applause.] The former party has but to present men representative of its principles; the latter must discover both its principles and its men. [Applause.] In former days, when party ties were firmer, when the immediate pressure of impending national calamity hedged us about and compelled party fidelity, the platform carried along the man, whomsoever he might be. Party ties are looser now, and no platform is buoyant enough to float an unworthy candidate. [Applause.]

The necessity for the continuance of the administrative policy of the Republican party, while not so apparent in immediate results, is as commanding respecting future consequences as at any time in its history. We are told that it has accomplished its mission, and, therefore, has no longer claim to live. Well, if it has, and the time for its dissolution has come, it can die triumphantly, like the apostle of old, exclaiming,—“I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith.” [Immense and continued applause.] It has fulfilled many missions. It fulfilled the mission of its birth in neutralizing the disastrous effects of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in saving freedom to the great territories of the North-west, and in bringing California into the sisterhood of states, undefiled by slavery, and adorned like a bride in the glitter of her golden promise. [Applause.] It fulfilled the mission of its youth in accepting the “irrepressible conflict,” and it was a mission worth living for to have saved a nationality like ours; to have freed four million slaves and raised them to the dignity of American citizenship, and to have reconstructed the federal constitution so as to place the liberties of the citizen and the credit of the nation upon