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THE DEMOCRATIC ROUT.

GOV. SEYMOUR TAKES THE FIELD.

GOV. SEYMOUR PREPARING A MANIFESTO—"THE WORLD" THROWN OVERBOARD.

UTICA, Oct. 20.—Gov. Seymour intends to make a speech, or publish a manifesto to the Democracy in a very short time. He is engaged in its preparation. He is closeted with a New-York stenographer, and has been in communication, for the last week, with Belmont & Co., on the change of front which *The World* advocates. The Democrats in this section are utterly demoralized by *The World* leaders, and many of them have stopped buying that journal. Brick Pomeroy's *Democrat* is now their recognized organ.

ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

NEW-YORK, Oct. 20.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is a privilege and duty to address you on the eve of the great battle which we are to fight, and which is to decide whether the Government of this Republic is to remain four years more in the hands of the Radical party, or whether by an energetic, united, and last effort you will wrest the power from its grasp, and give to us, under a Democratic Conservative administration, a Government based upon principles of justice, economy, and constitutional liberty.

The issues of the present campaign are plain and self-evident. They appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of every voter in the most unmistakable terms. They have been ably discussed by distinguished orators and leaders of our party since the nomination of our candidates.

What the Democratic party intends to do, if placed in power by your suffrages, is to restore peace and union to our country, to heal the wounds and sufferings caused by the Rebellion, to give to the people of the South the right to which they are entitled under the Constitution, and by which alone we can bring back prosperity and quiet to that distracted section, to reduce materially our military and naval establishments, kept up now on an immense scale and at an enormous cost—to introduce into every department of Government the strictest economy, and to develop, by an equitable system of imports and taxation, the growing resources of our country, and thus to place the Federal finances on a solid and stable footing, and to pave the way to a gradual and safe return to specie payments. We are charged by the Radical party—the party of violence and usurpation, which for the last four years, to prolong its own existence, has set at naught the Constitution and the fundamental principles of our Government—that we intend revolution and defiance of established laws. The accusation is unfounded and absurd, it cannot be entertained for a moment by an intelligent voter, who has even the most superficial knowledge of the history of his country. The Democratic party can produce point to every page of its record. It has never violated a single obligation of the fundamental compact by which these United States entered into the family of nations. Its watchword, in peace as in war, has been and will always be the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws. And no man, nor any set of men, however high they might be placed by the suffrages of their fellow-citizens, can expect to receive the support of this great Conservative party in any revolutionary attempt against established laws. The ballot-box and the supreme will of the American people are the only means of redress to which we look.

Fellow-Democrats! You are fighting for a good and righteous cause. You have for your leader a tried statesman; a patriot who stood by the Union in its darkest hour; a man equally beloved for the purity of his private character as honored for his public virtues.

For this final struggle, then, fellow Democrats of the United States, let us invigorate every muscle and nerve every heart. The time is short. The foe is stubborn and desperate, for our victory would be the death-blow to the Republican party. It could have been held together by no other nomination. It cannot survive your successful assault. One victory is enough. Your triumph in November will finally re-establish the Union and the Constitution, for another generation of men, it will restore peace and good order to the South, prosperity to the North, and a wise and frugal rule to both. The great prize is worth your most strenuous endeavor.

Our ranks are unbroken, our courage is unabated. Once more to the breach, and this time victory.

For the Democratic National Committee.

AUGUST BELMONT, Chairman.

ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE.

NEW-YORK, Oct. 20, 1868.

TO THE DEMOCRACY OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK: The results of the October elections demonstrate the fact that large accessions to the Democratic party have been made since the last Congressional election, in 1866.

In Indiana we have reduced the Republican majority from 14,516 to a doubtful claim of 800 majority. We have done this on the large aggregate vote ever given in that State, and in what Schuyler Colfax confesses to be "the severest political contest ever fought in Indiana." Even by the showing of the Republicans, a further change of one vote in 750—of one-eighth of one per cent—would have completed a political revolution. We have also gained one member of Congress, and perhaps two.

In Pennsylvania we have reduced the Republican majority in 1866 about one-half. A further change of one vote in 140 would have given us a complete victory in that great commonwealth. We have done this in spite of vast patronage and means of corruption; systematic frauds, skilfully organized by the best masters in that art; and in spite of the unjust exclusion of the votes of citizens of Irish and German birth by a party which claims the suffrage for the negro, as a natural and sacred right, and practically gives him supremacy over the white man in a large portion of the Republic. We have also gained several members of Congress.

In Ohio, in the Congressional election just held, we have reduced the Republican majority more than one-half—from 40,000 to 15,000—from the Congressional election of 1866, and have gained three members of Congress.

Never has the indomitable spirit and heroic energy of the Democratic party been more nobly manifested

You have driven in the Republicans to their baggage wagons. You have almost routed them.

Fellow-Democrats! Is this a moment for doubt as to what you ought to do? Is it a moment in which even to be counting the chances of the struggle to which we are advancing? We know that we will deserve victory. We will resolve to attain it.

Fellow-citizens, it is a false calumny that we desire to overthrow the pernicious systems of our adversaries—their government by force or by fraud in the Southern States, their supremacy of the negro over the white citizen—by any but the peaceful remedy of the ballot-box. We resist by lawful and peaceful measures the practical revolution which the Republicans are gradually accomplishing. We and our candidates are pledged to restore and not to destroy the Republic.

Fellow-Democrats of New-York, we call on you to make a grand and final rally. Your standard-bearer in the national contest, who would gladly have laid down the honor of a victory already achieved, advances with your flag to the forefront of the battle. We appeal to the 400,000 Democrats of New-York—one and all—to gather around him. Our example will animate to new vigor our comrades in other States. Two and a half millions of Democrats, under our chosen leaders, with our organizations unbroken, with our massed compact, with our old and honored flag floating proudly over us, will join in our final, and, we trust, victorious struggle for constitutional government and civil liberty.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
Chairman of the State Committee.
WM. CASSIDY, Secretary.

MR. SEYMOUR TO SPEAK FOR HIMSELF.

Horatio Seymour announces that he will take the stump in person, in Buffalo, to-morrow evening.

BLAIR'S INDISCRETIONS.

Gen. Blair will speak in Chicago this evening. His friends in St. Louis are sorely vexed at his indiscreet speeches since his return home.

THE ERIE DEMOCRACY DENOUNCE THE WORLD.

The Erie County Democratic Committee published an address, yesterday, furiously denouncing the "*handful of treacherous politicians in the City of New-York whose God is gold and whose organ is The World*," and answering their "cowardly proposition" to throw Seymour and Blair overboard with an emphatic "No!" The Committee say: "This shameful conspiracy to turn back the swelling tide of Democratic strength, and to add New-York to the remaining list of doubtful States, should rouse every Democrat to action, and move every Democratic arm to strike heavier blows."

MAYOR HOFFMAN GIVES THE WORLD A KICK.

Mayor Hoffman addressed an assemblage in Watkins, N. Y., yesterday, and said that the newspaper proposition to change the ticket had been made without his knowledge, and without consultation with the Central State Committee or any leading Democrat of New-York.

THE BLAIR FAMILY FALL UPON THE WORLD.

Montgomery Blair has written a letter to *The New-York World*, threatening terrible things in case the suggestions of that paper in reference to a new Presidential ticket being formed should assume practical shape. He (Montgomery) berates *The World* soundly, and in very plain terms. He tells the paper that it never gave a hearty support to the present ticket, and has rather wished its defeat than otherwise. Frank, in the opinion of his amiable brother, gives strength to the ticket. [Boston Journal.

ANOTHER VOICE FOR DECAPITATION.

If there be good grounds for the withdrawal of Gen. Blair, there are equally good grounds for the withdrawal of Gov. Seymour. We remember with what reluctance Gov. Seymour permitted himself to be put in nomination for the Presidency, and are satisfied that he would feel relieved if, in any honorable manner, he could transfer to other and broader shoulders the weight of responsibility under which he now labors. Nor can we imagine for a moment that the gallant and patriotic Gen. Blair would present any obstacle to such a change in the political programme as would furnish new assurances of success to the principles formulated in the Democratic platform. The old Democratic battlecry has always been "Principles, not men," and the policy of adhering to that cry, as well in letter as in spirit, was never more clearly apparent than at present. Furthermore, we beg leave to suggest that what ever is done should be done quickly. This is no time to haggle about forms, or to bring together conventions from the extremes of the Republic. The people can look forward with confidence for a patriotic solution of the existing difficulty to the statesmen of the North and the hero of the West. It is the Gordian knot which is now presented; we cannot wait to unravel; it must be cut by one swift, sharp blow.—[New-Orleans Times.

WASHINGTON.

THE CONSPIRACY TO UNSEAT MR. ROLLINS—THE MURDER OF MR. RANDOLPH—RIOT IN WASHINGTON—THE SUIT AGAINST GEN. BUTLER—CONFISCATED PROPERTY—THE VACANT GENERALSHIP—GEN. GRANT—THE CABINET.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Oct. 20, 1868.

Gen. Burbridge is again on the war-path. This time he pretends to be working through Judge Fullerton of New-York, and says that when the Judge was here on Saturday last it was all arranged by the President that he should at once return to New-York and get together evidence whose character Fullerton detailed, and send it to the President in the form of affidavits and documents prepared to make out a legal case against Commissioner Rollins. The President, according to Burbridge's story, sent Fullerton to McCulloch for funds, which the latter declined to furnish; whereupon the President said that it would be all right, and that if he would return to New-York and go to work the needed money would be forthcoming. This evidence was expected here ready to lay before the President to-morrow; but those interested in its procurement here have heard that a number of witnesses who had talked very positively of frauds implicating Mr. Rollins, when put on oath, by no means sustained their charges. Burbridge's friends assert that Fullerton assures them that it is the President's intention to appoint Burbridge in case he could get Mr. Rollins out.

Mr. Tulloch, of the Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee, received a letter, which was written by the late Mr. Randolph, Chairman of the South Carolina Republican State Central Committee, a few days before his death. Mr. Randolph had been on a tour of inspection through the State, and his letter to Mr. Tulloch was in the form of a report of the progress of the campaign there. As a singular coincidence of his assassination, it may be remarked that in his letter Mr. Randolph spoke of the large number of Republicans who had been murdered in the State by the Rebels, and said he did not know how soon his own time might come. Mr. Randolph was a very valuable man to the Republican cause in the South, and his murder must have been of a political character.

The argument on the motion to vacate the writ in cases of Kimberly & Brothers and Charles H. Woolley against Gen. Butler, was concluded yesterday, in the Superior Court in Baltimore, and the case was submitted to Judge Dobbin for decision. William Schley, the associate counsel with Caleb Cushing for Butler, spoke two-and-a-half hours, but his argument elicited no features in the case of any note, further than had been developed in the arguments of Mr. Cushing for Gen. Butler, and of R. T. Merrick of this city, and William Meade Addison and R. J. Brent of Baltimore for the plaintiff. Several days will elapse before the Court can review the authorities cited, and give its decision.

Residents of this city who, in the beginning of the war, went into the Rebellion, and whose property was consequently seized by the U. S. Government, and sold under the confiscation laws, are still making efforts to recover said property. One Tyler, an officer of the United States Marine Corps, was among the number who went at the time mentioned, and his property was sold to Mr. John D. Defrees. Tyler sued Defrees for the recovery of the property two years ago, but the courts decided against him. He now appeals to a higher court, and the case will come up in the present General Term of the Supreme Court of the District.

Numerous applications have been made for the office of Brigadier-general in the United States Army, made vacant by the retirement of Gen. Hooker. Among the applicants are several civilians who were officers of the volunteer army during the late war. The probability is that Col. and Brevet Major-Gen. Stoneman, now commanding the First Military District, will get the appointment.

The Hon. John D. Defrees arrived here here last evening from his home in Indiana, where he had been to cast his vote. He says that Indiana will give at least 10,000 majority for Grant and Colfax in November. The Western Democracy are in a fearful state of demoralization, and have given up all hopes of success.

Gen. Schenck left the city last night to fill several political engagements in New-York. A letter from Senator Grimes, now in New-York on a short visit, says that he has almost wholly recovered from his sickness. Robert Lincoln and wife, who returned here from their wedding trip several days ago, took the train last evening for Chicago.

Late dispatches to the Government from the West contain favorable reports in regard to the Indian troubles, and it is believed that if Congress takes prompt action on the recommendation of the Peace Commissioners respecting annuities that there will be little cause for future complaint. Meantime it is said that the disposition of the troops on the Plains is such that if future outbreaks occur our forces can command their own terms with the warlike bands.

Mrs. Ann Stephens's business about the White House has at last come to light. She is reported to be writing a life of Mr. Johnson, for publication by a New-York firm.

It is reported to-day that Gen. Grant will not return to Washington until after the Presidential election. An evening newspaper here says he will probably come unannounced, declining all public receptions.

The larger portion of the regiment being stationed in Florida, the Secretary of War has transferred the headquarters of the 5th U. S. Cavalry from Richmond to Fort Jefferson, in that State.

The Cabinet meeting to-day lasted over two hours. Messrs. Seward, Evarts, and Randall were absent, not having returned from New-York.

The male clerks in Gen. Spinner's Bureau of the Treasury Department have given the Union Republican Executive Committee $600.

Revenue appointments have been made as follows:

Storekeepers—Josh Billings, Third District of Ohio; George W. Downing, Nevada; F. A. Crawford, Oregon; John E. Lahrey, Sixth Ohio; Thomas Robinson, Twenty-third District, New-York; James Healy, Third New-York; O. H. Ferris, Ninth New-York; George W. Perry, Second Wisconsin; Michael Sullivan and John Carrington, First Pennsylvania; H. Block, Fifth Kentucky; A. G. Redway and Charles D. Vegin, ——, Idaho; R. J. Miller, Eighth Pennsylvania; R. A. Crosson, First Pennsylvania; Christian Plebler, Fifteenth Pennsylvania. Gaugers—Samuel C. Brannin, George Capron, and C. C. Gillet, Second Wisconsin; Samuel B. Knapp and Leonard Hempstead, Third Connecticut; A. C. Lewis, Thirteenth Ohio; James Dard and John A. Tuttle, Third Illinois; Henry Westhoff, First Ohio; C. D. Wall, Eleventh Ohio; George D. Smith, First Illinois.

GOV. VANCE AT THE VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA FAIR.

The Fair of the Border Agricultural Society of Virginia and North Carolina was opened in Danville, Va., yesterday. Col. William T. Southerlen, President of the Society, spoke briefly, and Gov. Vance of North Carolina delivered the annual address. He said: "The first thing that appeared to me as worthy of grave consideration was the great change which the abolition of Slavery brought about to the Southern farmers. At first it struck a deadly blow at the system of large farms. The breaking up of larger farms into smaller ones and the substitution of white labor would inevitably drive the negro from the land. There is danger, too, that our people in their changed condition will embrace the notion commonly worshiped in progressive communities, that money is the god of this life, and the accumulation of it the chief end of man. God forbid that the Southern people should ever be bound to the chariot-wheels of Ben. Franklin, and learn to esteem his pinchpenny maxims above the apothegms of Bacon. May they never establish a Mecca of Cape Cod or Buzzard's Bay, or worse, to allow the odor of Wethersfield onions to ascend from their altars of sacrifice. [Applause.] Change in labor is equally pregnant with important changes to our people. Small farms were never used to much negro labor. The demand for white labor is the beginning of immigration, and the beginning of immigration is the beginning of the end of the negro. The political privilege accorded him will only hasten his ruin by increasing his idleness, and filling him with dissatisfaction toward the humble paths of labor for which he is fitted. He is told that he should not only control the destinies of a great Union at the ballot-box, but is eminently gifted without knowing the alphabet from a steam engine, to frame and organize the laws of a people whose statesmanship is enriched with the experience of 4,000 years, and believes he can spin out constitutions equally as well as split rails. Nor will he work for $10 per month when he can get $9 per day as a framer of constitutions, so called.

LATEST GENERAL NEWS—BY TELEGRAPH.

....Charlotte Cushman is in St. Louis.

....Coal has been discovered on the line of the Central Pacific Railroad in Nevada.

....Judge Dickinson of Ohio has not been arrested on a charge of fraudulently uttering naturalization papers.

....The third and last game of Base Ball between the Harvard and Lowell Clubs was played yesterday, and was won by the former, by a score of 28 to 15.

....In an affray on Court-st. yesterday afternoon John Cosgrove was stabbed three times and then shot by Thomas O'Donnell, an ex-Alderman.

....The third State Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association assembled in Bath, Me., yesterday. The Hon. G. F. Talsbury of Lewiston presided.

....The Grand Lodges and Commanderies of Free-Masons made an imposing demonstration in Dayton, Ohio, yesterday. An oration was delivered by the Rev. Wynkoop Hallock.

....Mary Kelly of Worcester, who was accidentally shot by her lover on Sunday evening, died on Monday night. The couple were married a few hours before her death.

THE PRESIDENCY.

GREAT MEETING AT COOPER INSTITUTE LAST EVENING—SPEECHES BY THE HON. GERRIT SMITH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL BREWSTER OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND THE REV. E. J. IVES.

Another monster meeting was held last night at the Cooper Institute, under the auspices of the Union Republican Presidential Campaign Club, the Central Grant Club, and the Griswold and Cornell Central Campaign Club. The hall was beautifully decorated with flags and mottoes, and a larger number of ladies graced the scene by their presence than was ever seen before at a political meeting in the hall. The Hon. Gerrit Smith, the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster (the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania), and the Rev. Mr. Ives of New-York, were the speakers. The Hon. Thomas Murphy called the meeting to order, and the Hon. Charles S. Spencer introduced the first speaker, the Hon. Gerrit Smith.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH.

Mr. Smith said: For half a century a great battle has been going on in this land—the battle between freedom and Slavery. It is not yet fought out. Never were the friends of freedom putting forth more earnest efforts than at this time. Never were they more intent on victory. On the other hand, never before was there so close an alliance between the Northern Democracy and the pro-slavery element in the South. Never before was their joint purpose to crush the black man so deep, so determined, and so malignant. This cry for the white man's Government which has rung through our land for the last year or two, has but one meaning. The white man's Government means the black man's slavery. [Cheers.] England bequeathed Slavery to America. America unhappily had neither the wisdom nor the virtue to decline the sad bequest. Our North and our South, our East and our West, were all entrapped, if not by accepting Slavery, nevertheless by encouraging and by upholding it. At length a war came of Slavery. This was the natural—and I might almost say, the necessary—culmination of a crime so full of fraud, violence, and oppression. This war lasted about four years; and when was there ever another war that cost so much treasure, so many tears, and so much blood? In the end, the South had to surrender—not because she was less in bravery than the North—she was not—but simply because she was less in numbers and resources. Then, my hearers, there was a time, when the South surrendered, that the North failed of that consciousness which the occasion called for. Then it was that the North should have remembered penitently her own large responsibility for this Slavery-begotten war. Then it was that the North should have remembered penitently how, by her schools and churches, her commerce and politics, she had contributed to uphold Slavery. Then it was that the North and the South should have seen themselves to be fellow sinners, and should have seen how morally incapable they were of sitting in judgment one upon the other for their common sin. Then it was that the North should have sought to lift up her poor impoverished sister out of the straits and distresses to which the war had reduced her, and she should have done this even at the expense of drawing from her national Treasury $50,000,000 or $100,000,000 to scatter indiscriminately over the most desolate parts of the South. By such and kindred measures, in my judgment, we should have won the hearts of the South, and we should have produced peace between the North and South. The North, with a consciousness of her own large share of responsibility for the war, would have had no heart to charge any man for his part in the war with treason. She would have felt herself morally incompetent to put even Jefferson Davis or Gen. Lee on trial for treason. It is true that even reconstruction might have been speedily reached in this wise. The poor, desolated South, confiding in such ease in the North, would have said to the sympathizing North: Reconstruct us now just as you please; now that we know you love us and pity us, we feel assured you will do us no intentional wrong. It is true that prudence would have required the brief disfranchisement of those—or at least a part of those—who took up arms to destroy their nation; but this disfranchisement would have been emphatically brief, for under the influence of this love and justice manifested by us these men would soon have shown themselves worthy to be the depositories of the ballot; and then again our exercise of such goodness toward the South would have exercised her goodness toward others—even toward the black man she had always wronged, always trampled upon. To deal rightly by a man is of all ways the most effective to bring him to deal rightly by others. As I said before, this was the way to bring about peace between the North and the South, through the power of love. It seems to me that it must be a strange man whose loyalty has to be proven. Think of a speaker trying to prove the loyalty of Gen. Grant—a man who blazes all over with the stars of his victories won in defence of the Union. [Applause.] One might as well go back and attempt to prove that Christ was a Christian as to tell the American people that Gen. Grant is a loyal man. [Applause.] A candidate for the Presidential chair should shine all over with loyalty to his country. Gov. Seymour is not loyal. [Great applause.] No man is loyal who can plant himself upon the Democratic platform—a platform that is to make this Government odious in the sight of all nations if carried out. What kind of a platform is it that advocates the non-payment of its debts. [Applause and cheers.] Another election is at hand, and the issue is—shall this nation live or die. There are other questions, but they do not enter into the present canvass. In speaking of the Irish, Mr. Smith said: I feel that I have a right to speak of Irishmen, for my mother's mother was born in the City of Cork [applause], and I always was a warm friend of that great statesman, Daniel O'Connell. [Applause.] No people on the face of the earth are in so false a position. The people whom they hate of all, is the British aristocracy. Yet this same aristocracy has done everything it could to uphold the slaveholding aristocracy of the South. [Applause.]

SPEECH OF THE HON. BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER.

Mr. Brewster was introduced by Mr. Andrews as the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and was received with a storm of applause. At the suggestion of Mr. Spencer the audience rose and gave three tremendous cheers for Republican Pennsylvania.

Mr. Brewster said: Ladies and gentlemen, it is now near 10 o'clock, and I feel very little inclination to request that you shall remain here to hear me. After what you have heard and I have heard to-night, very little more can be said that can be of advantage or of profit to us. Mr. Smith, with the thorough knowledge which he possesses upon this subject, and the experience of a lifetime, has gone over the whole ground of the main issues that are really to be considered by the people in the approaching election. I am not accustomed, it is not the habit of my life, to address assemblages like these. I am not a politician, and hardly a public man, for the station which I hold is purely a professional one, and the occupation and pursuit of my life has been that of a professional man, and whenever I have been tempted from a sense of duty to come out occasionally as I have done now to such places, and I listen to addresses delivered by those who are accustomed to address assemblages for such purposes and hear them explain the issues and enlarge upon the arguments and appeal to the people, I always feel my own short-comings and how unfavorable I am of meeting anything like the expectations that a large body of people have a right to demand at the hands of any one who shall presume to come before them and ask their attention. After what you have heard from Mr. Smith to-night, I do not know indeed what I could say to entertain, or instruct you, and probably that which I should first do would be to direct your attention for the purpose of instructing you upon a subject about which you are not very well informed, and about which I may be supposed to know something, and that is the condition and prospects of the Republican party in Pennsylvania. [Applause.] The recent canvass in Pennsylvania was one in which I took part, a subordinate part, it is true, but still a part. As soon as the campaign began—for by a kind of practical misnomer we call these political canvasses "campaigns," as if they were war—as soon as the campaign began men of note and standing in the party resolved that we should scatter ourselves over the State of Pennsylvania and seek, not only by addressing the people as you are addressed here, but by personal appeals to those who commanded the different districts of the State—the leaders of the Republican party in the different districts of the State—to stimulate their sense of duty. For one, with others, I went through all the eastern end of the State, through all the northern tier of counties, along the western border, and through the center of the State, and there I learned that which I was glad to convey as information to you people of New-York, who needed it of all other people in the nation, that Pennsylvania was sound [cheers], and that on the 2d Tuesday of October she would respond to the Republican party as she responded to the call of her country when Fort Sumter was fired on. [Loud cheers.] The Republican party of Pennsylvania has a history of its own. I was a Democrat, but, thank God, I will never again be a Democrat [applause], for I hold that man an enemy of the human race who would identify himself with the Democratic party after it has lifted its parricidal hand against the life of its country. I call that man an enemy of the human race who would attach himself in full communion with the Democratic party, when he recognizes in it the strongest and only ally of Rebellion in arms against humanity and human liberty. [Loud cheers.] I say the Republican party in the State of Pennsylvania has a peculiar history. All the strongholds of the Republican party at this day were once the only stronghold of the old Democratic party in its proudest days and glory. The whole of the eastern tier of counties, and the whole of the northern tier of counties, were once the very citadel of the Democratic party, and in those counties—those northern counties—began through Wilmot's help and by Wilmot's assistance the teaching of those doctrines once called Free Soil and now called Republican, which revolutionized the State and carried it over, now and forever, to the cause of Republican liberty in this country. [Cheers.] After the Whig party in the City of Philadelphia had been broken up by the destruction of the old city proper—for the city of Philadelphia, as it was originally chartered and established by Penn, was a small corporation within the limits of what the world at large understood to be the City of Philadelphia, a very close and narrow corporation, consisting of but a few Wards—after that was united, the whole into one grand metropolis, one great municipality, the old Whig party, as it was called, passed away, and then began a kind of scramble. We had the Know-Nothing party, we had the Native American party, we had the People's party, we had the divided Democratic party, and we had the Abolition party, and out of all this grew up gradually a party called the Republican party. And they stood firm, and gradually, as Mr. Smith can say, they came to him—the Whigs, some of them went with the Democrats. Free Soilers and free-thinking Democrats went with the Abolitionists. The Native Americans and the Know-Nothings and all the various divisions united, and out of them grew the great Republican party. And this party, constituted as all such parties must be necessarily, being a new party, passed into the hands of new men; and, to the surprise of others, the Republican party swept everything before it in the State of Pennsylvania, and the Democratic party began to see the signs of dissolution and ruin. At this juncture of the history of the Republican party in our State Rebellion broke out. The leaders of the Republican party in Philadelphia, at that time, were men who, up to that period, had been hardly known in public life. Many of them were very obscure persons. The body of the people of the State of Pennsylvania, particularly in the City of Philadelphia, to which, for the present explanation, I shall confine myself, the body of the people in the City of Philadelphia were actuated by a sense of duty to their country, and did not look too strictly into the organization or the fitness of the men who had organized the Republican party. What they wanted was not office or place, not power, but a patriotic enforcement of the law of the land, that they might have a country preserved to them. [Applause.] And so, during the war, the Republican party in the City of Philadelphia was in the hands of men many of whom abused the confidence that was thus generously bestowed upon them. But by-and-by the war was ended, and then the Republican party, true to that which seems to have been the moral principle of its existence—and a moral principle which alone has distinguished it above all other parties known in the history of this country—said: "We will not recognize nominations that are made by the mere force of discipline, and we will not, in the name of patriotism, vote for bad men," and the consequence was, to the terror and amazement of a great many Republicans throughout the country, that Philadelphia went over to the Democratic party, and we seemed to have been lost forever. Now that which was but a moral rebuke, a punishment inflicted by independent, patriotic men, and in a way that never could have occurred in the days of the old Democratic supremacy, because the Democratic party, to its shame be it said—based, as it claimed to be, upon liberal principles, and recognizing Democracy as the very fundamental element of its constitution—was exacting, stern, and severe in the punishment of anything like the expression of an independent will by its members, visiting upon them a penalty of excommunication that was almost as terrible to the political man who sought to assert his independence as was the power of excommunication declared by the Church of Rome against heretics and schismatists. In the history of the Democratic party, and in the days of its pride and power, no man belonging to it who hoped for public promotion dared to have an independent opinion for himself. [Applause.] If he did, upon his head was visited a political punishment that sent him into political banishment forever. But it was not so, nor is it so, in the Republican party. That party, in the city of Philadelphia, as in the State at large, dared, in its rank and file, to speak out independently against the views of its impure leaders, and to punish its bad ones. [Applause.] It was because of this, ladies and gentlemen, that here in New-York and elsewhere the organization of the Republican party in Pennsylvania was not understood; and it was because of these defeats which we had dared to suffer, you not understanding or appreciating the case, that you supposed Pennsylvania was in doubt. But let me tell you, there never was an hour since Ulysses S. Grant was nominated for the Presidency of the United States [applause], that there was a doubt in the minds of true Republicans that he would sweep the State of Pennsylvania, by the force of his nomination, both in October as well as in November. [Loud cheers.] Why, there is another evidence of the dignity, the purity, and the high moral principle that is a part of the very soul of the Republican party. Gen. Grant was nominated by the people of the Republican party in spite of the politicians. [Applause.] And it is the only instance in the history of this country, since its organization, that the people have really had a voice in the nomination of a man they meant to elect. [Great applause.] Where would we have been without Ulysses Grant? Where would the Republican party have been this day without Ulysses Grant? We were leaning upon a man who had been busily endeavoring to sell his body and his soul, and to sell the very soul of his party and its principles to the Democratic party. [Cheers.] He was the gift of Almighty God to the country during a bloody war, as he is now the gift of Almighty God to the Republican party in this civil strife that we are now in. [Great cheering.] Now let this explain to you how it is in Pennsylvania, there can be no real reason to doubt that when proper men are nominated by proper means for proper places, we will invariably triumph. [Applause.] Now let me say a word or two to you. I fear I have already trespassed too much. [Cries of "Go on."] Let me say a word or two to you upon a matter connected with that which is supposed to be the general issue. Republican principles in Pennsylvania are as firm as her eternal hills, and strong as her iron; and upon her the Republican party may lean, and lean forever, without fear. Passing from Pennsylvania, let me address myself to one or two considerations that occur to me connected with this general issue. The scheme of the Democratic party ever since its organization, if we only go back along the history of the party, shows it to have been a party of management. Everything that has been done in the Democratic party from the beginning, since the day that Mr. Jefferson passed away, has been done by contrivance and design, by political diplomacy, and not by real appeals to popular sentiment, or will. [Applause.] The last great scheme of the Democratic party and of its confederates is with the foreign vote to govern the cities, and with the cities to govern the States, and with the great States to govern the Union. They always governed from the beginning by some contrivance, some manipulation, some arrangement or great political element of power. They were governed by direct appeal either to popular conscience or to popular will—never. [Applause.] This great scheme has been frustrated in Pennsylvania, and will be in November frustrated in New-York. [Cheers.] New-York called to us: "Watchman, what of the night?" and we responded: "All's well!" [Tremendous applause.] The scheme, I say, was, with the foreign vote in this campaign to govern the cities, and with the cities to govern the great States. That is the scheme begun to be practiced in Pennsylvania; there began the frauds that are intended to be practiced here to carry your election in November; and they will fail here as they failed in Pennsylvania. [Applause.] The law that was intended and designed to corner upon a man the highest and noblest evidence of individual right and power and dignity—the right of citizenship—a law which is carefully enacted and expressed, and that requires that judicial action and judgment shall be satisfied—a law, the abuse of which injures every man in the community, the native-born citizen as well as the regularly naturalized citizen—a law which of all others should be administered deliberately, calmly, judiciously, conscientiously—this law is abused; abused not only by a reckless and abandoned method of administering it, but by fraudulent practices that would disgrace thieves in a penitentiary. [Applause.] I have said that the history of the Democratic party has been one of management. Candidates were made by combinations of men who met in little bodies and caucused and contrived together. They were put upon Conventions; by Conventions they were put upon the party; and woe be to the men that did not obey the command of the party. And yet, they called that Democracy; they called it the free expression of free men as to the execution of the laws of the land and the exercise of their rights as citizens. One of the means by which they seek to execute their power and obtain public suffrage in this election, is an appeal directly made, not to the intelligence of the voter, but to the meanest prejudice of the human heart. The party which is called the Democratic party, and professed itself to be the poor man's friend and the working-man's advocate, propagates this infamous heresy—a mild term for it. With it they seek to poison the minds of the working people of the country, and in that way to snatch the reins of power, to misrule this land, and to abuse its free people. They tell the workingmen, and of all others the Irishman, the laboring man, that the object of the Republican party is to degrade him to the level of the negro, and that the object of the Republican party is not only to degrade him to the level of the negro, but to make the negro his master, to enslave him in bondage to the negro. [Laughter.] Now let us see how that is. I say I can prove it, and I will prove it to the satisfaction of all who hear me this night, that the object of the Republican party from the beginning has been, as it was the object of Mr. Gerrit Smith, not merely to liberate the black man, but to liberate the white man of the North from the bondage of the slaveholder of the South. [Immense and long-continued applause.] Listen to it again; look at it in its right light and understand it. I defy any man to stand up and contradict what I say. [Cries of "Good."] It is constitutional history, it is the history of the whole country, political and constitutional, that which I here assert. [Cheers.] I say again that the office and duty of the Republican party, from the first, has been not to degrade the white man of the North, but to liberate the white man of the North from the bondage of the Slaveholder of the South. [Loud cheers.] Let every poor white man who has nothing else to depend upon in this life but the conscious sense of his manhood, his dignity of character, his integrity of purpose, his industry, and his right of citizenship, let him reflect for one moment and he will see that he never enjoyed his full liberty until the Republican party put down Slavery. [Cheers.] And, Mr. Smith, it seems to me to be philosophically true, and beautifully so, so true that it seemed to be ordained by God Almighty, that the white man of the North should never enjoy his full and perfect freedom until the liberty of the black man of the South was secured. [Cheers.] Now look at it. By the Constitution—a Constitution that was tricked upon us by the slaveholders, still the Constitution—for be it known to you that while it was the Constitution and these men wanted the law under it, I, unlike Mr. Smith, could not see that which I now see, the glory of which, like grace itself, has visited my soul. [Laughter and applause.] I was willing to go with these men to the edge of the law, but not beyond the law. When they departed and became a law unto themselves, I became a law unto myself. [Cries of "Good," and great enthusiasm.] And that law was universal liberty for the human race. Now, by the Constitution which was tricked upon us by Southern men, the Northern representative in Congress was met there by a Southern representative who did not represent free men, but was represented a condition of society where men possessed power without a people—not without a population, but without a people. For there is no people unless there are free men. That is what we call people—free, independent citizens. [Great applause.] I say that under the old Constitution the Northern representative, sent by free, white votes, was encountered there, confronted, neutralized, and defeated, by a representative who represented no people, but represented population, which was itself represented by slaveholders. [Cheers.] Now see how that is. The Northern white man cast his vote, the Northern man sent his Northern representative; the Southern white man cast his vote, he represented not himself, but he represented three-fifths, they altogether represented three-fifths of the negroes owned by them. Who were the negroes? Were they people? No, Sir, they were not people. And why not? Because by the law, their law, not our law; praise be to God, not our law [cheers]; a law they had made onto themselves, the law of the devil [laughter and cheers]; by their law three-fifths of the negroes were counted in to make representation for the South, and in that way to counteract and neutralize the Northern representation, and make slaves of the Northern white men. [Cries of "good," "that's so," and applause.] The population they counted in were not people, they were not men, they were not human beings; they were chattels. The Southern man voted upon the basis of representation which was as unjust toward you as if he had voted upon his cattle, his horses, his mules, his oxen, and his Southern ass. [Laughter and applause.] So, who will dare to say now that the Republican party undertook to degrade the Northern man to the level of the negro. The Southern Constitution forced it upon us and under it we groaned, and groaned, and groaned in public and national shame and private sorrow and grief. Under that Constitution the Northern white man's vote was counted, and the Southern slaveholder's chattel was counted as population. [Applause.] Who, then, will dare to say that we seek to degrade the white man? It is the Republican party that first took him, and when it struck the shackles off the slave it disenthralled both, and elevated both to the stature of perfect and entire manhood. [Loud cheers.] That is not all. Who, then, degraded the white man? Let us imagine what was the history of the country under the old Constitution before I pass to other illustrations. If I tire you, stop me. [Cries of "No, no," "Go on," and applause.] What was the practical working of this business? From the time John Adams was defeated for the Presidency, down to the time that Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States, praise be to God, and I did not vote for him at his first election, [laughter and applause,] and I did not vote for either of the candidates, I had not the full compliment of grace just then. [Renewed laughter.] I say I did not vote for Abraham Lincoln when first elected, but I did vote for him when last elected. Had I had a million of votes then, he should have had them. [Cheers.] From the time that John Adams was defeated for the Presidency of the United States down to the time Abraham Lincoln—God rest his soul—was elected, no man, whether he was a Republican, Whig, Abolitionist, Democrat, or no matter what you called him, dared aspire to that place unless he was secure of it by the will of the slaveholders. Who, let me ask again, then, degraded the white man of the North? The slaveholder who defeated every man who was not willing to be his instrument? or the Republican party, which has liberated not only the white man, but has opened the Presidential chair to the man who is not the tool of the slaveholder? [Cheers.] Why, the public men of the country, men like Mr. Smith, men of education, men of training, men of purity of life, men of unbounded benevolence as he has been—a man whose heart was warm as the sun, and who gave of his bounty to every cause where human liberty and human charity demanded [cheers]—Northern men, men born where Lexington and Bunker Hill were fought, where Monmouth and Germantown were fought; such men as these felt that the door of public promotion was closed upon them, and they turned away in disgust, for they scorned to make a compact with the devil and join hands with the slaveholders. (Cheers.) And so the public men of the United States, North, who did not unite with these men of the South, were doomed to exile and banishment forever from national promotion, while even those who were Northern men with Southern principles, like Mr. Van Buren, were doubted, and not trusted. The very minute they began to doubt Mr. Van Buren, at the time Texas was to be admitted, they slaughtered him, although he had already been slaughtered in the North in their cause, and they took up Mr. Polk of Tennessee, who was a slaveholder, and had the confidence of slaveholders. No Northern man was ever permitted to hold public power without the permission of Southern men, and what of the other offices of the country? All the dignities that conferred present honor and future renown were taken from such Northern men. Who then were the slaves? The Northern white men, the Whigs and Republicans who refused to make this unholy alliance, they were slaves to these Southern masters, and the Democrats too were the baser slaves of all, for they served and took place at the will of the Southern slavehol