ing was organized with all the regularity and order which usually characterise in-door gatherings. Only the officers and the speakers were allowed upon the stands; faithful persons were placed at the head of the steps, and no one was permitted to pass without a ticket of admittance. In the meanfime, the immense hall having been filled to overflowing, crowds began to congregate around these stands. Then the outside meetings were called to order, the chairman and other officers appointed, and the speakers introduced in regular order. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed during the delivery of the speeches, the open air orators being frequently interrupted by bursts of cheers and humorous remarks. It was an exceedingly intelligent gathering; much interest appeared to be taken in the authoritative statements made, and the lines of argument pursued in the speeches, as the well timed enthusiasm of the populace abundantly attested. Still it was somewhat difficult for the hearers to follow the speakers closely, because the meetings were constantly interrupted by the arrival of different political associations from various sections of the city and from the surrounding suburbs, each club or society being headed by a band of music, and accompanied by glaring torches, innumerable transparancies, with various devices, and banners with appropriate inscriptions. It was interesting to observe how all these clubs and associations—some for Douglas and Johnson, some for Bell and Everett and some for Breckinridge and Lane—seemed to be animated by one common object dear alike to all—the preservation of the Union. It was interesting to observe how they all came forth with such unanimity of feeling to promote that object. Delegations came from nearly every ward in the city, and large and enthusiastic were their members. The Cooper Institute was the great centre of attraction for all. Among the societies which took part in the general display were the National Union League of the Eighteenth ward, the Twentieth Ward Breckinridge and Lane Union Association, the Eighth Ward Douglas and Johnson Club, the Seventh Ward National Democratic Union Club, the Spartan Artillery, the Ninth Ward Union Club, the Fifth, Seventh, Twelfth and Twenty first Ward Douglas and Johnson clubs, and numerous other associations. Indeed all the various political organizations in this city, opposed to the election of Lincoln, combined to swell the number They all had bands of music, illuminated transparencies and appropriate and humorous banners. The Kings county delegation made a splendid turnout. They all marched from the ferry up Broadway, and attracted a good deal of attention. There were the Union Leagues of Brooklyn, Light Infantry, Kings County Battalion Club, the Hickory Boys of Kings county—a formidable body of men—each armed with a hickory club. The Democratic Union Club, with a splendid temple of liberty, the Twelfth Ward Club of Brooklyn. The end of the procession was made up of delegations from Richmond county and Jersey City. Nearly all the associations from Brooklyn had open barouches containing their officers and distinguished invited guests who came to honor the occasion by their presence, or rather to do honor to themselves by being present on the occasion. These Brooklyn Clubs made a really beautiful display. The members of most of them were dressed in new and splendid uniforms, something similar in style, but much more handsome in appearance to that of the Wide Awakds. They carried earti colored lamps and torches, which, together with beautiful uniforms and elegant marching, produced a fine effect. It was a beautiful sight to see these various associations carrying torches and banners, and sending up streams of pyrotechnics, as they came from every point of the compass, marching to the music of their bands, and all conveying to one central point, and that the Cooper Institute. During the evening the square became so densely packed that it was difficult for the clubs to pass. About half past ten o'clock, however, the inside and outside meetings adjourned, and all the clubs, swelled by accessions of citizens from the several meetings, all formed into one unbroken line, constituting a grand procession, which greatly excelled in magnificence the recent Wide Awake demonstration, and marched through the principal thoroughfares of the city. They gave vent to the most unbounded enthusiasm all the while, and the thousands of spectators which assembled at various points to see them responded with equal enthusiasm.

Below we give a detailed account of the proceedings of the outside meetings.

STAND NUMBER ONE.

SPEECHES OF THE HON. HIRAM KETCHUM, PAUL B. BRADLEE AND OTHERS.

The first stand was situated near Clinton Hall, and the audience, which assembled in front of it, vied with the others in numbers and enthusiasm. Shortly before eight o'clock a splendid procession of the Ashlanders, bearing innumerable transparencies and torches, headed by a fine band of music, and carrying in the line their banner, which they have used in each Presidential campaign since 1848, approached from Broadway and took possession of the stand, upon which no one was admitted without a ticket. The meeting was organized by the selection of the following officers:—

Abm. Bininger, Chairman. Geo. B. King Chief Sec'ty.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

H. A.T. Granberry,	A. J. Van Winkle,	Edwin Dunn,
Henry B. Price,	S. Everett Russell,	G. W. Armstrong,
Chas. Smithson,	John T. Willeteen,	Robt. C. Gwyer,
John H. Hopper,	Theo. B. Voorhees,	Wm. Oakley,
W. T. Jennings,	L. R. Kerr,	James P. Haight,
Benj. F. Hancock,	John P. Dodge,	Ellingham Sutton,
W. F. Jackson,	John Cowenhover,	B. W. Winans,
George W. Smith,	C. A. Budd, M.D.,	E. Marrenner.

SECRETARIES.

Henry Clay Platt,	W. H. Draper,	W. A. Conklin,
E J. Brown, Jr.,	W. M. Martine,	Joseph Milward,
W. H. Falconer,	John Basset, Jr.,	W. S. Tisdale.
W. W. Hall, M.D.,		

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks in a brief and handsome manner for the honor conferred upon him, and called upon the Hon. Hiram Ketchum as the first speaker.

Mr. KETCHUM was greeted with loud applause as he came forward to address the vast assembly. He said:—

FELLOW CITIZENS—The object of this vast concourse of citizens to night is to prevent the success of the republican party at the ensuing election. For this purpose parties heretofore opposed to each other have united. They have united in the only way in which their union could accomplish any good—in the support of one ticket. If there had been more than one ticket republican success would have been made certain in this State; to defeat that success, the formation of one ticket, to be supported by all the opponents of the republican party, was the only practicable measure. That measure is the one proposed to-night; to accomplish it we have assembled, and we have nothing to do but, forgetting past differences, to put forth all our efforts in support of it. Shall we do so, fellow citizens? If our purpose is fixed, if our resolution is firm and unalterable, we cannot fail to succeed, for the majority of voters in the State of New York opposed to the republican party, is, beyond all doubt, large Tested by the election of 1856, the last Presidential canvass, that majority was 45,600; it has not diminished since that time. What motive have we for uniting? The simple one that the success of the republican party would be a national calamity. That party is a sectional party; it is arrayed against a geographical section, because of a domestic institution established in that section; its efforts are directed against that section; its feelings are aroused against that section; its speeches are against that section; its press is against that section. It is a melancholy thought that the vast illuminated procession, composed almost entirely of young men, many of them minors, which marched through our streets a few evenings since, were animated by one controlling thought—opposition to the South Of course combinations and processions at the South are controlled by the thought of opposition to the North, if it be ascertained, as I hope will not, that the North is united against the South. If these things are so, and are to remain, how can it be possible that we can expect or hope to live harmoniously with our Southern fellow citizens? It follows, as a necessary consequence, that sooner or later the Union must be dissolved. Parties formed, not upon principles and theories of administration, but upon sectional ideas, must inevitably lead to this result. Nothing else can happen; nothing else ought for a moment to be expected. Shall we resist this tendency of things in the beginning, or shall we permit it to go on to a disastrous conclusion? If resistance is the word we must put down, we must crush sectional parties. Such organizations lead inevitably to ruin. The republican party is a party of one idea. So it was declared by the father of that party at its birth; that father is William H. Seward. It is a physiological fact, that whenever the mind, however capacious and sound it may be, is filled with but one idea, if it dwells long upon that idea to the exclusion of other ideas, that must become unsettled; it loses its balance, it becomes diseased. The technical name of that disease is monomania, and a large number of the patients in every insane asylum are monomaniacs. So if a man's morality consists in magnifying and practicing one virtue to the neglect of other virtues, he necessarily becomes an unsafe, a dangerous and bad man. What is true of individuals is equally true of associations of men, of parties, moral, political or religious. We have had some practical illustrations of these truths in our State. Mr. Ketchum, in support of this assertion, then referred to the anti masonic party and the temperance party, and alluded again to the republican party—the party of one idea—and spoke of its prominent leaders. Continuing he asked what but a party that has become unsettled in mind and perverted in heart, by long dwelling upon a single idea, could wish to blot out not a most important provision of the constitution and think it was doing no harm!—could resolve, in one of the oldest States of this Union, filled with educated citizens, many of them of the highest intellectual endowments, and in the enjoyment of the highest type of civilization, to elect to the first office of the Commonwealth a man who openly approved of John Brown's invasion of a sister State for the purpose of exciting sedition, murder and civil war, and yet think that no insult, no injury were offered to that old Commonwealth? There is little doubt that a majority of the people of Massachusetts and Maine would at this day pass a vote that John Brown was right in going to the rescue of the slaves of Virginia. A distinguished Senator, the father and acknowledged leader of that party, has lately returned from a progress through the Western States, inculcating the doctrine that one of the principal objects contemplated by the fathers of the republic in the formation of this government was the abolition of African slavery in this country, and that so long ago as 1820, the government abandoned the policy originally impressed upon it, by the admission of the State of Missouri, without requiring the condition to such admission, that this State should abolish involuntary servitude, except for the commission of crime, and that as a consequence of such departure the country had lost character and standing among the nations of the world, and forfeited the regard and affection of its own citizens. It would be easy to show that this Senator has been a careless student of the facts connected with the formation of the constitution, or he never would have ventured upon such assertions. The idea of abolishing slavery in this country, by the action or influence of the general government, never formed any part of the motive which led to the formation of the constitution of this country. The leading motive which induced the formation and adoption of the constitution was one which had been entirely overlooked by Mr. Seward; that motive was to foster and increase trade and commerce; to promote the material prosperity and wealth of the country. The history of the constitution in this relation has been drawn with so much fidelity, precision and accuracy by one of the ablest expounders of that instrument that the country has produced, that I shall transcribe a portion of that history. I quote from the most profound, elaborate and best considered speech ever made by Daniel Webster on the floor of the Senate. It was delivered in March, 1838, during Mr. Van Buren's administration, and may be found in the fourth volume of his works. Mr. Ketchum here quoted the well known views of Daniel Webster from the speech alluded to, and then resumed his remarks. Here, he said, is a description of the leading inducements to the formation of the constitution, drawn from pure historical sources by the hand of a master, prepared more than twenty years ago, and therefore not got up for this occasion. Do you believe it, fellow citizens? Regarding the constitution in this, the right of true history, has it been a failure? Has it been off of the track prepared and laid down by its founders for the last forty years? The constitution is substantially a treaty of trade and commerce between the independent nations of which the Union is composed. By observing the articles of this treaty an amount of material prosperity has been produced such as the world has never beheld in any other country. Look around—survey the island on which we live—the ships and vessels in our harbor, the cities, the villages, the hamlets, the workshops, the laboratories, the cultivated fields, the institutions of learning, the temples devoted to religion, the intelligent population scattered all over our country—exhibiting a theatre of wonders—and then let me ask, shall this treaty be impaired, be violated, be broken? It is easy to say that we of the North are strong, and can compel the weaker party to keep the articles of the treaty. Is that wise? Is it judicious? Would it not be far better to let it remain a treaty, not only of trade and commerce, but of amity? Now, let the State of New York, with the Atlantic ocean at one extremity, and immense inland seas at the other, affording facilities of commerce with numerous States—let the State of New York look to herself, and her great power, and rescue the country from the dominion of a sectional party. If she is awake to her best interests, she will not fail to do it. Is it to be considered a matter of reproach that men of business in this city, or elsewhere, should regard the material advantages resulting from the free and uninterrupted trade between the people of the several States of this Union, when, as we have seen, that the security for such trade was the principal motive which led to the formation of that Union? The prosperity which results from this trade is that which, more than anything else, makes the distinction between us and the people of other countries. Our people are better fed, better clothed, better educated, than any other people, by reason of their prosperity, and that prosperity results from the treaty of amity and commerce between the States of this Union and the trade with foreign nations; that treaty is the constitution of the United States. Are we now prepared—can we be so insane as to put in jeopardy the great interests to which I have adverted, by agitating the question, shall slavery be extended to the territories? There is no more prospect to-day of slavery being extended to Territories now free than there is of its being extended to the moon. Mr. Ketchum was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause, and was heartily cheered at the close.

PAUL B. BRADLEE, who had declined a nomination for Congress in favor of the Hon. John Cochrane, was speaking from the side of the same stand, for the crowd was so great that all could not get an opportunity to hear the speakers in front. Mr. Bradlee observed that they had assembled for the purpose of endorsing one of the most important movements ever attempted in the history of our politics—important, he said, for the reason we find here assembled those who have party and personal preferences all combined together in one bond of union, endeavoring to defeat one common foe in the coming Presidential election. (Cheers.) It has never occurred before in our political history that questions of such important issues have been presented to the people, consequently we have never had so much responsibility resting upon us as at the present time. The election of Abe Lincoln would be the greatest national calamity that this country has ever experienced. (Cheers and cries of "That's so.") It would result in the destruction of every enterprise that is now before the people, either public or private. (Renewed cheers.) It would produce a reaction in the financial world that would shake the foundation of every government on the face of the globe. It would create such disasters in the mercantile community that those who are now living in opulence would be reduced to beggary. It would throw out of employment in our city alone thousands of honest workingmen and women, and we would not only witness the scenes of 1857 but have them increased tenfold; and in order to establish this result let me call your attention for a moment to the relative positions of our country at the present time.

Mr. BRADLEE then referred to the relative importance of the North and the South, the products of the one and the manufactures of the other, and showed how great was the necessity for maintaining the constitution inviolate and preserving the Union uninjured. He retired amid loud cheers.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by W. A. Guest, Eli P. North and others. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed throughout, and the meeting was not terminated until the clubs began to withdraw for the purpose of joining in the general midnight procession.

STAND NUMBER TWO.

SPEECHES OF THOMAS W. M'MAHON, EX-JUDGE THOMPSON, AND OTHERS.

The second stand was erected on the west side of Fourth avenue, close by the Cooper Institute. It was designated more particularly as the Irish stand, and thousands of the sons of Erin assembled there. Indeed, the entire space opposite Lafayette place, from Clinton Hall to the Institute, was closely packed by an immense mass of human beings, who formed the audiences for the first two stands. At stand number two, James C. Marriott called the meeting to order and proposed the following officers, which were unanimously chosen, to assist in the conduct of the meeting.

Judge Connolly, Chairman. W. M. Tweed, Chief Sec't'y.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Thos. McCoy,	Daniel Witten,	H. Armstrong,
T. W. Adams,	Peter Masterson,	Jas. Wardlew,
Wm. Miner,	Chas. Price,	Jas. B. Bensel,
Peter Mitchell,	J. W. McLean,	Wm. McArthur,
Bernard Kelly,	J. W. Rich,	Chas. C. Allen,
Thos. Reilly,	J. McLeod Murphy,	Patrick Crowe,
J. McLoughlin,	C. H Terry,	J. E Kerrigan,
Daniel Gillespie,		J. J. Van Pelt.

SECRETARIES.

J. L. Carbrey,	Peter Monaghan,	P. Kerrin,
Jas. J. Higgins,	J. I. Kiernan, M.D	Ed. Hogan,
E. Robinson,	Thos. Monroe,	William Chapman.
Aug. Francis,		

Judge CONNOLLY, the chairman, made a few appropriate introductory remarks, explaining briefly the objects of the meeting, and expressing the firm conviction that if all the lovers of the Union would unite in one harmonious effort the object they sought would be triumphantly achieved. His remarks were to the point, and were received with great favor by the audience.

Thos. W. McMAHON was introduced as the first speaker. He was received with great applause. Gracefully expressing his acknowledgments for the warm reception he met with, he proceeded to say:—

When I last spoke in public in New York, it was upon the eve of a memorable victory achieved by one branch of the democracy over another, and I then resolved to participate no more in public affairs until that organization was again solid and united. But the party has been divided nationally and locally; it has been made the prey of ravenous, huckstering, gambling, heartless political vampyres. The politicians have divided and distracted the public mind. They have raised false issues of their own creation They have been factious, turbulent and discordant. But we must now take the matter into our own hands; we must assume the leadership and the soldership in the coming strife. (Cheers.) Misunderstand me not, however; I am a partisan. The platform of my choice is the platform upon which stand John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane. (Applause.) But these gentlemen have a representative upon the ticket which we ratify to-night; and I glory in being found as an humble co operator with the friends of Stephen A. Douglas and honest John Bell in seeking to rescue the chair of Washington, Jefferson and Jackson from being sullied by that sectional arch traitor, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. (Applause.) To perpetuate the Union, to preserve those great institutions, which gave free homes to the exiles of the earth, hewed down our primeval forests, enlarged our commerce to a single century beyond all historical example, and caused the wilderness to blossom like the rose, to guard and shield our constitution. Did not the great Calhoun disagree from the great Webster? Did not the immortal Henry Clay differ from the no less immortal Andrew Jackson? And how often did not the late eloquent Rufus Choate dissent from Stephen A. Douglas and our own Dickinson? But in 1850, when the great storm of fanaticism swept over the land, and rocked the ship of State from stem to stern—were not all of them that survived the hand of death found arrayed in solid union beneath the arches of the constitution and the folds of the national flag, contending for the compromise measures? ("Yes," "Yes," and cheers.) But there is one manly form, one eloquent tongue, whose familiar face and silvery accents these hosts will miss not without profound regret, a man to whom principle is dearer than life, who scorns and contemns the trade of politics, who loves his country, her institutions and watchless form of government, second to no other man that breathes, but who has been temporarily estranged from this great common cause by the treacherous chicanery of the most graceless and infamous political cabal that could bring the blush of shame to the cheek of an enlightened generation. I refer, I need hardly say, to the endeared friend of us all, James T. Brady. (Applause.) A sense of great wrong—a sense, too, of mistaken principle drove Achilles from the ranks of his friends; but did not the body of slain Patroclus and the exigency of the beloved Greek cause win back again to fame, to glory, to victory, the unrivalled son of Peleus? (Renewed cheers.) And whatever may be his course in regard to the State ticket, at the head of which he stands, I am convinced that this favorite of the New York democracy will yet be found foremost among the legions that are crowding to the support of the Union electoral ticket. (Cheers.) We need all of our soldiers and all of our captains. We have disgraces enough to wipe out and impudence enough to rebuke. Have not the principle thoroughfares of this metropolis—to the growth and splendor of which all the States in the Union have proportionally contributed—been polluted the other evening by an organized and well disciplined procession of nigger stealing traitors called Wide Awakes? There were republicans of the water and molasses stamp there; there were nigger worshippers and "higher law" abolitionists in their ranks; there might be seen side by side the free lover and the Sabbatarian; and marching like turtle doves to funeral music were the followers of Neal Dow and O. B. Mallison. (Laughter.) They were there "with banner, lamp and rail," from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, from White Plains, and Orange, and Hartford, and New Haven, and last, though not least, from Banbury profane, celebrated for one thing, and one thing only—the execution of ancient cats, who on Lord's day killed rats. (Bursts of laughter.) Their music even had in it nothing that was martial, patriotic or inspiring; it appealed not to the sympathies of either Celt, or Teuton, or Saxon; it was purely African, in essence and effect. It told no story of "Garryowen" to the Irish heart; it awakened no memories of the "Marseillaise" of the great Revolution in the bosom of the Frenchman; it could not recall any emotions of Fatherland to him of Germany; nor inspire the Castillian with glorious dreams of Roncesvalles; and if a stray note of "Annie Laurie" found its way to a Scottish ear, the descendant of Bruce or Wallace mourned to hear an air thus abused to which his countrymen had been accustomed to march to victory over many of Europe's bloodstained fields. (Cheers.) Is it surprising, then, that the Wide Awakes were disgusting to our people? ("No," "No.") Now, the institution of slavery is by no means new to the world, although it has been the whole stock in trade of our opponents; it is as old as civilization. Slavery existed in the palmiest days of the greatest nations. In ancient Egypt, in Greece and in Rome, in Vienna and in France, and it was planted here by the English crown. Yet I defy the ablest among the enemies of the South to prove to me that in any other country where slavery existed it was so tempered with humanity and benignity as it is there. Nay, sir, but I will go further; I challenge the noblest republican of them all to show when and where, in the whole history of the world, the negro has been so far from the devil and so near God—so removed from Cannibalism and barbarism, and so approximate to civilization and Christianity—so useful to himself and to the world, and so likely to ameliorate and regenerate his race, as he is in his present condition of servitude in the Southern States. (Applause.) Yet in his name you are invoked to pull down the graceful column and noble arches of one temple of liberty, and to lay the lovely structure mouldering beneath the ashes and rubbish of fanaticism and corruption. In connection allow me to remind you, that it is in the name of the negro we have been stripped of nearly all municipal rights; that we are compelled to groan under a foreign Board of Police Commission, to which we annually pay about a million and a half of dollars; that seven millions of dollars, paid by us as auction duties, go to swell the republican coffers at Albany; that we have to pay nearly two millions of dollars above our just dues of a school tax; that a State tax has been imposed upon the four counties composing this Metropolitan Police district, exceeding that paid by the other fifty-four counties; that five millions' worth of our property has been bartered off without the payment of one cent therefor; that, in addition, a direct State tax of over two millions and dollars have been imposed upon us; yet, to cap the climax, we have been deprived of the commonest rights of independent citizenship. (Applause.) But the fiat has gone forth, the tocsin has been sounded, and the genius of alarm has spread her wings over the cities and towns and villages of the South. Elect Lincoln and you unloose those bonds of love and amity which have hitherto bound together, more firmly than hoops of brass or iron, the peoples of this great confederacy. (Cries of "We will not do it," &c.) And is not this something too fearfully worthy of reflection? Is it nothing to contemplate the beginning of what must end in the destruction of this lovely emporium's progress and prosperity? Think of what our onward march has been within the last ten years even. We have seen, in that short time, beauty and loveliness wedded to splendor and greatness—the great commercial houses, marts of literature and galleries of art pushed onward and onward up town—our greatest thoroughfare nearly bereft of private dwellings and relinquished to business—brown stone and marble palaces, rivalling those of Venice in her glory, rising, as if at the bidding of an enchanter's wand, upon the ruins of levelled houses—spacious mansions of every variety of architecture, gradually moving toward Harlem—the finest public park of any other city in the world, not only inaugurated, but considerably advanced—the argosies of our merchants whitening every sea, and touching at every port of the explored universe—the noble rivers that seem to caressingly entwine us, bearing upon their bosoms the products of the East and the West and the South, and the friendly customers of all sections—new vessels for ocean and river navigation, making music to the hammer of the builder in our dockyards; and all this enterprise, and all this progress, imparting free homes to countless thousands of every variety of operatives, and rewarding industry and thrift decennially with more than quadrupled fortunes. (Immense applause.) I dare say that our happy people consume each year more silks and satins, more beavers and broadcloths, more of all the costly luxuries of life, than is consumed by the remaining countless millions that inhabit this globe. (Renewed cheers.) But are the wheels of this forward race to be now turned back? (Cries of "No," "Never.") Ah, my friends, the old and time honored democratic party, with its conservative allies—the federal Union, the wise constitution—which gave, and give yet, free citizenship and equally independent individual rights to us all, and which we have long tested and found just and beneficent, is good enough for me: is better than the delusive promises of an empirical organization, whose sole platform is Sambo—(laughter)—and whose principles, if carried out, would certainly bring upon us a visitation of calamities. (Cheers.) And so long as (as I contend he is) the negro is better off and better cared for at the South than ever has been his lucky lot before; and so long as his advocates fail to submit some practical mode of ameliorating or bettering his condition; until he, himself, unleams pupilage and puts on the garments of progress—until he proves himself capable of producing from his race a Homer, a Michael Angelo or a Mozart, I believe it is better to have him in his present contented position, and to regard him, with reason and science, as an inferior being, properly conditioned in a state of tender pupilage. (Applause.) Therefore, I exhort all who hear me—all whom my words may reach, no matter under what genial sun they may have first opened their eyes; no matter by what river or mountain they may have been born; no matter with what accents of speech they may have first learned to lisp a mother's name—to be no party to this foul political conspiracy—to hand down to their progenies, to future generations, the Union and the constitution as they received them—the free heritage of mankind. Mr. McMahon concluded amid loud applause.

EX-JUDGE THOMPSON'S SPEECH.

Ex-Judge THOMPSON, of the Marine Court, was then introduced. He said:—

FELLOW CITIZENS—The nineteenth Presidential election is close at hand. As the eventful day approaches the deep interest we feel in the welfare of our country gradually increases, while the popular excitement grows in intensity; and when the decisive hour arrives, which shall call upon five millions of freemen—dispersed over myriads of square miles—to exercise the sacred privilege of the elective franchise, in the choice of the next chief magistrate of these United States, then shall we reach the most trying and momentous crisis in the career of the American republic. It is true that the Presidential contests, heretofore, have often times been characterized by the display of most bitter and virulent partisan feeling. Thus hard fought and severely contested battles have invariably been succeeded by universal peace and harmony amongst our countrymen. North, South, East and West—all yielded a respectful and patriotic obedience to the popular will as expressed through the national ballot box. The present attitude of parties in this critical contest forebodes sad reverses to the fortunes of the people under the federal constitution. Patriotic and conservative men—men thoroughly and practically versed in the science of political economy and not easily intimidated—contemplate the result of this contest with mingled feelings of mortification and alarm—mortification, that an ungovernable spirit of sectionalism, shadowed forth in the Chicago platform, may attain the power, as it cherishes the wish, to ignore and trample upon the dearest rights of the South; and alarm, that a governmental policy may be inaugurated which will certainly be followed by a complete disruption of these confederated States. After speaking of the Southern view taken of the principles, the objects and aims of the republican party, the speaker said:—So thoroughly obnoxious is its creed in that quarter, that no republican orator has yet dared to enter a Southern State and discuss its principles. It may well be asked, if the South will not tolerate in their midst a mere discussion of those principles, what would be the temper of Southern feeling, and what course would Southern men pursue were these principles to be put in practice? The answer is at hand. The South will never permit any interference with their constitutional rights and immunities. Should any attempt be made to interfere with them, it will be met with a resistance which will plunge the whole country into the vortex of a deadly, destructive and bloody civil war. Let no abolitionist or republican console himself with the delusive idea that the South will ever tamely submit to any invasion of their constitutional privileges; nor that the conservative masses of the North will countenance acts of injustice towards their brethren of the South, proceed from what source they may. The republican party is steadily aiming at an offensive and aggressive warfare upon the sacred rights of property. He then said:—Now, what course is it fair to infer the republican party will pursue in reference to the slave question and the policy of its agitation, in the event of Lincoln's success? I have asserted that at least the great majority of that party are in favor of the abolition of slavery in the States where it already exists. Should it, unfortunately, obtain control of the federal forces, it will insist upon a vigorous and desperate prosecution of the "irrepressible conflict" warfare. Now for the evidence. Helper proclaims that—"Nothing short of the complete abolition of slavery can save the South from falling into the vortex of utter ruin. Slavery must be throttled. No man of genuine decency and refinement would hold slaves as property on any terms."

This is the choice and elegant language of "Helper's (infamous) Impending Crisis." It is certainly very complimentary to Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all of whom were, to the day of their death, slaveowners and holders. These disgusting sentiments were deliberately endorsed and approved by sixty-eight republican members of the present Congress, not one of whom, be it remembered, has as yet disavowed them. But again, during the session of the same Congress, the following resolution was offered for adoption in the House: "Resolved, that the Committee on the Judiciary be, and the same are hereby, instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill giving freedom to every human being and interdicting slavery, wherever Congress has the constitutional power to legislate on the subject." Fifty-nine republican members of Congress voted for the adoption of this inflammatory and revolutionary proposition. The checks and balances of the constitution are not sufficiently powerful to resist such Jacobins from forcing into practice their nefarious and treasonable designs. Thus hours might be consumed in multiplying proof to show that, though our adversaries may pretend only to oppose the extension of slavery, they are in fact opposed to it where it already exists, and only await the election of Abraham Lincoln to commence the work of destruction. But if any doubts exist in the minds of men as to the designs of our enemies upon the institution of slavery where it already exists, no one can deny that they are inimical to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave act. John P. Hale and Henry Wilson, both well known, prominent and active Senators in Congress, from two of the leading New England States—the very hot bed of republicanism—demand the immediate repeal of the act in question. In 1852 Hale was nominated for President by a Convention of the Northern States, presided over by Wilson. That Convention unanimously adopted and approved the following declaration:—"The Fugitive Slave act of 1850 is repugnant to the constitution. * * * We therefore demand its immediate and total repeal." Hale and Wilson are the men whom the republicans of New Hampshire and Massachusetts have chosen as the apostles of their faith and the exponents of their creed. The speaker then went on to prove that a large class of republicans, though they had not demanded the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, yet had interposed every conceivable obstacle in the way of its execution. He then said:—Enough has been said to show that the principles of the republican party are in direct antagonism to both the letter and spirit of the constitution and the sentiments and opinions of the fathers of the republic; that its advocates harbor designs upon the institution of slavery, which, if put into practice, would terminate the career of this great and growing country. It is certain, moreover, that our opponents are determined upon keeping alive a vigorous agitation of the slave question, reckless of consequences. Their motto is, "agitation, peace or war; agitation, Union or disunion!" A deaf ear is turned to the South, who mildly implore the North not to disturb this perilsome question. No heed is paid to the solemn counsels of the great and good men of our own times to cultivate between the different sections of our brotherhood naught but feelings of mutual regard and friendship. Hear the voice of Henry Clay. In 1838, upon the floor of the American Senate, he said:—"Anxious as I always am to contribute whatever is in my power to the harmony, concord and happiness of this great people, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to do whatever is in my power to disunde the public from continuing to agitate a subject (slavery) fraught with the most direful consequences." After dwelling for a time upon the patriotism of Mr. Clay and the duty of his countrymen to heed the inspired words of Clay, of Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, to cultivate the kindliest feelings of friendship between the North and the South, Judge Thompson continued speaking of the claim of the republican party to harmony of sentiment with the opinions of the fathers of the republic upon the question of slavery. Our fathers treated the slave question in all its bearings with great prudence, forbearance and caution, deeming the benefits to flow from the union of the States of vastly more consequence to mankind than the freedom of that portion of the negro race whom Providence had placed under their control and protection. Republicans turn with disdain from the exercise of prudence, forbearance and caution, preferring, instead, to follow the example of John Brown, and carry on the war against slavery with the rifle, the dirk and the bowie knife. Thus have we proved that the claim of the republicans to harmony of sentiment with the opinions of the fathers of the country upon the subject of slavery is wholly destitute of foundation. Finally, my fellow citizens, if we have forgotten the noble and self-sacrificing deeds of the patriots of '76; if we have ceased longer to heed the solemn admonitions they so fervently breathed forth to their posterity; if we have turned our faces from the golden examples they set us, the priceless precepts they teach us, then, indeed, are we unworthy and degenerate sons of great and godlike sires. If the invaluable legacies they bequeathed us are now to be cast away, then should our names become a hissing and byword upon the tongues of generations yet unborn. But if, happily, the American pulse still beats in harmony with the revolutionary heart, all will yet be well, the Union electoral ticket will triumph in the Empire State, and the union of these States will be as perpetual and enduring as the names of the honored and venerated men who gave it life. Then—

"A song for our banner!" the watchword recall
Which gave the republic her station;
"United we stand—divided we fall!"
It made and preserved us a nation.

The union of lakes—the union of lands—
The union of States none can sever—
The union of hearts—the union of hands—
And the flag of our Union forever and ever!
The flag of our Union forever!

Loud cheers followed the conclusion of Judge Thompson's speech.

Speeches were also made from this stand by Eugene J. Sullivan, Judge Maynard, Mr. Reynolds and John M. Harrington; and the meeting, like the first, adjourned to join in the general procession

STAND NO. THREE.

SPEECHES OF COL. VOSBURG, HON. JOHN COCHRANE AND MESSRS. GODFREY, SMITH, HUTCHINS, HUNT, RANKIN AND RYNDERS—UPROARIOUS ENTHUSIASM—SONGS AND CHORUSES BY THE MULTITUDE—GRAND PYROTECHNIC DISPLAY, ETC., ETC.

Just as the monster assemblage had been called to order within the walls of the Cooper Institute, the myriads of patriots, who were anxiously waiting outside for the organization of the mass meeting, were addressed by Marshal Rynders, who said the hour had arrived for commencing the proceedings. He nominated Colonel Vosburg, of the Seventy-first regiment, as President, which was enthusiastically ratified by the audience.

Col. VOSBURGH thanked them for calling upon him to preside over the Union masses of conservative men who had met together for the purpose of rebuking republicanism, and for the purpose of establishing a record for the Union party that would tell throughout the whole of the Northern States, and which would speak in thunder tones in the election to be held in the State of Pennsylvania. (Applause.) It was almost the first time within his recollection that ever he had witnessed the conservative element in such masses, in such forces and with such enthusiasm as has been manifested tonight. He would tell his hearers that the news would go from one end of the State of New York to the other, that the conservative element which had assembled there that night would be the doom of the republican party in this State on the 6th of November. (Loud cheers.) There were other eloquent gentlemen present who would speak, and he hoped the audience would pardon him if he called upon them. The crowd demanded that the Colonel should go on, and the gallant gentleman was encouraged to continue his remarks by such exclamations as, "Go it, Colonel," "Don't give it up," "Don't give up the ship," &c. The President, however, did not yield to the patriotic desire of the assemblage, but introduced David Rowland, who read a list of Vice Presidents, followed by Captain Rynders, who recited the resolutions adopted in the hall, which were concurred in by the masses amid vociferous cheering. Capt. Rynders said he deemed it unnecessary to read the report of the committee, which presented an electoral ticket which would defeat Lincoln and Hamlin, Fred. Douglass, and all the rest of the nigger party.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN COCHRANE.

Hon. JOHN COCHRANE, on making his appearance, was greeted with several rounds of applause. The Ninth Ward Union Club arrived, preceded by a splendid band, so that it was impossible for Mr. Cochrane to speak. "I will wait," said he, "till the army of freedom passes." It was in such times as this that, in the revolution of 1776, the armies of the colonies marched through the crowds of their admiring fellow citizens. You are in the midst of revolution to-night, and the fires that burn here to-night are but a feeble reflection of those that are lighted on every plain of the State, and they are the harbingers of a glorious victory. The news that reaches us from yonder country (Pennsylvania) is that there can be no question that, beneath the vigorous efforts and throes of a patriotic citizenship the republican party will yield on the 6th of November. (Cheers.) Fellow Citizens—The vast concourse that occupies this space and crowds the vast hall signifies, without mistake, a truthful demonstration of public opinion. No enthusiasm within memory has exceeded that which pervades this meeting to-night. Those who participate in it and they who behold its intensity are reminded of those more fortunate days which witnessed the spontaneous alacrity with which the name of Andrew Jackson was hailed by the people. (Applause.) And there is an obvious reason—a sufficient and ample cause for this excitement; both cause and reason of themselves repelling the presumption, and rebuking the charge that the excitement is but artificial and its duration evanescent. The conservative men of the country hitherto have been disorganized and distracted. Numerous partial political organizations, distinguished from each other, in some instances, by obsolete creeds, and in other by but nominal distinctions, have continued, nevertheless, members, who have entertained in common the one paramount conviction that the Union must be preserved. Their organic divisions long separated these patriotic men, and prevented their political co operation. But a common danger—a danger which threatens our institutions and our federal government—has at length overthrown the barriers which partisan politics had erected, and we now behold the hundreds of thousands of the Union-loving men of New York united in support of the one Union-preserving electoral ticket of New York. (Cheers.) The evident delight with which this consummation is received here is but a faded reflection of the ardor with which it is entertained throughout the State. Literally, fellow citizens, is the country all alive with the processions, the conventions, the mass meetings of Douglas men, of Breckinridge men, of Bell and Everett men—all, all Union men—(cheers,)—and thoroughly is it fired with the reasoning and the patriotic appeals of the army of eloquent speakers who are spreading far the note of alarm and rallying the faithful citizen to the discharge of his whole duty. (Applause.) Do you ask of what danger is it that I speak? I answer, that which will attend upon the success of the republicans—that which threatens in the election of Abraham Lincoln. It cannot be disguised that fearful agitation pervades the Southern States and drives rapidly onward towards anticipated dissolution. While it is the part of conscious men to deplore that it is so, it is none the less their part also to avert the event which may precipitate the effort, suicidal and mistaken though it be; none the less their imperious duty to remove the occasion which shall be fraught with recession and attempted federal dissolution. It is, fellow citizens, no delusive chimera, conjured in the brains of frantic politicians, of which I am speaking. It is a serious, sad, and afflicting fact—a fact proceeding from the extensive conventional leagues and the inter-State understandings which exist at the South, for a united and effective effort at secession, in the event of the election by the republicans of their candidate for the Presidency. I do not mean to be understood that all, or even the greater portion of our fellow citizens in the South, are actuated by such an intent; but I do mean that associations and co operations, with this view, extend through the South in sufficient strength to inspire alarm and to require attention; and it is with some degree of supposed cause that these associations and purposes are connected and held. Though in some localities the intents professed by our republican opponents wear the appearance of legitimate constitutionality, yet, in others, and throughout nearly the whole North, their announced principles are in conflict with State rights, and are dangerous to the continuing peace and quiet of the Southern borders. Where conservatism characterizes a population, the republican creed becomes conservative—State rights are elevated—the negro is relinquished. But let the mere shade of an inveterate abolitionist cover a neighborhood, and the cuttle fish does not sooner make turbid the waters than does the republican darken his doctrines. (Laughter.) Universal emancipation is then the corner stone of his edifice, and upon it he erects a pyramidal structure of war upon the slaveholder and nonamission of the slave—disregard of the constitution and invasion of property rights—in a word, absolute abolition. Such were the inspirations of that politic convocation which, at Chicago, nominated Abraham Lincoln; and, while couched under the panoply of the Declaration of Independence, such were the notes at which the republican ranks shouted with