New-York Tribune.

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EUROPE.

SPAIN.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DECLARED.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—The Provisional Junta has made a declaration in favor of civil and religious liberty. It is received with enthusiasm, and extensive popular demonstrations have been made in Madrid, especially in favor of religious toleration.

SLAVERY TO BE ABOLISHED.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—The Junta will bring a bill before the Cortes for abolishing Slavery in the colonies at the expiration of ten years.

RETURN OF MONTPENSIER.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—A rumor is current that the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier have been allowed to reenter Spain.

CATALONIA TARIFF REFORM.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—Much excitement has been created in Catalonia by the reform in the Customs tariff.

UNEMPLOYED WORKINGMEN IN MADRID.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—Large numbers of workmen are idle in consequence of the political agitation, which has caused a temporary suspension of industry and labor in the city. The Provisional Junta assures them that work will soon be provided for all who want it.

CUBANS DEMAND REPRESENTATION.

MADRID, Oct. 9.—The Cubans in this city demand that their island be represented at the deliberations of the Provisional Junta.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE RUMORED.

LONDON, Oct. 9.—Rumors are current at Paris and Madrid that Cuba has declared for independence.

FRANCE.

FRENCH COURTESY TO THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.

PARIS, Oct. 9.—The Papal corvette Concizione has been ordered to Marseilles to take on board the Queen of Spain.

GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. GLADSTONE'S ADDRESS TO LANCASHIRE ELECTORS.

LONDON, Oct. 9.—The Right Hon. William E Gladstone has published his address to the Electors of South Lancashire. After reviewing the progress of reform in England, he criticises the course of the Government, especially condemning the increased estimates. In regard to Ireland, he says that the true policy would be to make the law the friend of the Irish people. He repudiates the proposition for a general endowment of the churches in Ireland, and says that the case against the Established Church is aggravated by the fact that it is the Church of the rich. The arguments in favor of its continuance are a satire on misapplied funds. The Established Church is a mark of past oppression. Disestablishment will give the clergy of that Church more scope. The interests of the Irish people must be cared for. The revenue must be applied to public and social works, and not to religious establishments. Mr. Gladstone closed with an appeal to the voters of South Lancashire to support the only just policy which England can pursue.

NEWMARKET RACES—SECOND OCTOBER MEETING—FIFTH DAY.

LONDON, Oct. 9.—The Second October meeting closed to-day, with the following races: The Newmarket Derby, a sweepstakes of 25 sovereigns each, with 100 added, for three-year olds; second to receive 100 sovereigns out of the stakes (75 subscribers). The Marquis of Hastings's br. c. See-Saw, was the winner, beating Count Batthyam's b. c. Typhoeus, second, and Mr. Padwick's ch. c. Samson, third. The bettings at the start was even on See-Saw, 4 to 1 against Typhoeus, and 6 to 1 against Samson. Four ran. The Prendergast stakes of 50 sovereigns each, for two-year old (41 subscribers). This race was won by the Duke of Hamilton's b. c. Wild Oats, beating Sir J. Hawley's filly sister to Rosicrucian, second, and Mr. T. V. Morgan's br. f. Antias, third. The betting at the start was 2 to 1 against Wild Oats, even on Sister to Rosicrucian, and 10 to 1 against Antias. Four ran.

WASHINGTON.

LOUISIANA'S STATUE OF PATER PATRIÆ—NATURALIZATION TREATY—THE CAMILLA RIOT—GOING HOME TO VOTE—CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE—ST. THOMAS—APPOINTMENTS.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Oct. 9, 1868.

At the Cabinet meeting to-day most of the session was occupied settling the demand of the of State of Louisiana for a marble statue of Washington, which is stored away in the Patent Office. The statue was sent here from New-Orleans during the Rebellion for safe-keeping. The people of New-Orleans think that they are loyal enough now to preserve the statue, hence their demand for its return. After a long discussion, in which the President, Mr. Welles, and Mr. Randall participated, the statue was ordered to be returned.

The Hon. Reverdy Johnson, our Minister to England, sends a Cable dispatch to our Government, making it known that he has signed a protocol with the British Government, regulating the rights of naturalized citizens. No particulars are given, but it is inferred by the Administration from facts heretofore communicated by our Minister, that the compact is similar in feature to Mr. Bancroft's treaty with the German Powers.

The following is the letter of Major-Gen. Meade to Gen. Grant, transmitting Capt. Mills's report of the Camilla riot:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, ATLANTA, Oct. 3, 1868.

SIR: You have been apprised that on receiving intelligence of the disorders occurring in this State, on the 19th ult., at Camilla, in Mitchell County, that I at once had troops in readiness to meet any call of the civil authorities, such as are referred to in the letter of instructions from the General-in-Chief, of date Aug. 25, 1868, and that at the same time I dispatched Capt. Mills, a most reliable and intelligent officer, in whose cool, sound judgment, and freedom from any prejudice or party bias, I could depend to investigate thoroughly and report the facts in the case. The affair passing off with the riot, or rather collision, of the 19th ult., and no call having been made on me, the Legislature (as I think, properly) declining the request of the Governor to authorize him to make the call, no troops were sent. The report of Capt. Mills was yesterday received, and after its perusal I deemed the only thing for me to do was to transmit it to the Governor of the State, the officer with whom I am required to communicate, and to assure him that in any measures that might be taken by the civil authorities in the investigation of the affair and punishment of derelict civil officers or citizens, that in case he met with resistance, and he or they found themselves unable to execute the laws, I was prepared, on being so informed, to aid and cooperate with him to the fullest extent of the force under my command. My letter to the Governor, the report and accompanying documents of Capt. Mills are here with forwarded by the hands of Capt. McKibbon, United States Army, and should be pleased to receive any comments thereon which yourself, the honorable Secretary of War, or the President may please to make. I deem it proper to add that in a few days I shall distribute the troops in the Department with a view of aiding the civil authorities to keep the peace during the approaching Presidential election. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE G. MEADE, Major-General.

Gen. U. S. GRANT, Commanding U. S. Armies, Washington, D. C.

Fifty affidavits accompany Capt. Mills's report, and all show conclusively that the riot was a premeditated massacre of the negroes by the white Rebels.

An order was to-day sent from the Adjutant-General's office by direction of the Secretary of War, addressed to the several bureaus of the War Department, giving the clerks living in the States of Pennsylvania, Iowa, Indiana, and Ohio leave of absence to go home to vote on Tuesday next, excluding only those who have voted in this district. It is expected that similar action will be taken by the other Departments to-morrow.

One of the most beautiful volumes ever produced in this country is that containing the resolution of thanks to George Peabody, adopted by Congress at the last session, and which has just been finished. The work was done by hand. The book is bound in blue morocco, tastefully paneled and gilt, with a beautiful raised monogram of solid gold and silver on one of the panels. The covers are lined on the inside with watered silk, and opposite the handsome title page is another neat monogram in colors. Altogether the volume does credit to the Government and to those who prepared it. It is to be forwarded to Mr. Peabody through the State Department.

A dispatch from Charleston says that a colored Democrat left that city several days ago for the North, where he is to take the stump for Seymour and Blair. The man's name is Smith, and there is much curiosity manifested here to see a live colored Democrat.

The President has appointed Jas. Barnes to be Commissioner to examine the entire road and telegraph lines of the Union Pacific Railroad, vice J. L. Williams, resigned.

Chief-Justice Chase will go South next week, to hold Court.

In July last the Senate adjourned without acting upon the treaty so promptly ratified by Denmark, for the cession to the United States of the Island of St. Thomas. The limitation for the ratification having expired, the President, in September last, proposed to the Danish Government that the period for the ratification by the United States should be enlarged one year, so that the Senate might be afforded time to act upon the treaty. The Cable telegram relative to the postponement of the cession is, by the State Department understood to mean that Denmark has accepted the President's proposition.

Revenue appointments have been made as follows:

Storekeepers—Patt Cynlor, Twenty-fourth District, New-York; Isaiah Snow, Fourth, Massachusetts; Edward L. Murphy, Second, New-York; A. Van Kleeser, Sixth, Virginia; B. P. Dreiler, Third, Pennsylvania; D. D. Hobson, Fifth, Tennessee; William Clotomby, Fifth, Tennessee; J. A. February, Second, Tennessee; John W. Preett, Seventh Kentucky; W. H. Potts, Twenty-third, Pennsylvania. Gaugers—Albert L. Childs, Twenty-fourth, New-York; Lewis F. Webster, Thirty-second, New-York; J. O. Rasly, Eighth, Kentucky.

BEECHER ON THE CANVASS.

SPEECH OF THE REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER AT THE BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

The Brooklyn Academy of Music never had a more intelligent audience within its walls than that of last night, to hear the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher discuss the issues of the campaign. The building was crowded, but the arrangements were so perfect that no one was inconvenienced. There were fully as many ladies as gentlemen present, and all had been seated fully half an hour before Mr. Beecher became on the stage, escorted by Edwin A. Studwell, Presidential Elector for the IIId Congressional District. On the platform were some of the most distinguished citizens of Brooklyn, among whom were Judge Benedict, the Hon. George G. Reynolds, and S. B. Chittenden. As Mr. Beecher walked up to the table a curtain, almost similar to the one dropped at Chicago when Grant was nominated, was lowered. The Chicago curtain represented Grant sitting on a pedestal on the left of the White House, with the Goddess of Liberty pointing to him, and above her the words "Match him." On the right pedestal was a blank space. The curtain last night had this space filled with a picture of Seymour leaning against a lamp on which was inscribed "City Hall," and a negro hanging from the cross bar. Above all were the words "Matched." In the distance the flames of an orphan asylum were seen. The whole affair was very *apropos*, and elicited applause from the audience. As Mr. Beecher stepped forward to the table, the people applauded him so intensely that it was some minutes before he could speak.

MR. BEECHER'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—When, next March, the President to be elected by the people shall take his place in Washington, it will have been four years, lacking a few days, since the war, in its active form, was closed. During that time the country has gone through vast excitements, run rapidly forward, question following question, until now the questions are not the same—only the *principles* are the same. The issues of 1868 are not the issues of 1865; but the principles that underlaid the one underlie yet the other. Parties remain substantially the same as they were in 1865, and further back, as they were in 1860; for in 1860 the Republican party, then young, achieved its first victory. It was new and unpracticed. It went before the country to claim the administration of the Government from an old expert party which had a long record of early glory and late eclipse. [Applause.] The Democratic party began by being the friend of the common people, and of the *whole* of the common people. Corrupted by power, it abondoned this principle of faith in mankind, in humanity, and became substantially an instrument of a class. That was the damning sin of the old Federal party, that it represented a class and not the whole people, and that, to a certain extent, was the sin and weakness of the Whig party. The Democratic party slew them, because it did, in its better day, believe fervently in the common people—slew those parties, and now has stumbled itself into their grave. [Applause.] In 1865 the two parties again arrayed their claims to the management of the Government before the people, and a second time the people determined that the Republican party, by its principles, by the record of its deeds, by the men who chiefly shaped its policy, by its tendencies, in short, by its past and by its future, ought to administer the Government of the nation. [Applause.] Now, in 1868, the question is once more to be determined by the people. Shall the Republican party be instructed to carry on to completion the work of the past ten years; or shall that work be repudiated? or shall the Democratic party be installed in power, charged to complete the work which the Republican party has begun? Which? Look at the meaning of the last ten years of American history. The letter and the spirit of our historical institutions, of the character of our people, made it sure that sooner or later there would arise a moral and then a political protest against Slavery. It was impossible in a nation of such institutions, of such early ideas, of such spirit—it was impossible that Slavery should exist, and there be no protest unless humanity died in the bosoms of men; unless conscience became but a name, it was a matter of certainty, that first or last there would be men who would feel the under, inward power of our own institutions and of true American ideas and would assert them. The Anti-Slavery agitation answered to that necessity, and was the logical sequence of American ideas. Men did not make that agitation. It lay in the very frame and structure, and genius of our American institutions of government, and men were the instruments of causes deep as everlasting principles. Against the influence of this protest, irritated, but more ambitious of power than irritated at interference with their welfare, the South at last, committing the supreme blunder of the century, drew the sword. The issue inevitably involved the question of liberty. The Republican party at an early day sought to avoid the true issue of the war, and to maintain the Union (without meddling with Slavery. It was the necessity of experience to do this. But God's logic prevailed, and the Republican party were driven by events that were mightier than they to Emancipation, which was the logical sequence of their position. They hesitated. They were carried forward. The next step was to confer citizenship, and all its privileges and duties upon all that dwell under our flag, without distinction of color or of nationality. [Applause.] That inflexible tendency of the principle of liberty irresistibly carried the party forward to this, and to-day, partly by its own intelligence and volition, and partly by the logic of events, the Republican party is based upon the doctrine of the inherent right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Applause.] It is no empty pretense, it is a living question springing from a vital principle. It sprang from our history, from our philosophy, from the genius of our people as well as from the struggle from which it came forth. This their faith they have witnessed on all the battle-fields. It has gone through fire and been baptised in blood. It is the faith of the Republican party—their faith in the liberty of the whole common people. Now I do not undertake to say that the Republican party has committed no errors. It was made up of men, and that is to say that it did commit errors. Political parties do not represent celestial things in this world. [Laughter.] And to attempt to clear a party from aspersion and blame is to misconceive one's interest as well as the truth. All parties are but clumsy machines, and are themselves acted upon as well as actors; and I am far from saying that the Republican party is a party without a blunder and without a mistake. No party should lay a claim to this. But admit that it has been both—on one side too cautious and on the other too rash; admit that the party lost a golden opportunity during the first year following the war, if you please. Admit, if you choose, that it lacked that subtle art of conciliation to manage men, that is so much to be desired in parties. Admit that in its eagerness it has been less tolerant of dissent or free speech than its own councils than was to have been expected. Admit that there have been men leading in it, or seeking to lead, that were not at heart in agreement with its purposes or its principles. Admit all these things, and then what? Is it therefore unworthy of the confidence of the American people because it has stumbled or hesitated—because it has in many respects had faults that may be proved upon it—does it follow that the American people should no longer repose the government in its hands? They have not been errors of principle. They have been faults on the bark, and not on the heart-wood. So the party stands to-day, with all its faults, on a platform built up of the doctrine of Impartial Justice, and of Equal Liberty to all, and it is an American party. [Applause.] What have been its deeds? In the same length of time it never was given to any party to perform so many illustrious deeds—so associated its name with changes so profound, so wide-spread, and that are to be so illustrious a portion of future history. It has revived and reared again the original doctrine of our fathers who was in Babylonish captivity, and has asserted the most radical doctrine of Liberty, and achieved an emancipation of bondmen second only to the emancipation which Russia has given to its serfs. It has resisted the domination of Southern men, and has carried the country against them. In 1860, when the South made war, it was the Republican party that raised the arms, the men, and carried forward that war safely to victory—a war in which the whole world, the most friendly as well as the most unfriendly, feared or prophesied that there would be disaster, that it would be futile; but under the direction of the Republican party that vast continental war achieved the liberty for which it was waged, and saved the nation. The Republican party has vindicated and established the doctrine of the essential unity of this American people. It has removed from further discussion whether the people is a great nation, or only a temporary council of 30 petty States. That question is settled, and it was settled under the auspices of the Republican party. That party has made itself responsible, too, for the repayment, in the standard currency of the world, of all the money that was borrowed to feed the soldier and aid the Government. [Applause.] It has proved itself the party of patriotism, of unity, of liberty, and of commercial fidelity. Now, shall the work which ten years have seen thus developed be consummated by the men who have conducted it thus far, or shall it be put into other hands? That is the question of to-day. Has the Republican party been a failure? Have its efforts been unsatisfactory? Are we to reverse its policy, or if we pursue that policy are we to select better leaders and better workmen to carry it to final execution? That is the question. If a change is made it must be either that the country is dissatisfied with the policy of liberty—and no man will believe in that—or that it chooses to put the development of liberty into the hands of men who will better perform the task than the Republican party has. There is but one competitor for the place of the Republican party, and that is the Democratic party. I ask you to-night, has that party earned the right to administer the Government? Has it earned the right to administer on the goods of the Republican party? Has it been one of freedom; has it been one that has stood in the emergency, courageous for right and for this land? Not as a party. It is not to be denied that it was *particeps criminis* antecedent to the war in all those counsels which brought on the war. The Democratic party were in sympathy with the South, and but for the assurances that were given to them by its leaders, I believe, and you believe, that the South never would have ventured into the monstrous blunder of that great war. When war came such was the spirit of the Democratic party that the truly loyal members of it—and there were a great many noble men—found it impossible to maintain in their party their standing and yet be true to their instincts of liberty. Assuming the name of "War Democrats" they became, substantially, Republicans. The party opposed the war either openly and frankly or insidiously. Give me a man that strikes fair blows as he in the face. Deliver me from the man who takes me by the hand and says, "How art thou?" while he smites me under the fifth rib with a concealed dagger. [Applause.] Every step gained in the progress of the war by the Republicans, emancipation, the enrolments of colored men in the army, their self-protection by suffrage—at every step of development the Democratic party was in opposition. They hung heavily on the wheels, not of Pharaoh, but of the Israelites. They resisted by one plea and another, one pretense and another, every step by which the Republican party sought to work out the problem of liberty during the blaze of war. Ah! if you were to select a party that was to carry out the great work of rendering liberty to every man in the land, if you were to search the world, it seems to me you could not find another party that by its antecedents—by its present influences at least—was less qualified to do it than the Democratic party. Here, before the people, stands on one side a party made up of men loyal to principle, loyal to their country, loyal to the Union, who have given their sons, and have given themselves, many of whom have come home maimed, wounded; who poured out their blood, their money; who have counted nothing too dear for the salvation of the nation by liberty, and this for ten years has been their consistent and unvarying course. On the other side, there comes a party that for ten years has left untried no expedient to undermine the cause of liberty, to rivet the old doctrine of oppression upon the country again; and now at this last moment they come before the country and claim the privilege of taking possession of the Government and ousting the Republican party. Gentlemen, do you remember the parable; when the bridegroom came, the five virgins that were wise filled their lamps with oil, and trimmed them, and were ready and went in with the bridegroom. Now come the five Democratic virgins, saying, "We have no oil; give us of your oil, for our lamp has gone out." [Prolonged applause and laughter.] It is too late. While they were gone to buy, the door was shut [renewed laughter] and Grant elected. [Continued laughter and applause.] But it is proposed by them, in their new-born zeal of patriotism, in their desire to serve the country, they come saying the Republicans have been false to their trust, self-seeking; that they have overslaughed the great principles of liberty, and that they will reverse the policy of the Republican party, and undo all that they have done, declaring it to be unconstitutional and void. Let us then see what they propose to do if they shall be elected to power. There is at least this merit—they have proposed frankly their programme. All the States that have been brought in, according to Democratic purposes, are now to be cast out again. They are to pass again into confusion, and by the shock and recoil be turmoiled anew as if nothing had been done. For the last five years no complaint has been more incessant than that the Republican party were keeping out the Southern States, and for their own bad purposes it was charged. Now they are brought in, the Democratic party says they shall not stay in; they shall go out again. They would not receive the Southern members when they offered to take the "iron-clad oaths;" they would not admit the Representatives and Senators. Now that they have admitted them, the Democratic party says they shall be kicked out; they sha'n't stay in Congress; they shall go back again. Now that governments have been formed in the South, and the machinery is working smoothly, the Democratic platform boldly proposes to overthrow it, to supplant those governments and plunge again these States into confusion, if not actual rebellion. At least, gentlemen, there is the merit of frankness in this enunciation. It is said, however, that there are in these States conditions and usages which destory liberty and violate the Constitution. Now what is the nature of these new constitutions that are existing in the Southern States and by whom have they been ordained. It is said that these constitutions were framed under military coercion. Oh! gentlemen, in the olden time I have stood in Norwich on the old green of the Church where our Puritan fathers used to come to worship in the first settlement of that town. They were obliged to come with their rifles and have their sentinels standing out because the Indians prowling would otherwise steal upon them in their worship and destroy them. Suppose some man had raised the charge that these men were singing psalms under the coercion of rifles held by these men who stood there to protect them. Where Legislatures who attempted to do the work of reconstruction, and violent men in the South undertook to destroy them, and our army put sentinels there simply to protect them, did they form their Constitutions under the coercion of the bayonet? It was a protector and not an arbitrator, a sentinel not a despot. [Applause.] But it is said these Constitutions were not formed by the whole people. No. They would not have been so good if they had. If the men that had before that framed laws to execute inquity, if the old plantation class that had done the thinking and legislating for the South for any time for 50 years, if they had their way to form those Constitutions they would not have been, I venture to say, just what they are now. [Applause.] Who were they formed by? They were formed by the common people. Very common they are down there. They were formed by the people, it is said, but they were the poorest. Ladies and gentlemen, there is no class of persons who know what they want so well as people who have been ground under the heel of oppression. [Applause.] There is nobody who can tell the doctor where the ache is so well as the man who aches. [Laughter and applause.] Look at those Constitutions. In what respect are they oppressive? Have they revolutionized the system of courts, and introduced foreign principles? Have they, in any manner, changed civil affairs and procedure? In no wait! Have they many manner changed the channels and courses of commerce, interfering with that which God meant should be as free as the air? In no single what. The charge that is to be made, if any charge at all can be made to stand, is that they are too exclusively democratic. They are Constitutions that compare favorably with ours in the North. In the light of the experience of the last 50 years, the Constitution of South Carolina and of Florida and of Georgia are, in many respects, better than the Constitution of New-York or Massachusetts. They have not only equaled them, but they have carried out many of those reforms for which we have been, and which yet we are unable to carry out in our fundamental law; and I would ask no other thing by which to test the fruit of this great war urged in behalf of the freedom of the people and of the land than to point to these Constitutions made by the votes of black men who for two years toiled unrequited in the rice fields and cotton fields. I will point to those Constitutions and challenge the world to find a Constitution which compares with them in regard to the conservatism of liberty and the protection of liberty through the schools. For destroying class influence I will point the world to those Constitutions as unequaled. They are the marvel of the time in which we live. [Applause.] That which Southern men object to in those Constitutions is not that they are despotic. They are full of liberty. That is the trouble. [Applause.] They have broken down political distinctions; they have infused an element of education; they have given every man a chance, an equal chance, in the battle of life. They have not given to any of those accustomed to control power, either place, or scepter, or influence. And they have made the people the governors of the people. [Applause.] The trouble is with all these things, that the blacks are made citizens. That is the root of the whole matter. The blacks are made citizens! Well, many persons say they are not fit to be made citizens. Well, what are they? Fit to be? They certainly are not fit to be slaves. It is the poorest stuff that was ever made—a slave. [Applause.] A machine that is made to run by wind cannot be anything if run by water, and a machine that is made to run by water cannot run by steam. Now God Almighty made man a machine of internal motive power, and when you apply external motive power to man you pervert the machine, and make out of it the very worst thing that man can be put to. Man was not made to be a slave, but to be a self governing creature. All men were made so. The same wheel is put into the head of the poor woolly African as is put into yours—conscience, faith, hope, similar reason, perceptive, reflective reason; the love of children, the love of companionship, and aspiration to these things are in the making up of the colored man as much as in the making up of the white man, and to attempt to make animals of men, machines of men, is a most monstrous violation of the order of nature, and of the decrees of Almighty God. We have simply conformed to God's original decree when we have made men citizens in the South, and I am sure that it ought not to be an offense in a Northern community that those Constitutions for the first time have proclaimed liberty to all that are in the land. [Applause.] But it is said that while the black people should have their political rights preserved, they are not fit for the exercise of suffrage. Fellow-citizens, there has been a question in my mind, whether we could secure suffrage best for them by precipitating it suddenly, or by conciliating their late masters, the whites, so that they should accept it, delayed a little longer—accept it suffrage is best for them. Suffrage is best for every man, for every woman as well as more surely. I never have had a doubt as to the fact that man. [Cheers.] Suffrage belongs to every creature in society that is competent to think, to choose to be responsible before God and before men for his moral character and his actions. It is as broad as humanity. And to say that the blacks were not fitted for it! No man is fitted for it until he has exercised it. Why, voting wisely comes from voting often—not at the same election. [Laughter and applause.] Voting right comes from the education which the duty of voting imposes on men. Voting right does not belong to the color of the skin. It does not belong to nationality. It does not belong to any particular faith. It springs out of the wisdom of that self-love which God has given to every single living man. It is the same in one as in another. I know people say men should be educated to vote. I say nothing educates men to vote. But if they are not intelligent, this is the opening of a door toward it. Can a man aim his rifle often without learning to aim it well? In the very blunders that he makes, in the very misses which he marks upon the board, he is being trained. There are a thousand men interested, in the South where black men vote, to persuade them, on the one side and on the other; and do you suppose that those haughty Southern candidates would trouble themselves to pour into the black ear the reasons against such and such policies, if it were not that those black men carry the talisman of a vote? Why, I tell you that the vote makes men orators. I tell you that a vote turns all politicians into schoolmasters. A vote makes men in the South professors in black universities, as it were; and when you give the black man a vote, you make every politician interested in that man's voting, and willing and anxious to explain to him his side and his cause. Who before thought it worth while to explain to Sam, or Pompey, or Cuffee, anything about laws or principles of Government? Now they and all their confreres are hearing wondrous things about the best laws and principles and methods of Government. Is not that education? It is the vote which is to educate those men as well as the school-house. And the vote will always bring the school-house, and the school-house will always bring the church, and the church will always promote the right use of both, and conserve that liberty which has created it. [Great cheering.] We have begun to find out that, many as are the evils which are incidental to suffrage, yet the good that is in it is far disproportionate to any evils that are incident to it. It is quite in vain to quote to me as an argument against suffrage, the voting of those poor Southern hordes—if you choose to call them so. I have seen in letters in the newspapers descriptions, and did not doubt that they were true, of the way that men voted in those Southern precincts. Quite ridiculous it was, and I could not, Republican as I am, help laughing; but laughter is free yet in this country, whichever side a man is on. [Laughter.] But, I bethought myself, these hordes of black voters who don't know the meaning of a vote, who don't know how to read, who don't know what the word *suffrage* means, and per haps think it is an idol, or something of that kind—they are very ridiculous; but really I can point you out a gang of caughts in New-York who will vote before a great while, and whose voting is quite as ridiculous. [Applause.] I don't think that Southern plantations have yet come half way up to Northern New-York wards. [Laughter and applause.] Ignorant voting! The plantation votes and the emigrant-ship votes, and they both vote blunderingly—the one as well as the other. Men say, how would you bear to have those ignorant blacks brought up to vote alongside of you, an educated and refined white man? I answer, we have had the poor ignorant emigrant voting alongside of us for a long time, and have had to bear it. It is not any harder for you to bear with ignorant black men than it is for us to bear with ignorant immigrants. When Southern men complain that they are being put through a severe ordeal in this way, we say to them, you are not suffering any more than we have suffered; we in the North have had to go through this ordeal of free voting, and have learned to bear it very well. You protest. We did protest, but we have got over that. We have learned that, although it is not for the time being a joyous, but a grievous thing, yet in the end it does work out peaceable fruits in them that are exercised thereby. [Laughter and applause.] It certainly is very annoying to me, here in my own native land, to hear an unqualified son of Erin declare that I ought to be hanged on the nearest tree [laughter]; but I have learned to bear it; it does not hurt me any more. Why? Because such men know not what they say—they know not what manner of spirit they are of. But I know that this untamed and rampant zeal is a part of that great fermentation which is going on here, and which by and by will precipitate the lees and leave a pure article of wine—my temperance friends will excuse the figure. [Laughter and applause.] I know, in other words, that while this fermentation is going on, by means of it we are making our best citizens out of men who came to us as immigrants—men whom we did not originally want to vote, but who would vote and have voted, and through voting as well as through the other influences that surround them here, have become or are becoming most worthy citizens. [Applause.] In 20 years every ship-load of immigrants either dies off or makes a batch of good voting citizens. [Laughter and cheers.] Now, the only question is, will the boiler bear the pressure? [Laughter.] With us it will. It has done it. It has done it in most critical times. If we could bear the pressure while we had on us the burden of a gigantic war, if we could bear the burden while we were taxing our people, while we were levying recruits, while the arm and the Government was so heavy; if even then, under those severe tests, we could still maintain the integrity of the Commonwealth, and of American principles, in spite of foreign votes—if we could stand that test, we can stand any. [Applause.] We did stand it, and now, for one, I not only am not opposed to immigrants voting, but, if I had the power, I would shorten the term of naturalization, not lengthen it. If a man gave me substantial, satisfactory evidence that he intended to dwell here, he should not be here a year before he should be a citizen, because I hold it better that a man who is going to reside here should have the responsibility of citizenship upon him at once than that he should remain lawless and without responsibility. [Applause.] I do not say that free suffrage has no evils attendant upon its exercise, but I do say that the good is immeasureably greater than the evil. [Applause.] Now I do not undertake to say that it is an agreeable thing to have the whole fabric of Southern society broken up, to have all the old subordinations and relations of rank subverted in a moment. I do not say that it is pleasant for the accomplished plantation owner, educated, perhaps, in Glasgow, or Edinburg, or Oxford, or Cambridge, to come home to-day surrounded by wealth and with a thousand men to serve him, and to find to-morrow that he is nothing but a plain man among men. That is not pleasant. But ladies and gentlemen, it never has been pleasant for any class anywhere to give up power to a class below them—never since the world began. There never was a time when Pharaoh thought the Children of Egypt ought to be free. There never was a time when the king thought the nobles his equals. There never was a time when the nobles thought the burghers equal to themselves. You never will get power to be distributed from above downward; it always has to come by revolution from the bottom upward. [Applause.] And as to the inconveniences of it in this case, you know, men and brethren, that you and I, and everybody, tried to stop it. We did not begin this war. We did not offer to put up 5,000,000 men as the stake to be raffled for with rifles and artillery. It was the South that put them up. It is they that staked the question of Liberty or Slavery on the war; and they have lost. We are not to blame if they have to take the inconveniences of the war. They have brought them on themselves. We are sorry for them; yet we cannot but see that there is a wisdom that they would have died without the sight of it they did not have just the same state of things they have among them now. [Applause.] But I hold more than this. I hold that, aside from the natural rights of the black people of the South, they have earned the privilege of suffrage by their fidelity in war, both to their masters and to their Government—for it was their Government; and by their enterprise ever since they have been made free, they have deserved better than to be objects of ridicule or abuse. They have earned the right of self-defense. The blacks must either be annihilated or returned to Slavery, or they must defend themselves with the sword, or they must vote; and I hold that the vote is the cheapest of all means of self-defense. [Great applause.] But as the right to vote was given to them, I fear, more for political reasons than from the force of political principle, I hold that it has justified in the event the reason which inspired our legislators to give it, namely: it is the only way in which we can repay to them our obligations of honor. [Applause.] No disgrace can be conceivable greater than that of having given freedom to the blacks, accepted their services in the army, and gained through them, in part, the victory which has made us a triumphant nation, and then to leave them to be spoiled and ground into the dust by those that hate them. [Great cheering.] If there be one sacred duty that rests upon us heavily and that every man of conscience and honor should feel with ever-growing sensibility, it is the obligation to see to it that these poor creatures do not suffer harm. [Applause.] But if you still doubt the wisdom of giving suffrage to them, doubt it. [Laughter.] It is given—they have got it. There are some things that I have learned it is a folly to do. In my much younger days I once or twice tried running after an express train when I was late at the depot. I have given it up; I never do it now. [Peals of laughter.] I think that after a while longer men will give up racing after revolutions and the results of revolutions. [Applause.] Suffrage once put into the hands of men, catch it if you can! For the sake of argument I will concede that it was injudicious to give suffrage to the blacks; but that question has gone by a great while ago—that is an old dead issue. [Laughter and cheers.] It is not a question any longer whether they shall or shall not have the vote. They have got it. You might just as well say that they ought not to be born black, but they are born black. [Laughter.] You might just as well say that they ought not to be born with curly hair, but they are born with curly hair. [Renewed laughter.] How are you going to take either the one or the other from them? You may say that it is not wise to give them the vote; but the question of to-day is, is it wise or possible to take it away? [Applause.] That is a different question; and there are many men, I think, who would side against me in regard to the wisdom of giving the vote, who would side with me in the belief that it cannot be taken away. Now, the Republican party has given it, and the Republican party will protect what they have given; [applause] but that the Democratic party would take possession of the government for the sake of stripping those men of that suffrage which is now in their hands; for the Democrats mean to cast out all that the Republicans have done as "unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." [Laughter.] Oh, these are men of peace! They mean to *settle* the country. [Laughter.] But the question is made that the Republican party, by its administration, has gone far toward destroying the prosperity of the South. Oh no. That the prosperity of the South is for the time being overland, I cannot doubt. I shall never have effaced from my mind the impressions that were made when, some four years ago, I went to South Carolina; went through her burned streets, went out into her villages, saw the land lying desolate. The things that I had read of in sacred writ, or in history, of the desolations of war, were brought home to me there, and I saw them with my own eyes. And more sorrowful I could scarcely be in the house of my own dead than I was in the house of those who mourned there. But who brought that desolation? Whence sprang it? Is it the result of Republican legislation? Has Republican legislation laid one single bar to progress? Has it put one single burden upon them? Has it done aught to impair their liberty or their defenses? The distress of the South arises from its own legitimate acts. The distress of the South arises from the fact that it is thrown suddenly into the change which it has induced; it requires time. But beyond that time, beyond that change, the seeds are sown of a prosperity such as never visited the South before. I believe that in your life-time and in mine, we shall never see the South assume again that political prominence which it has had. It never ought to. But we shall see the South materially, socially, and intellectually advanced to a degree that it never would have attained under its old system. Although I sympathize with the sufferings of our Southern brethren, I cannot sympathize as if they were suffering from our hands. But they are not. It is the misfortune of their own conduct that has brought this state of things upon them. I hold in my hand a letter which I received yesterday, which touches on many of these points. I will read it first, and then I will make some remarks on several points of it:

"As you are in a few days to make a speech to the citizens of Brooklyn on the issues of the political canvass, upon which, in my estimation, may not improbably depend the continuation of our Republican Government—

I am of that opinion. Republican victory will certainly maintain and continue our Government. [Applause]—

"I make bold to suggest to you several questions presented by this canvass, which I, with many other lovers of our Constitution and country, would desire to have discussed by one who occupies so high a position" [—and so on. [Laughter.] The following are the questions: *First:* Does the Republican party look upon the mass of the Southern whites as still in rebellion because of their treatment of the loyal men of the South? *Second:* Were the Reconstruction measures passed to protect the loyalists and to make the Rebels love and respect them? *Third:* Have not the Reconstruction measures had a contrary effect, and are not the loyal men of the South worse treated to-day than they were in the Summer of 1865? *Fourth:* How many more Reconstruction acts will be required before peace, law, order, and justice will be the rule and not the exception in the South? *Fifth:* What is or was the necessity of Congress acting outside the Constitution since the close of the war, and preventing the United States Supreme Court from passing upon such Reconstruction measures? *Sixth:* Is it safe to lay aside the fundamental law and Constitution of the country whenever a majority desire to act outside of it? *Seventh:* Why did not the Republican party inform the South in 1865 what was required of them, instead of asking for certain acts to be done, and when done asking for others, and so on in continuation down to the present time? *Eighth:* Would not the country to-day be prosperous and happy, and liberty and fraternity exist in the whole country, if at the close of the Rebellion in April, 1865, Congress had admitted those Southern Representatives who could and would have taken the iron-clad oath, and punished such of the Southern leaders in the Rebellion as the peace and dignity of the country required? *Ninth:* How can an honest, patriotic, intelligent, Christian citizen support the Republican party?"

By voting for Gen. Grant, evidently. [Applause.] Now you see, you have here, in several nut shells, [laughter,] what is discussed on the street, and what is thrown out to you in the newspapers in the city of New-York. Here you have in a drop what you will get in *The New-York World* in a prolonged *squirt*. [Great laughter and applause.]

"Does the Republican party look upon the mass of the Southern whites, as still in Rebellion, because of their treatment of the loyal men of the South?"

No, no; they are still in the condition in which the Rebellion left them. If a man break his leg, it has been said that it takes him two months to get well. Although the time between breaking the leg and the time when he walks round is two months; the doctor has had hold of his leg, he will set it in a minute, but he don't get well in a minute. They broke their leg very effectually. [laughter,] but it doesn't get well in a day, nor in a year. [Renewed merriment.] We do not consider them in Rebellion, but we consider them in the unfortunate position in which the Rebellion left them. Don't you know when persons have the measles, the doctors tell them to beware of the *sequelæ*—the sequence or *scarlatina*—which are often worse than the original attack. Parents are to carefully guard their children against those *sequelæ*, as being very dangerous. It is the *sequelæ* of the Rebellion that we are afraid of. [Applause.]

"*Second:* Were the Reconstruction measures passed to protect the loyalists and to make the Rebels love and respect them?"

No. They were passed to take care of the whole community, black and white, loyal and disloyal. The Reconstruction measures undertake to lay the foundations for States on sound principles, and to include in the benefits of this Reconstruction every living being that breathed. Of course they hoped that loyalists would be protected—they knew it; but the object of the Reconstruction measures was the common good of the whole people.

"*Third:* Have not the Reconstruction measures had a contrary effect, and are not the loyal men of the South worse treated to-day than they were in the Summer of 1865?"

Yes, they *are* worse treated, but the Reconstruction measures are not the reason of it. It is the hope that in the year past has been infused into the minds of the South, that by alliance with the Democratic party they will be able to subvert all that has been done. It is that which has made them fiery and rampant in persecution. [Applause.] Let it once be understood that Gen. Blair is to be President, wearing Mr. Seymour as a vail [laughter and cheers]; let it once be understood throughout the South, and there has been no period since the formation of our Government in which such bloodshed, such villainous tyranny, such unbearable cruelty have been perpetrated. They do not even care to suppress the threat, and it is broadly procl