NEW YORK POLITICS.

Opening Campaign Speech of Senator Conkling at Albany.

ALBANY, Oct. 11, 1871.

At an enthusiastic republican meeting, held this evening in this city, Mr. Senator Conkling discoursed as follows on the political questions of the day, national and local, involved in our coming November election:—

In the capital of the State, where hospitality has ever been generous and free, no citizen need feel himself a stranger. But the warmth of your greeting has a peculiar meaning for me. I was born in Albany, and childhood's recollections have never faded. To visit your city is not so much to go away as to return home, and to speak to Albanians is to converse with neighbors rather than to address an audience assembled from afar.

The topics you expect me to speak of to-night lie in a wide field. Forty-five States and Territories are now gathered under our flag. All are self-governed, because public questions are solved by public elections. All are free, because the right to vote is the right of all. This group of commonwealths, cemented in one great republic, stands alone in history. The centuries and the nations have not looked upon its like. It is the best product, thus far, of man's intelligence, enlightened by man's experience. It was not the work of one generation, but of all generations. Our fathers produced it, but the world was thousands of years in producing our fathers. Since creation's dawn government has been the greatest of human problems. Learning, wisdom, science, philosophy, religion, have in all ages toiled together in developing political systems. Every form has been set up and every form has fallen down. Despotisms and democracies alike have perished.

War and corruption have been the two architects of ruin. These destroyers have strewn time's shores with wrecks. The polluted blot earth as soon as nations possessed it—they desolated the ancient seats of civilization, they have unpeopled empires and crippled progress since. The conflict still goes on, and still the question is, Can any system prevail against them? This problem perturbs both hemispheres every day. The Old World, divided into contending nationalities, has perils of its own, with which no rival on this Continent can menace us; but here and there, and everywhere the parade of government baffles ultimate solution. Even now Europe wails sons and cities freshly slain, and Paris, the world's fairest capital, wounded and ransomed, writes between self-government and suicide.

England, with a Parliament eight hundred years old, and a monarchy centuries and altered by time, revolution, has survived by constantly widening the foundations of her system erastic yield more and more to popular right. But England's system is such that, unlike like ours, it does not place reforms within the people's reach. This may be painfully illustrated on a day now rapidly approaching when the sceptre will fall from a hand already smitten with grief and wavering with infirmity.

America, alone, has a government rooted in the people—a government with a base so broad that the mightiest of wars has vainly dashed against it and been shivered into spray. Even to the tempest shock, our nationality need no longer spread the storm—force cannot uproot it. But the pestilence called mammon—what shall be said of that? Corruption, with its stealthy creep, its leprous touch and its deadly breath—corruption which has rotted and wasted so many fair fabrics, will that mark us for destruction, too, as the worm bird blasts the tree on which he builds his nest? The times are too murky to forecast this question; it must be answered on time. Yet, if there is not a question for the ballot field it must be answered every day, and most of all election day. It concerns politics and political parties. Courts, congresses, legislatures, city governments—all these are the public agencies, but what they are, and what they do, depends at first and at last on elections. Everything in public affairs comes from the ballot box. Every reform must be opened by the ballot box, or it is a tree without roots.

Crying, flagrant, dangerous abuses challenge attention in this great State through all its length and breadth. Reforms, if attainable at all, must come through one of the two political parties. Fortunately or otherwise we must make choice between the two organizations into which almost the whole country has long been divided. One or the other is to govern us; there is no alternative. Which is the safer to trust? That is the question.

ELECTIONS OF 1871—WHAT THEY PROVE.

Since March this question has been answered in several widely separated States, and in every one an impressive increase of voices has pronounced against the democratic party. Connecticut, North Carolina, Kentucky, Maine, California, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and now Iowa, Pennsylvania and Ohio, all have voted within the last few months, and in every one the republican party has been strengthened by great gains. Texas may not prove an exception. New Hampshire given away last winter by republicans, seemed like a democratic victory, and relying upon defection among us in other States, our opponents told us a "tidal wave" had risen, which would lift their strande ship and bear it to triumph in the nation. But tides are mysterious things, unfamiliar to our mariners. Beguiled by a freshet, they were all unconscious that in the hearts and judgments of men a tide was rising which would sweep westward from Maine over prairies and mountains and drown out democracy, even on the golden fields of California. In recent elections the issues have turned sometimes wholly on national issues, and these alone have changed communities from democracy to republicanism. In California, for example, the two parties held the same position upon the two only leading local topics, railway grants and the Chinese, and the change in our favor was 15,000. In all cases the election has been a fair measure of the strength of parties, and the result proves that the nation confides more and more in the administration of General Grant. Other States have passed upon matters general and interesting to them. We have matters special to us.

WHAT THIS ELECTION WILL DECIDE.

Both houses of our Legislature are to be chosen, and also members of the Canal and Prison boards, and these bodies, acting for nearly five million people, are to deal with affairs more grave than these bodies ever dealt with before. The incoming Legislature will create for ten years the districts from which Representatives in Congress will be chosen. The State may be fairly divided, or, to change and pervert results, it may be gerrymandered and zigzagged till a Tammany Indian would be puzzled by the trail. The Senate to be chosen now will participate in appointing a Senator of the United States. These are matters of importance, but they are less grave than other things which the next Legislature will have in charge.

VIOLATIONS OF THE BALLOT BOX.

In front of all questions pending in the State of New York now is the integrity of elections. This question underlies all others, because it involves all others. If elections cannot be real and honest the majority cannot rule, and here self-government and public liberty are gone. Are elections in this State real now? Have they been honest of late years? When I say real and honest I mean has every elector enjoyed the right to vote once, and only once, and to have his vote and all others honestly counted and return d?

No one, candid and informed, will deny that on Manhattan Island elections have long been worse than a sham. False voting and false counting decide every contest.

This would be frightful if the usurpation subjugated only the 1,000,000 people on this Island, but the State is trampled down by pirates of the ballot box in the metropolis, and nearly five million people are subjected to their sway.

No matter what majorities roll up where the green grass grows, the Russ pavement overtops them with false majorities swollen to suit the occasion. The great frauds which now convulse New York, disgrace the nation and amaze the world, could never have been perpetrated without the villainy which counted John T. Hoffman into the office of Governor to which John A. Griswold was elected, and which seated men in the Legislature in defiance of the votes of their constituents.

To break up this monstrous system Congress last year passed a act which laid hold upon it. It was an impartial act, it provided for a scrutiny of the registries to detect repeaters, and for safeguards against false counts. It would have purged New York of much impurity. Tweed and Hall cannot not repeal it—they do not "run" Congress yet. So they set themselves about outwitting and circumventing the law of the land. We had a State statute requiring registration in New York—the strongest barrier the State had raised against utter prostitution of the ballot. The act of Congress was based in part on this statute, and the act would be passed, to some extent, should the statute be taken away. This, therefore, the first act of the session, a perpetrated last winter by a legislative majority obtained by fraud and recruited by bribery. Nothing, perhaps, more clearly exposes the dominion of the Tammany cabal and the Tammany taint in the democratic party than the fact that the Convention at Rochester has just virtually endorsed this dishonest evasion of our registry law, and declared against its re-enactment. The 18th of April, 1871, should be ever memorable in the calendar of party rascality. On that day the banditti, whose firm name is Tammany Hall, carried through the Legislature, and a democratic Governor afterwards signed, five bills, which, with a fifth, passed the day after, constitute a batch of laws to which no generation of Englishmen would have submitted since the days of Charles' head. One of these enactments virtually struck down the Registry law and gave into the hands of Hall and his agents the whole machinery of elections and results.

This wrong, just varnished by the Rochester Convention, must be undone—the repealing act must be repealed—the bulwarks round the ballot box must be made stouter than before. Unless this be done you do not rule yourselves; knaves and repeaters rule you. If elections cannot be preserved in one city or State they cannot be preserved in another; and when elections fail our whole system fails, and the government which a million bayonets could not destroy, and which a sea of blood has rained down, will crumble in the presence of an inert and degenerate people.

BRIBERY.

Next in enormity to stuffing the ballot box with illegal votes and then stifling its voice by false counts is bribery at the polls and in legislative bodies. This practice, too, we blush to know, has its fount at some and centre in New York. The Legislature of New York alone can uproot it. The tax levies for the city annually passed at Albany furnish corruption funds to debauch elections not only on Manhattan Island, but throughout the State, and beyond the State—Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and even more distant regions are theatres where Tammany enacts its drama of prodigacy. It bribes and seduces many presses and many men—not democrats alone, far from it—but the needy and the despised alone, but the high-headed, the pretentious and demure. All this broad-spreading iniquity is to receive a death blow or a new lease of life at the hands of the next Senate and Assembly. Are not these grave and weighty matters? Yet they are not all.

RECENT VICIOUS LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECTS.

The last two winters have inscribed on our statute book other enactments full of vice. The charter of New York and other cognate acts have enabled a horde of acute bad men to grasp by the throat the greatest community in the western world. They have intrenched themselves on every side. They have muzzled and subsidized newspapers with useless corporation advertisements. They have maintained multitudes of retainers in sinecures with lavish pay, and every avenue swarms with their open and secret agents. They have intimidated the rich with the fear of exorbitant assessments and taxes; they have allured the needy and rapacious with gold and with advantage. The indignant have been marvellously soothed and respectability has been made to pay tribute to them, and even to whitewash their iniquities. They have made it safe and profitable to be with them and dangerous and costly to be against them.

They have set up and pulled down men not only in the democratic party, but a partisan police, a licentious press, an army of hirelings and abettors, on both sides, and other instrumentalities ever still, have been employed to banish and destroy republicans they could not buy, to exalt republicans who were accomplices with them, and to debauch and control the committees and conventions of their political opponents.

NEW YORK CITY.

Look at the crimes of this great conspiracy against society. Look at the city of New York. In many respects it is the proudest city in the world. When we consider its geographical position, its colossal trade, its unequalled activities, its generous charities, its temples of learning and religion, its civilization and advancement, its unexampled growth, and its magnificent destiny, where shall we find a compeer? In the same space more to invoke the sympathy and admiration of mankind? Yet all this is a prey to remorseless spoilers. Its streets reek with filth—yet fabulous expense maintains and cleanses them. Its highways and byways breed sin and crime—yet officials loiter on every crossing. Police commissioners and captains and courts, attended by retinues which no man can number, are paid for guarding life and property—yet the most daring offences go unwhipped till public vengeance demands an example. Justice has been made a commodity, and the judiciary has sunk so low, that a continent was electrified, when Judge Barnard, sitting in the centre from the east, sent forth his injunction order to stay the most stupendous robbery of recorded time. Elections are an insulting mockery, and official returns of votes—records of the people's will—vouchers and warrants the highest and most solemn known to us, next to the constitution itself—are but forgeries of ballot-riggers and the sport of those who jeer at decency. Commerce is driven from our wharves, because our harbor is a nest for rapacious extortion, carried on by State officials. In the name of quarantine, wholesome traffic stands waiting at our gates, while in the name of health contagion enters with tribute in its hand. The London *Times* cautions the world to beware the harbor of New York with its ruinous exactions, and the Health Office Boats like a gaoled buoy warning the ships of all nations to keep aloof, and steer for ports in other States, or in the British provinces. Liberties and rights respected in foreign cities find no sanctuary here. In Catholic Dublin and Cork men and women can parade on a Protestant anniversary, but in New York they are officially ordered from the streets, in words inciting other sects to riot; and then at the belated behest of a Governor the military shoot down the deluded victims of religious zeal whom an abject Police Board and a craven Mayor have lured and baited to their fate.

Monstrous taxes are laid on property, and wrung from toil, to bribe legislators and electors, and to fatten the gluttony and support the pomp and splendor of men who outshine kings in luxury. Is there in the book of time such a picture as has been given to the world by the courage and genius of the New York *Times*? Was ever theft so huge? It is the grandest of grand larcenies. It dizzies arithmetic and bankrupts figures. Warren Hastings in India—conquerors, proconsuls and satraps—cities sacked and provinces wasted—these are dwarfish and petty now. The debt of the city is said to be about one hundred millions. More than sixty millions has been created within less than three years. This mortgages every foot of land from Spuyten Duyvil to the Battery for more than one tenth of its valuation. The same rate of expenditure continued for a while would have bankrupted and ostracised the county of New York. But better in the end than the money itself would it be to know what has become of it. We know about a part of it, but not the worst part. Some of it has been appropriated by individuals to enrich themselves, and this is probably the least guilty use that has been made of it.

THE GREAT BACHEM AND OTHERS.

There is one Tammany sachem who makes Albany glorious in winter, and whose sumptuous apartments at the Delavan House have been the scene of events so rare and mixed and varied as to show that party lines make no partitions or divisions there, save partitions and divisions of the economic benefits. This practical man, and patron of practical men irrespective of party, was, as the record shows, discharged under the Two-third act as an insolvent debtor only ten years ago. His assignment for the benefit of his creditors bears date October 5, 1861. He was then worth not so much as his debts, and his creditors, satisfied of his insolvency, consented that he make over such property as he owned, and give a receipt in full. Since this discharge we are told he has been in no business, yet he is said now to be the largest owner of real estate on Manhattan Island, except William B. Astor, and personal property swells by millions his overrunning wealth. These fortunate accumulations show him to be a man of business—but, if he has been known to give from charity to the poor of a single ward $50,000. Beginning at home, as all true charity does, the bread he casts upon the waters returns to him even on wedding days. Diamonds for shoe buttons, and blazing gems which half a million would not buy are said to be the offer of the bounties he dispenses. Cream's head was stamped upon a penny, but this ruler's face, borne on medallions of precious metal for the Metropolitan Hotel, is, it seems, to adorn the table service from which the democracy will feed, while they see before them in profile "the very age and body of the time." This man, aided by a confederate of less energy, but more reflection than himself, has for a long time been the master and power of the democratic party, and he is so still. He may have received more money than others, but others have been fortunate. A transfer of half a million bonds to a son-in-law does not suggest improvident paternal provision, because we read of three and a half millions of like bonds remaining after the transfer has been made. All who came in on the "ground floor" seemed to have secured more than a competence.

CITY ACCOUNTS.

In form fabulous sums are represented in false accounts for plastering, carpets, curtains, furniture, repairs, armories and other fictitious items. The Secretary of the Interior, a very competent authority, has taken the pains to analyze and contrast some of these accounts. He says:—

"Here was paid a larger sum for repairs, carpets and furniture for county offices than the present administration paid in the same year for mail transportation throughout the United States, nearly three times as much as the entire diplomatic expenses of the country, more than the yearly cost of collecting the customs revenue, more than all the miscellaneous expenditures of the Interior Department for either year of the present administration, and more than the entire annual expenses of the Indian Bureau. Here is a larger sum paid in eleven months for plastering than the entire expense of the United States for foreign intercourse during the present administration; and more for plumbing and gas fitting, in one year, than the expenses attending all the public buildings and grounds in Washington city. There was paid more money to three men for such expenditures, in one year, than was paid for the collection of the entire internal revenue of the country in any year of the present administration; more than double the expense of the United States Courts for two years, and more than all the expenses of the Forty-first Congress."

The accounts he refers to have these items among others:—Ingersoll & Co., for carpenter work and furniture in Court House and armories during 1869 and 1870, $5,691,14,25. Andrew J. Garvey, for plastering in Court House, jail and armories, in two years, $2,905,464,08. Keyser & Co., for plumbing and gasfitting in the Court House and armories, in less than three years, $1,231,817,72. The new Court House is not completed, and has cost already upwards of $12,000,000.

In Brooklyn, between 1851 and 1865 (when prices were higher), a court house was erected, nearly as large and quite similar in character and material. The Brooklyn Court House cost $851,758 28, and repairs and furniture up to the present added, the cost is $745,601 54. The unfinished New York Court House has cost already sixteen times as much. Wood work, charged at more than two million dollars, is not worth more than thirty thousand dollars. Furniture charged at $1,500,000, is not worth $75,000. "Carpets, shades and curtains" are charged at $675,524 44.—There is not a curtain in the building, and the carpets and shades cannot have cost $17,000. Plastering, charged at over $1,800,000 could not have cost $35,000. Accounts for rent, stationery, printing and other things are hardly less astounding.

Such are the accounts audited by Tweed, Hall and Connolly, sitting sometimes with and sometimes without others, over six million having been passed at a single sitting; the money was paid on the signature of Mayor Hall. Does any man believe that those who presented these preposterous demands actually received the money, and were permitted to keep it?

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE MONEY?

No one believes it. Then what became of these and other yet vaster sums? See what the Albany *Argus*, the democratic State paper, says. Here are its words:—

"A radical editor recently went through the New York Court House and asked, 'Where is all this plastering, all this furniture?' We can tell him. The hands of radical politicians at Albany had to be plastered annually before the New York tax levy could become a law. To one man—a saint of St. Lawrence—sixty thousand dollars had to be paid; to another, a white necktied scoundrel from Madison, a sum nearly as great. Garvey's plaster whitens walls and fertilizes farms in the west of the State. Ingersoll's furniture decks respectable mansions in the interior, and the neighbors wonder how the wealth and taste of the owner were so suddenly developed. Does any one suppose that the old republican firm of plumbers, the Keysers, were let off with a million dollars? A New York court house without plaster and gas fixtures! Why, the Erie Ring, their lead pipe ran into Herkimer and tapped the politics of Montgomery. Indeed the sewerage of Cayuga and Chautauqua, it is believed, found their machinery and equipment at this good old radical establishment."

Is this true? The *Argus* is the organ of a great party, and is conducted by men of judgment, who live at the capital, and seem to speak from personal knowledge. Shall it not be investigated? Who shall investigate? The honest men on both sides in the city are moving, and never was there a more righteous indignation since the money changers were scourged from the temple. But citizen committees alone cannot go to the bottom of all this—the Legislature is needed, and hence I conjure you to ponder the gravity of this election. Will a democratic Legislature, with democratic State officers re-elected, investigate and avenge these wrongs? Will the democratic Attorney General, who for two years has sat with these men, and who has just been renominated by them over Charles O'Conor, investigate them? Will any man investigate who holds place from a party whose State Convention has just succumbed to Tweed and recognized Tammany Hall as the regular and only democratic organization in the city of New York?

Remember the infamies of last winter—the repeal of the registry, the Two Per Cent act and the other acts of that cluster, wicked enough to load their authors with opprobrium which the waters of forgetfulness will roll over in vain. Every democrat voted for these bills; but one republican fell, and his fall would have injured no one but himself if not the Executive veto slumbered when the Executive hand might have strangled the whole brood. Was it for this that the Tammany Convention at Rochester has just endorsed the Governor in the most swelling phrases, commending him especially for the way he has managed the veto power?

[Mr. Conkling continued his argument on the Two Per Cent act and the sectarian appropriations made at Albany, and on democratic extravagances in the management of the State canals and prisons, including several columns of statistics, for which we have no space, nor for his figures on the collection of the internal revenue; and then he proceeded to the general national expenses, as follows:—]

EXPENSES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONTRASTED.

From March 1, 1867, to March 1, 1869, two years under Johnson, total expense account was	$450,043,759 17
From March 1, 1869, to March 1, 1871, two years under Grant, same account was	323,342,809 96
Decrease of expense	$126,700,949 21

REDUCTION OF DEBT CONTRASTED.

During the last two years of Mr. Johnson, with a much greater basis of taxation, the debt was reduced only	$26,441,986 00
Under General Grant, on reduced basis of taxation up to October 1, 1871, two years and seven months, the debt was paid	254,799,319 63
Some one curious in arithmetic has been at the pains of working out the following results of figures as they stood some time ago:—	

NATIONAL DEBT—REPUBLICAN MANAGEMENT.

Debt, December, 1860	$2,453,569,735 23
Debt, May, 1871	2,353,575,543 09
Decrease in 28 months	149,994,192 14
Decrease per month	4,355 74 74
Decrease per week	1,234,437 79
Decrease per day	176,457 99
Decrease per hour	7,352 17
Decrease per minute	121 54
Decrease per second	2 04⅓
Debt per head, 1869	$64 57
Debt per head, 1871	54 60
Decrease per head	$10 00

NEW YORK CITY DEBT—TAMMANY MANAGEMENT.

Debt, December, 1869	$29,334,149 02
Debt, May, 1871	81,745,516 00
Increase in twenty eight months	52,518,565 18
Increase per month	1,875,663 01
Increase per week	432,251 55
Increase per day	61,798 55
Increase per hour	2,574 44
Increase per minute	42 81
Increase per second	7 00
Debt per head, 1869	$32 58
Debt per head, 1871	86 15
Increase per head	$53 57

Since General Grant came in, month by month, as certain as the footfalls of time, so many millions have been lopped off from the debt the rebellion brought upon us. More than a million a month of interest has been wiped out forever, and the same administration continued would pay the last farthing of principal in eighteen years. This is the debt which, only two years ago, the democrats said could never be paid, and which their national convention proposed to dishonor and virtually repudiate.

STANDING OF OUR SECURITIES.

In March, 1869, United States six per cent gold bonds were thirteen per cent below par, in gold; in July, 1868, they were twenty per cent below par. In March, 1871, they commanded a premium above par, in gold. In March, 1869, gold stood at 132. In March, 1871, and since, gold ranges from 112 to 116, and bonds range higher.

The capitalists of Europe eagerly seek our five per cents now, so eagerly that we will not sell them as many as they want, and this with France in the market borrowing at great rates all she can lay hands on, and other borrowers competing with us. Two hundred million dollars six per cent bonds have been called in by placing the amount in five per cent bonds, and this one transaction saves twenty-four million dollars net, even supposing these five per cents are to be paid in ten years. If they run twenty years the saving will be forty-eight million dollars.

Compare all this with Tammany financial management. Nay, compare it with democratic management wherever you can find it.

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT ELSEWHERE.

Go to Kentucky. There supreme democracy still holds high carnival. In the city of Louisville taxes have risen in eight years from $375,587 to $1,386,013, and in the State generally the increase is striking. Decrease of population does not explain it, because taxation has risen per capita. In Louisville, for example, it has risen in ten years from $8 50 per capita to $17.

FURTHER REDUCTION OF TAXES.

So satisfactory is the balance sheet of the nation, that at the next session of Congress taxes and tariff will be still farther largely reduced; forty millions at least can be dispensed; and if our opponents think we have not gone fast enough in striking off taxes it may quiet them to remember that had the democratic party submitted to the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1861 there would be no taxes to reduce or to pay now. But one-half of the democratic party, with the sympathy of the leaders of the other half, attempted that election by force and involved us in a cruel war, which hardened the land with taxes and covered it with mourning. No statement of even the financial results of the national administration would be complete without referring to its Indian policy. In place of the Indian wars—better described as contractors' wars, which have heretofore reddened our frontiers, we have had two years of peace on the borders, and a policy commendable alike for its humanity and its frugality.

THE SOUTH.

In the South prosperity prevails, in so far as the executive government can confer it. The blacks are prospering, and their agricultural societies and other indications show them rapidly emerging from the degradation to which generations of servitude had reduced them. That much disquiet and demoralization should prevail at the close of a great rebellion which prostrated all civil government is a thing of course. Disturbing elements are at work there. The old democratic State rights element is as busy as a Saint Vitus dance. "The resolutions of '98" won't be still. Jefferson Davis is loose, owing partly to his not being hanged. He and others escaped him all write, but he and a few others, who cheated the gallows, cannot hold office until their disabilities are removed. Great wrath is poured out by democrats, and by some not calling themselves democrats, upon carpet-baggers. There are a great many carpet-baggers and they are not all in the South, but the Southern carpet-baggers have one thing in their favor. Most of them went there with knapsacks on their backs—all but rebels were glad to have them go, and most all but rebels are disposed to let them do as they please about coming back again. If improper men are elected to office in Southern States it is the fault of the people—they all vote, rebels and all. Their case isn't as bad as ours by half. Improper men hold elective positions here too, and when they come to be not even elected—fraud counted them in, and yet we submit to it. A certain class of educators in the South are trying the efficacy of shooting, burning and whipping their former slaves and others whose politics do not suit them, and our opponents are sorely exercised, because at the last session Congress passed an act authorizing the President to chastise the murderous Ku Klux bands unless they subside.

It is hardly to be feared, however, that many people in the North can be mystified by this attempt to enlist sympathy for men who are walking monuments of the mercy of the American people. We are told the act is unconstitutional. Most acts, of late years, have been unconstitutional in the estimation of our critics. If this act violates the constitution we may safely trust the Courts to find it out.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turning from affairs at home, how are our affairs with foreign nations? With Canada and Cuba both at our doors, and with exciting complications touching both, peace and dignity have been firmly maintained. With Great Britain a treaty has been concluded which, in some respects, is the very best example of civilized and Christian internationality. The administration found pending between the two countries a group of large and dangerous questions. Some of them, the San Juan boundary, for example, had baffled the diplomacy of several administrations, and had more than once gone almost to the point of war.

The Johnson-Clarendon convention had undertaken to compose the so-called Alabama claims, and the nation had rejected the proposed terms with the indignation of a people who remembered that mid-ocean had been lighted up by the flames of our unarmed ships, burned by British pirates. This left the affair in a critical and feverish predicament on both sides. The fisheries, trade with the British provinces and the navigation of the St. Lawrence had all given rise to open and hazardous controversies.

All of these subjects were carefully considered by commissioners from the two countries, sitting in our own capital, and all were disposed of in one treaty, by being removed into the domain of truth and reason, there to be settled upon principles of right and justice. Upon this transcendant act of peace the American and the English people, after hearing the objectors in both countries, have set the seal of their hearty approbation. If the event stood alone, it would be sufficient to render any administration illustrious composing, as it does, a great feud, and adding to the estimation in which we are held by all the nations of the earth.

Under this and other administrations we come stronger at home and abroad—far stronger than ever before. Survey the whole horizon and say who that advocated the republican cause two years ago dared predict all this. With a land covering the temperate zone from sea to sea, with inestimable agricultural and mineral resources, with a people whose invention, genius and progress have outstripped competition, with military power which the world has witnessed, with commanding credit in all the capitals and money centres of the earth, with freedom and equal rights for all men and all religions, and with institutions which have proved their power to crush rebellion, if Americans can be found to govern themselves, their manifest destiny is absolute primacy in Christendom.

What more could political action do than it has done? What is there that would please every politician, and insure every candidate for the Presidency ultimate success? Whoever discovers this philosopher's stone may be able to temper the pernicious practice of rancorous and truthless assault upon public men which has made the American press, and deserves to rank among the most baneful brutalities of progress.

DEMOCRATIC CAVILINGS.

Our opponents have counter-plans, or at least criticisms. What are they? They complain because, the moment we struck the arms from their hands, we did not and could not give complete repose and prosperity to the communities of the South. This is the sum of the charge against destiny. No people scourged by a lasting war was ever made whole the day or the year after.

But the rin-leaders of rebellion, who, having sworn to uphold their government, committed perjury as well as treason, were not all at once allowed to hold office, and this is constantly laid at our door. So be it; the question is chiefly one of time, and the republican party has been possessed by an idea—perhaps I should say a sentiment—that one little badge of blame should be worn for awhile by those who caused the greatest funeral in history. Now the graves have grown green, and the cripples have limped to their homes, and the sky-cloak has been vacated, and if a political party has waited so long before summoning Jefferson Davis back to take part in the government he betrayed, that party is fortunate indeed when this is counted among its chief offences.

Again, we are arraigned for the financial policy we have pursued. The democracy scoffed at our plans for refunding the debt at lower interest, and pronounced the attempt an absurdity. Events have answered these opinions, and lower interest is already a fact accomplished.

Standing in the way of financial success, the democracy has at the most critical junctures held up the specire of repudiation in the most specious and dangerous guises. In 1868, in National Convention, the whole organization pronounced for dishonest evasion of the nation's obligations. Since 1868 State conventions, leading presses and leading men have alarmed the capitalists of Europe and of this country by renewed threats of repudiation.

In Congress, recently, a democratic Legislature indignantly rejected a resolution which simply declared against repudiating the public debt. In Ohio the canvass this year has been conducted upon avowals of the wildest schemes of expansion by the issue of irredeemable paper for the whole bonded indebtnent of the country, and the Secretary of the Treasury is forced to the public statement that his greatest obstacle in making cheaper terms has been the action and utterances of the democratic party.

The tariff is denounced and the public ear is stunned by cries of revenue reform, by which democrats profess to mean free trade. Yet in Pennsylvania the Democratic State Convention, with Vallandigham in favor of protection for coal and iron, and when the House of Representatives repealed the duty on coal and salt last winter the democratic Senators from Maryland defeated the bill in the Senate by talking against time.

Senator Williams, of Oregon, well said that democrats on the tariff were like the school teacher who was asked the shape of the earth, and said, some thought it round, and some flat, and he was willing to teach round or flat, just as the parents preferred. The present tariff is not satisfactory in all things, we know, and will be revised at the next session, and then it will not suit every one.

Changing the tariff is like removing the capital. You put to vote in Congress the question, shall the capital be removed? and you may easily get a majority to say yes, but when you propose the place it shall be moved to, no matter where that place is, you find a hundred noes.

So all will agree to a change of the tariff, but when you come to the question, how and wherein, each interest and section has its own views, and all cannot be accommodated. The result is, that while our interest account, pension roll and other expenses inflicted by the rebellion continue, reform of the tariff must consist in the best adjustment of details to be deduced from the average judgment of the three.

Civil service reform is urged upon us, and all agree that we need the best measures in this regard which wisdom can devise. It is a very difficult and complex subject, but by what right do our opponents clamor about it? From the democratic party comes the example, and the chronic practice of using public places as rewards for party service. To this day our opponents have done nothing to diminish these evils. When Andrew Johnson attempted to change the whole body of officeholders for party ends, avowing by the lips of a member of his Cabinet that no man should "eat his bread and butter" unless he stood by him through thick and thin, the democracy justified and applauded him; and when on the threshold of the Fortieth Congress the Tenure of Office act as a check upon executive power, the democratic votes in both Houses came forward to strike it down. Democrats railing about giving office to partisans is of a piece with their railing about railway grants; both practices were invented and fastened upon the country by the democratic party.

The late amendments of the constitution have been the incessant theme of denunciation, and now, after branding them as wrong and wicked in themselves and brought about by fraud and usurpation, the managers of the democracy come forward with a "new departure," and profess themselves in favor of these amendments after all.

Does not this shock reason and conscience? We know it does, because since the new departure was announced democracy has lost in every State, unless Texas be the exception. Was such a spectacle ever witnessed before? How can men adopt a thing bad in itself and procured by fraud? A great authority in a past century tells us that "Govin suffocates the right," and the lesson teaches that fraud vitiates every compact. Do they mean to adopt the late amendments? If so they mean to confess theanre vas beaten, and wrong on the great issues of the century. Then why not go with us? But these amendments require legislation by Congress, or they will become dead, and who believes that our opponents mean anything by their new departure except to palter in a double sense, to gain power and then to unsettle and uproot?

Read the sayings of Thurman in Ohio, of the democratic Governor of Kentucky, and of the other oracles, and doubt if you can that the new departure is a sham. The resolution adopted by the Tammany Convention at Rochester the other day reads like nothing but an evasion. If it meant that the New York democracy endorses and will stand by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments why didn't they say so? But let me proceed with the faults found by our adversaries.

The President goes to Long Branch. For weeks he is eight hours' travel away from Washington, with two mails daily and a telegraph every moment. No emergency can be so sudden that he can not meet it at once, and yet what a noise the matter makes. Long Branch is not so far removed from the Capital as Mount Vernon was when Washington sojourned there. Long Branch is close by Newport where the Rochambeaus in Hampton Roads, when President Jackson was isolated there for long periods of time. Long Branch is within sight and sound, compared with New England in the days of stage coaches, without telegraphs or railways, when President Adams passed vacations there. In this country and in other countries it has been thought that men in authority gained much useful knowledge by going from place to place; but we are told now, whatever the example of the earlier Presidents, that the present Executive does wrong in journeying or tarrying away from Washington. This is not a very large matter, but I may say that the denunciations in regard to it will be more forcible when anything shall suffer in consequence of the President's keeping during the hot weeks out of the fever and ague of the Potomac. Perhaps I need pardon for referring to this and to another matter of which I would speak. A sufficient apology may be found in the extraordinary remarks to which Mr. Tilden, the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, descended the other day at the Tammany State Convention. He said the democratic party "has never acceded to the Presidency any man of as low a standard of official integrity as some of our three republican Presidents." By what reasoning propriety can be claimed for such language I do not know, because one democrat murdered Lincoln, I cannot see that it behooves another to treat thus rudely on his grave. Following this assault upon the dead, is an assault upon the living to which I ask attention.

Mr. Tilden alludes to President Grant as one "who has been enriched by costly presents while exercising the immense power of the Presidency." This is an unpalatable assertion, made as if upon absolute knowledge, and yet, speaking upon all the information I have, I believe it utterly unfounded. The allegation is that, since his election to the Presidency, General Grant has been the recipient of costly gifts. Returning from the war, a victorious General and holding no civil office whatever, he did receive gifts showered upon him by a grateful people, but he received them as the hero of many battles, and before he was even nominated for the Presidency. His case was not solitary. Gen. Sherman also received munificent testimonials, so did other generals. General McClellan ran for the Presidency four years before General Grant ran; he, too, was "enriched by costly presents," given him, doubtless, in consideration of his military services, and his political opponents never cast foul aspersions on him for it. Wellington after Waterloo received presents amounting to more than two million dollars.

Whether heroes, in former or in recent times, have done well or ill in accepting tributes from their countrymen, is not, however, the point here—be that one way or the other, the right or wrong is the same in all cases alike, and since General Grant's accession to the Presidency, as far as I can learn, he has never accepted a "costly present" from any one.

Such are the railings levelled against us, and from them we may learn how deep the foundations of our party are laid, and how fair its work is from completion. Having freed millions and made them men, having established equal rights for a continent, having conducted victoriously the greatest of wars, having in the administration of finances "trampled upon impossibilities," having solved with foreign Powers the greatest diplomatic problems of the age, having rescued and recreated the republic, it remains for the republican party to keep our country in the fore front of nations. Such a record and such a destiny will outlive the surges we hear beating now. Let us redeem New York, and let republicans be honored as they are steadfast and earnest in the work.

Senator Conkling's speech was received with much enthusiasm. He was subsequently serenaded at the Delavan House, and again spoke.

ACCIDENT ON THE ERIE RAILWAY.

At half-past five o'clock yesterday morning Hasbrook Bruyn, a young man, twenty-two years of age and a native of this State, died in St. Luke's Hospital, to which he was admitted four hours previously. Deceased had been run over or otherwise injured the night previous at Suffern, on the Erie Railway. Coroner Keenan was notified to hold an inquest.

SHIPPING NEWS.

Almanac for New York This Day.

Sun rises	6 08	Moon rises	4 02
Sun sets	5 25	High water...eve	7 10

OCEAN STEAMERS.

DATES OF DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER.

Steamer.	Sails	Destination.	Office.
City of Brissot	Oct 12	Liverpool	15 Broadway.
City of Wash'tn	Oct 14	Liverpool	15 Broadway.
Atlantic	Oct 14	Liverpool	19 Broadway.
Idaho	Oct 18	Liverpool	29 Broadway.
Manhattan	Oct 20	Liverpool	29 Broadway.
Perceire	Oct 21	Havre	58 Broadway.
Colorado	Oct 25	Liverpool	29 Broadway.
Ocean'c	Oct 28	Liverpool	19 Broadway.

PORT OF NEW YORK, OCTOBER 12, 1871.

CLEARED.

Steamship Java (Br), Martyn, Liverpool via Queenstown—C G Francklyn.

Steamship Minnesota (Br), Freeman, Liverpool via Queenstown—Williams & Guion.

Steamship Helvetia (Br), Grigs, London—E E Mo gan's Sons.

Steamship Europa (Br), Campbell, Glasgow—Henderson Bros.

Steamship Weybosset, Bolger, New Orleans—C H Mallory & Co.

Steamship Hatteras, Lawrence, Norfolk—Old Dominion Steamship Co.

Steamship Norwich, Hines, Salem—Murray, Ferris & Co.

Ship Roslin Castle (Br), Chester, London—E E Morgan's Sons.

Bark Giovanni Z (Ital), Boggiano, Cork or Falmouth for orders—Funch, Edye & Co.

Bark Robert Boak (Br), Alkema, Antwerp—Funch, Edye & Co.

Bark T K Welden (Br), Colsen, Havana—Jas E Ward & Co.

Brig Veloce (Ital), Lauro, Cork—Funch, Edye & Co.

Brig J W Martin, Brown, Demerara—Miller & Houghton.

Brig Ida, Mentin, St John, NB—J W Elwell & Co.

Schr Potosi, Jackson, Nassau, NP—Brugiere & Thebaux.

Schr Eva L Leonard, Foster, Nassau, NP—S C Loud & Co.

Schr Frank Atwood, Curtis, Havana—Johnson & Huggins.

Schr Adria (Br), Larson, St John—J E Nevins & Son.

Schr Martha A, Thomas, St John, NB—Henry E Parker.

Schr Eugene Borda, Dukes, Jacksonville—Bentley, Miller & Co.

Schr W H Jones, Line, Fernandina—A Abbott.

Schr May Morn, Babb, Charleston—Bentley, Miller & Co.

Schr George Washington, Sherlock, Charleston—E Puig & Co.

Schr J C Bowers, Longstreet, Tom's River.

Schr Eva Holmes, Vannot, Tom's River.

Schr George A Pierce, Lumskin, Salem.

Schr Mail, Linscott, Boston—A Starbuck.

Schr Hydrangea, Smith, Norwich—Hackett & Bro.

Sloop Reliance, Brown, New Ha