CITY POLITICS.

Republican Ratification Meeting at Cooper Institute Last Night.

Letters from Senators Conkling and Fenton.

Speeches by Horace Greeley, Edwards Pierrepont, William M. Evarts, General Sharpe and Others.

Fierce Denunciation of the Tammany Leaders.

Notwithstanding the inclement state of the weather there was a large crowd of republicans at the Cooper Institute ratification meeting last night. The rain was pouring down in torrents about eight o'clock, and the men employed to "regulate" the skyrockets in the open plaza had a very sorry and a very lonely work of it. But few patriots had the courage to remain for any length of time in the same place to witness

THE BLUE LIGHT EXPLOSIONS

in mid-air, and even the band, that stationed itself under the protecting ægis of the big stoop fronting on Astor place, had to give way before the storm and find a more congenial climate below stairs. However, by half-past seven o'clock the large hall was well crowded. The gathering was not what was expected, for although all the seats in the main body of the hall were occupied, there were many vacant seats to the left and right of the stage and ample standing room on all sides round about the outside row of chairs. Still the gathering was a large one for such a night, and what probably was better than a crush of all sorts of people, was that the men who composed it were of the solid, respectable order—men who looked as though they paid taxes and had more than a professional politician's interest in the discussions of the political situation which took place.

The walls in the rear of the platform were gayly bedecked with flags and bunting, and on both sides of the stage a small portrait of "Franz Sigel, our choice for Register," was plastered against the flags. There was

VERY LITTLE ENTHUSIASM

during the meeting, the chief excitement of the evening occurring when Greeley came upon the platform. He was cheered over and over again. During Mr. Evarts' speech, when he declared the people would put down the Ring corruptionists by "bloody means" if they could not do so by peaceable measures, and when he threatened that if there was at the ensuing election a miscount of votes there would follow a fair count of bayonets there was tremendous cheering. The quartet of the glee club, who sang about "There's Mutiny in the Army," created a great deal of laughter.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Townsend nominating Horace Greeley as chairman. Mr. Greeley made a short address, after which John H. White read the following resolutions:—

The republican electors of the city of New York, in mass meeting assembled, to their colaborers throughout the State send greeting:—

Resolved, *First*—That we cordially approve of the platform adopted and resolutions passed by the Union Republican Convention held at Syracuse on the 27th day of September, 1871, and we recognize in the vital truths therein enunciated the only true basis for an economical, prosperous and enduring State government.

Second—That we recognize in our candidates for State officers—Scrutiner, Hopkins, Raines, Barlow, Taylor, Barkley and Kirkpatrick—men of integrity and ability, whose escutcheons, personal, social and political, are without spot or blemish, each and all eminently qualified to discharge with zeal and fidelity the important trusts soon, by the verdict of the people, to be committed to them; and in the full belief that their election will be of signal benefit to the great interests of our beloved State, and will stay the extravagance and profligacy which now distinguish it, we hereby pledge ourselves to use every honorable effort to secure their triumphant election.

Third—That the "Ring democracy" of this city has been tested and found to be made wholly of brass and base metal—an ignoble counterfeit of the viest sort. In "ways that are dark" it has no peer—everything it touches it pollutes. Its record is one of peculation and dishonor. It has imposed upon us enormous taxes, ostensibly for the maintenance and support of the civic government, but in return therefor it has given us the worst governed city in the world. It has created a multitude of sinecure offices, endowed with large salaries, in order that its unscrupulous and favored partisans might fatten upon and filch from the public treasury. It has countenanced and abetted wholesale frauds upon the elective franchise, and screened and protected the violators thereof from arrest and punishment. It has attempted to corrupt the judiciary and sap the moral integrity of the people. In a word, it has proved recreant to every trust committed to it, and ought to be, and must be, buried from power and consigned to an oblivion of infamy and dishonor.

Fourth—That we have abiding faith in the wisdom, firmness and patriotism of President Grant and his true and trusted counsellors; and we point with just pride to the confidence which his administration has inspired, both at home and abroad, and to the fact that by its prudent and economical management our national faith and credit have been preserved unimpaired, our public debt greatly reduced, the blessings of a lasting peace have been assured, and the whole land has been made prosperous and happy.

Fifth—That the perpetuity of our form of government rests upon the purity of the elective franchise, and we brand those who would sinkly it by fraud as enemies and traitors to the land, and more dangerous and more to be detested than the meanest footpad that infests the purlieus of our city.

Sixth—All hail the voice of the people as proclaimed in the recent State elections! The golden gates of the Pacific echo back the victorious shouts of the Pine tree State. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Iowa have thundered forth their verdicts, and are sure harbingers of victory in 1872. The Empire State, now held in thraldom solely by gigantic frauds perpetrated upon the ballot-box, must and shall be redeemed, and the faithless and unworthy servants who now rule its destinies must be buried from place and power, and consigned to the peaceful shades of private life.

LETTERS FROM SENATORS CONKLING AND FENTON.

Mr. CHARLES S. SPENCER then read the following letters:—

UTICA, Oct. 23, 1871.

GENTLEMEN—To speak to the honest, courageous citizens of New York, who believe, as I do, in the unity and destiny of the republican party, would be a privilege and an honor which I reluctantly forego. On the evening for which your ratification meeting is proposed I am, however, to speak in another city, where no such array of orators will be as will gather at Cooper Institute. Assurances come to me that the republicans of New York are to bury in oblivion differences which have occupied them too long, and which, bringing peril to our cause, are treason in the emergency before us. The meeting will, it is said, be a reunion of all republicans who set principle and pure government above personal feelings and hold the advancement of the party, in its career of usefulness, paramount to the exaltation or the overthrow of individual members. Rest assured that no one more than myself can rejoice in a consummation so wise, so patriotic and so plainly right. Since the hour of its formation I have ever labored in the republican party, never doubting the rights of humanity, and, therefore, never doubting the usefulness or the success of the party which upheld them. Mistaken in some instances it may have been; wronged sometimes by those it trusted it has been; but its glory and its promise are immutable in the fact that it has proved equal to the exigencies it has been required to confront. Just now a new duty is laid upon it. It is summoned to a great work of reformation in our State; it is called upon to eradicate the most hideous and terrifying conspiracy of plunderers and social destroyers of which we have any knowledge. For such a party, at such a juncture, signalled to go forward by an ennobling past and beckoned by an imperilled future, to be baffled or detained by trivial bickerings, is to arrest the uplifted arm of public justice and to cover the enemies of society with a shield. Rather let republicans not only, but republicans and democrats in the city of New York, unite in sinking minor contentions and in electing honest men of both parties to public trust. Such a unity will be prolific of far-reaching good. It will call back to the duties of citizenship thousands who seem almost to have forgotten their stake in government and their obligations to it. Many discerning persons, after looking for years at our great city, seeing multitudes of its best men, with faces habitually averted from public affairs, pass by on the other side and abandon politics to others, have adopted the despairing theory that an urban population is unsuited to the maintenance of republican institutions. This is the time to dispel this fatal apprehension. The gibbet on which official sin is now to forfeit its existence will do only a brief and vengeful office unless it awakens the consciences of those whose neglect left the door unguarded while thieves and vampires entered in. If the better elements of New York can be combined and stirred to activity the election and the count of votes will not be such mockeries as in preceding years. In the actual presence of the intelligence and uprightness of a million people the manipulators dare not do as they have done before. The assurance is that the election in the metropolis will bring out overwhelming anti-Tammany majorities in the country. Last year I addressed many republican meetings in different portions of the State, and everywhere the same obstacle was found. It was as settled belief that majorities sufficient to elect local officers were all the case required; that no matter what majority for the State ticket the rural districts might give, they would be falsely counted down on Manhattan Island. All assurances of reduced frauds in New York were overcome by counter-statements, and 45,000 republicans who had voted at the gubernatorial election last before did not vote at all. This year the same fear weighs upon our people, and nothing will do so much to insure the downfall of Tammany in the State as palpable indications that the people of the city mean to have some approach to a fair vote and a fair count. To achieve this and to achieve all, the first and last need is concord and unity among republicans, and afterwards united action in the city between republicans and all other sincere reformers wherever the emergency demands it. Trusting that the meeting will usher in a new era of good feeling and of good works, I remain your obedient servant,

ROSCOE CONKLING.

CHARLES S. SPENCER, Esq., and others, Committee, &c.

JAMESTOWN, Oct. 17, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your letter inviting me to speak at the Cooper Institute ratification meeting, 26th inst. To be effective before a political assemblage requires a peculiar talent, which I am very sure I do not possess. I have so often been led to regret my inability to benefit our party in this direction. For many years past I have made but one speech during our annual political campaign, and that at my own home. Therefore while I will not trust myself to attempt a service which can better be performed by another, yet no one shall surpass me in earnestness of effort to maintain our principles and secure the triumph of integrity and justice in the administration of government. Hoping for the best result from the meeting, and for the success of our cause and ticket, I remain very truly yours,

R. E. FENTON.

HON. CHARLES S. SPENCER, Chairman.

SPEECH OF JUDGE PIERREPONT.

Judge Pierrepont was the first speaker. During his speech he said:—

If the Rochester ticket is elected, does any idiot expect reform? Have we had reform under that administration? None of it; and never shall we have. The entire machinery of the government has been in the hands of these same men for some years; have they reformed anything? Let your plundered treasury, your disgraced city, your official robbers, flaunting their stolen millions in your insulted faces answer. Re-elect them and reform will high go to its tomb, and fraud and corruption will hold revelry again. Every reflecting man knows this, and every man who votes for the old ticket votes for the old rule, and cannot be sincere in his professions about reform. Fellow citizens, democrats or republicans, whichsoever you may be, we are brought face to face with this question of corruption. We may as well lay aside shams and take a square look at the naked reality. We all know the shocking facts. Do you honestly wish to repeal this infamous city charter, turn out the plunderers and make an honest government? You say yes. Well, do you believe that electing the same old Tammany ticket will bring reform? You know it will not. Then vote a ticket that will, or cease false pretences, and frankly say that you do not want reform, but like fraud. Success of the democratic ticket this fall is Tammany's success, and every sensible man knows it. We have fallen upon strange times; unheard-of disasters, disturbances in business, commotion in civil affairs, revelations of gigantic frauds by high official men, uncovered corruptions which are appalling, the utter annihilation of all power in the people to express their will through the ballot box, the discovery that by fraudulent count of votes which were never cast, the very foundations of free government are destroyed, the rule of an oligarchy, more corrupt, more vile, more despotic than was ever known—all these, on the near eve of a great national election, presage an approaching future unparalleled in our history; and as the future unfolds to our vision, the same peculiar, self-poised, trusted, silent man who led our armies through the Wilderness will be needed. If this State cannot be carried by the republicans this fall, then it is idle to hope for any radical reform. Mere patching up or covering over by a Legislature compromising with Tammany Hall will render the last state worse than the first.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

Mr. WILLIAM M. EVARTS, who was received with cheering, said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—The crowd of interested and earnest men which fills this hall on this inclement night, representing those who are united for the ratification of a State ticket which opposes a democratic ticket for this State, shows conclusively that it is representative of the live and present issues of our politics, and that you understand that the suffrages of the people are needed. I am quite sure, gentlemen, that there has been more sober purpose, more thought in the minds of the people of the United States with regard to their government, their institutions and their future political prospects during the last few years than there has been during the last ninety years of our independence. When we had to contend with the war of the revolution and of slavery we knew every one of our enemies; but when the suffrage of a great people is falsified we have no means of knowing our enemies, and we meet those enemies at a terrible discount. There was no retreat at the battle field; if he answers to the roll call once he answers until he dies. Now, gentlemen, the two State tickets are before you, and the great and only question between them is that of corruption and non-corruption. I have no other statement to make, no other question to ask, with regard to the vote you are to give than this of corruption and non-corruption between these two State tickets. This terrible menace upon our liberties and our honor will have to be met as slavery was met; and, depend upon it, this people will suppress this corruption either by peaceable means or by blood. (Loud Cheers.) There is nothing that deserves so deep a curse or so swift a retribution as the crime of corrupting the suffrages of the people. The people who do this corruption tell us in so many words that they will repeat and repeat, that they will count and count and cheat you out of the suffrage. They say what are you going to do about it? You are going to exercise the suffrage, and see that nobody corrupts or defies it. Do you mean really that nobody is to rob you of your suffrage? If it comes, gentlemen, to a miscount of votes there will have to come a fair count of bayonets. Well, they say still that all this was said last spring, and "we must prevent the passing of this iniquitous scheme, and the scheme passed all the same. You have resolved and you have made speeches. These men have got the power and they will go on all the same." Well, gentlemen, if we had not begun in the spring we should have not been here in the summer, and we should not have carried the city as we shall in the autumn. Well, "What are you going to do about it?" was the tone very freely used; but now it is changed to "what is the limit you are going to do about it?" Is it the penitentiary or is it the scornful punishment of the prison, or is it to be the redemption of the money that was stolen?" That is the question now. In my opinion what has been called the government of the city and the State of New York has been nothing more than a combination of instrumentalities for the purpose of forming organizations to rob and ruin the State. Now, some people like that, and there are some people who are satisfied to say, "Well, Tweed is sharper than the rest of you." Now, gentlemen, we have got to a combination of human affairs which Providence will not have; for it is that state which has been described as "wickedness has got rich and kicked." The corruption that is in our midst has had no parallel in any despotic government. There has not a despotic government existed during the last hundred years that could have done what these despots of ruin have done. We have heard about politicians feathering their nests, and that we must expect that politicians will feather their nests. We are the geese, too, who are expected to supply them with feathers. (Laughter.) Who ever know a goose who complained of being plucked? and who ever cared if the goose did complain? (Cheers and laughter.) Well, this summer it was found out that they had not feathered their nests in the ordinary way, but that they had taken out of the public coffers large sums; where it was gone, how it had gone and where it had been divided nobody knew; all that they did know was that it was gone. There were brave men of the press, brave men of the people, who are greatly to be honored, and who, if not honored now, will be remembered as the greatest benefactors the people ever had. I don't know when the spirit of the people has ever furnished a completer testimony. They did not wait for the suffrage; they did not wait to ask. They did not wait for permission of the Ring. But they demanded from their fears and from their terrors that had taken possession of the Ring that the Treasury should no longer be in their hands, and Andrew H. Green—(loud cheers)—a democrat always, and a democrat now; an honest man always, and an honest man now; a fearless man always, and a fearless man now. He holds the treasury by the declaration of the people, who made manifest their will. These citizens did not stop there. They thought they might as well have a little law, and that they might do some good in that direction, and they had the Attorney General's authority to nominate any associate counsel they might suggest, and they suggested Mr. Charles O'Conor—(loud cheers)—who wields his power by the will of the people. Well, you see, the people can do something; but all this can be undone by the suffrage of the people on the 7th of November. The Ring can say to us, "Well, we have taken the sense of the people, and it is against you." If so Mr. O'Conor stays there no longer. Mr. Green does not remain. I will venture to say that, in the figures in the newspapers in the morning, you will see, probably, the name of the robber who has been robbing you; and a robbery that would not be committed under any despotic government. You will see that the plunder is in the power of the robber; you will see that you were taxed also to get it there. I have contributed my share; you have contributed yours. There were three persons appointed to audit claims; they audited them after a fashion, and they amounted to six millions of dollars. The county had authority to raise this money on revenue bonds and these bonds were sold to honest parties, and these six millions were put into the treasury to pay the debts of the public, and all this money was drawn out in the shape of warrants subject to the order of these people. Three million five hundred thousand dollars of this $6,000,000 was deposited to the credit of a subordinate clerk, a common agent of the public plunderers. Of this $3,500,000 $932,000 was drawn by him to the credit of William M. Tweed and deposited in his (Tweed's) bank. (Hisses.) Now, the only way of repaying this money is by you and I paying it over again by taxes; and it will remain, too, in Mr. Tweed's pocket. (Hisses.) Was I wrong when I said that there was no despotic government within the last hundred years that could have done this thing? ("No.") If it had been done the people would have dragged the despot, his courtiers and his family from power. But you will choose this man to be your Senator for the making of your laws. ("Never, never.") He goes among his followers and is received with rapturous applause. If this man is elected the finger of scorn of the world will be directed to us. I wish it to be understood that every man who fails to do his part to prevent the election of this man is a party to his crimes and is an accessory after the fact. (Loud cheers.) I don't care who is, whether he lives in Fifth avenue or in the Five Points, he is an accessory to his crimes. (Cheers.) Mr. Evarts concluded very eloquently by stating that he knew whereof he spoke when he said that the two parties in Europe—the lovers of liberty and the haters of it—were looking to the endeavor of the New York people to shake themselves free from this tyranny, and he urged them to avoid the danger which was menacing the county. (Loud and long continued cheering).

Marshal Sharpe afterwards addressed the meeting, which was brought to a close by the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The Sixth Senatorial District.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

I respectfully request the publication of the following facts relative to the Senatorial campaign in the Sixth district:—

A report, emanating from a certain political quarter, is in circulation, which might have a tendency to misrepresent me unless contradicted. Said report is to the effect that I am a "candidate in the interests of Tammany Hall, being supported by means furnished by a certain prominent official in that organization, and that I do not intend to remain a candidate against that organization until the closing of the polls." I hereby emphatically contradict the foregoing report, and take this opportunity of stating, that I have never received any aid or assistance financially, from any public official in or outside of Tammany Hall, and never intend to seek such. As regards "being in the interest of Tammany Hall," I most emphatically deny this. Having received the unanimous nomination of the united reform party of the Sixth district, and of my fellow citizens in public meeting assembled, I intend to remain a candidate for Senator of the Sixth district (opposed to Tammany Hall only), until the closing of the polls on the 7th day of November next.

MARTIN NACHTMANN.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25, 1871.

Adjourned Tammany Assembly Conventions.

Four adjourned Assembly Conventions of Tammany Hall were held last [illegible] evening in the Eleventh, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Twentieth districts. In the Eleventh district the convention met and adjourned until to-morrow evening. The Eighteenth District Convention appointed a conference committee to endeavor to unite all the outside organizations in the district on one candidate and adjourned until Friday.

Jerome Buck received the nomination of the Seventeenth District Convention, before whom he appeared and was received with much applause. He in a few words stated his pleasure at being their nominee, and pledged himself to support the democratic party and the interests of the Twenty-second ward to the best of his ability. He is a strong man, and will no doubt be elected.

The Twentieth District Convention nominated John Brown, the last incumbent, and on his declining, William Hitchman, who last year represented the Twenty-first district, received the nomination. Senator Henry Genet, who was present at the meeting, made a brief address.

STATE POLITICS.

Sanford E. Church's Opinion of the Situation—Hopeful Look for the Democracy—Fenton Likely to Cause a Republican Defeat—Republican Bolt in the Twenty-ninth Senatorial District.

NIAGARA FALLS, Oct. 25, 1871.

In a conversation with Sanford E. Church to-day he spoke confidingly of the democratic party electing their entire State ticket this fall, owing to the apathy of the people in the rural districts and the lukewarmness of the friends of Senator Fenton, the latter, he thinks, being in favor of giving the State to the democrats, and cites as an instance the combination of the Fenton republicans of the Twenty-ninth Senatorial district with the democrats to defeat the regular republican nominee, George Bowen, for State Senator, and a strong supporter of Conkling.

The Democratic Senatorial Convention, which met yesterday at Albion, adjourned in the evening until Tuesday, October 31, without making any nomination. The only business being done was the appointing of a committee to consult with the Fenton republicans. On the 31st the sore headed republicans and democrats assemble in joint convention and nominate a candidate for State Senator. The most prominent name mentioned is that of Henry A. Richmond. Governor Church thinks that the present rulers of the city of New York should give way to new men—men who possess the confidence of the people.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY ASSEMBLY NOMINATIONS.

The democrats of the Third Assembly district of Westchester county met in convention at Peekskill on Tuesday, and nominated Coffin S. Brown as a candidate for member of Assembly from that district, William Meade, a former nominee, having withdrawn from the canvass.

William W. Niles has received the republican nomination for member of Assembly in the First Assembly district of the county above named.

RICHMOND COUNTY DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS.

The usually quiet little village of Richmond, Staten Island, was besieged yesterday by politicians of every grade, who gathered for the purpose of witnessing the transactions of the Richmond County Democratic Convention, which was held at the County Court House. There were fully five hundred persons present, among others Senator Frost, Judge Metcalf, Assemblyman John Decker, Supervisor S. R. Brick, Jr.; Samuel Barton, Judge T. P. Kilpatrick, Sheriff Wynants and a host of others. Mr. Barton was appointed chairman, and after calling the meeting to order Judge Vaughan reported the proceedings of the Senatorial Convention lately held at Jamaica, which was accepted. The following ticket was unanimously adopted:—

Assembly—Thomas Gwynne.
County Judge—Judge Metcalf.
Justice of Sessions—John Mehan.
District Attorney—S. F. Rawson.
Coroners—Drs. Lee and Tappan.
Superintendent of Poor—Philip Bender.

At the close of the Convention the General Committee held a meeting, the business of which was of a private nature.

SENATOR SUMNER.

Letter to the Colored Convention in Columbia, S. C.

The Massachusetts Senator on Social Equality—The Great Boon for the Colored Race Their Rights in Schools and at the Ballot Box—Sharp Thrust at the St. Domingo Job.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 25, 1871.

The following letter from Senator Sumner was read at the convention of colored men at Columbia, S. C., on Monday:—

BOSTON, Oct. 12, 1871.

DEAR SIR—I am glad that our colored fellow citizens are to have a convention of their own. So long as they are excluded from rights, or suffer in any way, on account of color they will naturally meet together in order to find a proper remedy, and since you kindly invite me to communicate with the Convention I make bold to offer a few brief suggestions.

In the first place, you must at all times insist upon your rights, and here I mean not only those already accorded, but others still denied, all of which are contained in equality before the law. Wherever the law supplies a rule, there you must insist upon equal rights. How much remains to be obtained you know too well in the experience of life. Can a respectable colored citizen travel on steamboats or railways or public conveyances generally without insult on account of color? Let Lieutenant Governor Dunn, of Louisiana, describe his journey from New Orleans to Washington. Shut out from proper accommodation in the cars, the doors of the Senate Chamber opened to him, and there he found that equality which a railroad conductor had denied. Let our excellent friend Frederick Douglass relate his melancholy experience, when, within sight of the Executive Mansion, he was thrust back from the dinner table where his brother Commissioners were already seated. You know the outrage. I might ask the same question with regard to hotels, and even common schools. A hotel is a legal institution, and so is a common school. As such each must be for the equal benefit of all. Now, can there be any exclusion from either on account of color? It is not enough to provide separate accommodations for colored citizens, even if in all respects as good as those of other persons. Equality is not found in an equivalent, but only in equality. In other words, there must be no discrimination on account of color. The discrimination is an insult and a hindrance and a bar, which not only destroys comfort and prevents equality, but weakens all other rights.

The right to vote will have new security when your equal right in public conveyances, hotels and common schools is at last established; but here you must insist for yourselves by speech, by petition and by vote. Help yourselves and others will help you also. The Civil Rights law needs a supplement to cover such cases. This defect has been apparent from the beginning, and for a long time I have striven to remove it. I have a bill for this purpose now pending in the Senate. Will not my colored fellow citizens see that those in power shall no longer postpone this essential safeguard? Surely, here is an object worthy of effort.

Nor has the republican party done its work until this is established. Is it not better to establish all our own people in the enjoyment of equal rights before we seek to bring others within the sphere of our institutions to be treated like Frederick Douglas was on his way to the President from St. Domingo? It is easy to see that a small part of the means, the energy and the determined will spent in the expedition to St. Domingo and in the prolonged war dance about that island, with menace to the black republic of Hayti, would have secured all our colored fellow citizens in the enjoyment of equal rights. Of this there can be no doubt.

Among the cardinal objects in education which must be insisted on must be equality, side by side with the alphabet. It is in vain to teach equality if you do not practice it. It is in vain to recite the great words of the Declaration of Independence if you do not make them a living reality. What is lesson without example? As all are equal at the ballot box so must all be equal at the common school. Equality in the common school is the preparation for equality at the ballot box; therefore do I put this among the essentials of education.

In asserting your own rights you will not fail to insist upon justice to all, under which is necessarily included purity in the government. Thieves and money-changers, whether democrats or republicans, must be driven out of our temple. Tammany Hall and republican self-seekers must be overthrown. There should be no place for either. Thank God good men are now coming to the rescue. Let them, while uniting against corruption, insist upon equal rights for all and also the suppression of lawless violence, wherever it shows itself, whether in the Ku Klux Klan outraging the South or illicit undertakings outraging the black republic of Hayti.

To these inestimable objects add specie payments and you will have a platform which ought to be accepted by the American people. Will not our colored fellow citizens begin this good work? Let them at the same time save themselves and save the country. These are only hints which I submit to the Convention, hoping that its proceedings will tend especially to the good of the colored race. Accept my thanks and best wishes, and believe me faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

THE MUNICIPAL MUDDLE.

The Committee of Seventy Showing Their Hands.

Suits Instituted Against William M. Tweed.

CHARLES O'CONOR INTERVIEWED

He Thinks the Boss Must Disgorge $3,500,000 and Possibly Answer a Criminal Prosecution.

Tilden's Search in the Broadway Bank.

What He Discovered—Alleged Evidences of Fraud and Forgery of Keyser's Accounts.

The Committee of Seventy seem to have arrived at conclusions at last and have commenced proceedings against Wm. M. Tweed, as will be seen by the following affidavit, made on Tuesday last, by Samuel J. Tilden, who has investigated his account in the Broadway National Bank:—

City and County of New York, ss.—Samuel J. Tilden, being duly sworn, deposes and says that, happening casually in the office of the Comptroller of the city of New York, he was consulted by Mr. Andrew H. Green, Deputy Comptroller, and his counsel, as to the notice proposed to be given to the National Broadway Bank in respect to the alleged forgery of the signature of Keyser & Co. as endorsers of certain county warrants; that soon after this deponent was requested by the said Green to make some investigation in the accounts of the said bank; that deponent noticed on the back of the said Keyser warrants pencil memoranda of E. A. W. or E. A. Woodward, which he supposed had been made thereon by the teller who received the deposits, and was led to examine the deposit account of the said Woodward, to see if the Keyser warrants could be identified; that the method of examination adopted was to take a transcript of the deposits as entered on the ledger, and then to decompose the entry of each deposit into the items of which such deposit was made up, by a reference to the deposit tickets which had been preserved, and to take a transcript of the debits in the ledger, and then to decompose each entry which was formed of more than one item by reference to the blotter kept by the bank; that deponent traced transactions from the account of the said Woodward into the accounts in the said bank of Ingersoll & Co., and Andrew J. Garvey, and at last into the account of William M. Tweed, and caused the same process to be applied to each of the said accounts; that the deponent constructed the schedule marked E, in the complaint in this action, and wrote every word and figure in the same, except the footings of the several columns, verifying each entry by personal inspection of the transcripts made up from the books in the Comptroller's office, and entries upon the warrants, and with the transcripts from the books of the National Broadway Bank and from the said deposit tickets, or verifying the same by their being called off by George W. Smith and P. W. Rhodes, who assisted the said deponent; that deponent caused the entries purporting to come from the books in the Comptroller's office to be compared with the original books of record in said office, and the entries purporting to come from the books of the National Broadway Bank to be compared with transcripts from the entries on the said books, and in both cases the said transcripts with the originals, and believes that each and every entry in the said schedule is correct; that deponent has personally examined the deposit tickets embraced within the period included in the said schedule left with the deposits of the said Woodward and the said Tweed; that deponent examined the deposit tickets of the said Woodward and the said Tweed, mentioned in the said schedule, in connection with Arthur E. Smith, a bookkeeper of the said bank; that this deponent, in examining the tickets of the deposits of the said Woodward, became familiar with the handwriting of the said tickets, and was informed by the said Smith that it was the handwriting of the said Elbert A. Woodward; that deponent noticed, in examining the tickets left with the deposits of the said Tweed, which deposits are contained in the said schedule, that the handwriting of the said tickets accompanying the deposits of the said Tweed is the same handwriting with that of the tickets accompanying the deposits of the said Woodward; and this deponent firmly believes that the tickets accompanying the deposits of the said Tweed are in the handwriting of the said Elbert A. Woodward; that deponent also prepared the schedule F annexed to the complaint; that the summary of the results deduced from the schedules A and E annexed to the complaint is correct, and truly represents the disposition of the warrants and the collection of their proceeds, so far as it purports to represent the same; that deponent caused the statement of the county liabilities, marked Schedule A in the complaint, and No. 1 in the affidavits, to be made, and believes the same to be correct; that deponent has procured a printed copy of certain minutes of the Board of Supervisors, purporting to be issued by Joseph B. Young, Clerk of said Board, which contains the message of Mayor Hall to the Supervisors, under date of August 16, 1871, and apparently delivered to them August 23, 1871; that copy is annexed hereto and marked No. 3; that deponent has heard read by Charles O'Conor the complaint in this case prepared by him; that as to many of the statements of fact therein contained they are true as to deponent's own knowledge, and that deponent has investigated in respect to all such statements of fact, and is satisfied that they are true.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Sworn and subscribed before me, this 24th day of October, 1871, EDMUND ELMENDORF, Jr., Notary Public, New York City.

Accompanying this affidavit are voluminous transcripts from the Comptroller's books and those of the Broadway National Bank, in which the Ring made their deposits. It is claimed that these transcripts identify the parties who drew money from the city, and clearly connect Mr. Tweed with the man Woodward and the contractor Keyser, who claims that fifteen of the warrants paid by the bank are forgeries. The transcripts cover the period from May 5 to September 1, 1870 inclusive, and the summary thereof is as follows:—

SUMMARY.

Whole amount of warrants		$8,312,541 37
Deposits by Ingersoll	$3,549,329 18	
Less transfer from Garvey, August 5	47,744 68	
		$3,501,584 50 of warrants
Deposits by A. J. Garvey		1,177,413 72 of warrants
Deposits by Woodward	$3,581,254 26	
Less transfers from Ingersoll to Woodward	$1,817,467 49	
Less transfers from Garvey to Woodward	731,871 01	
	2,549,338 50	
		1,031,915 76 of warrants
Total		$6,710,913 98
Warrants deposited by N. Y. Printing Company, as above		384,395 19
Total		$6,095,309 17
Warrants deposited by Ingersoll in Bowery Bank, as shown by his endorsement on the warrants, and the No. of that bank in Clearing House, which (70) is stamped on the warrants No. 2,781, June 17	$67,151 83	
No. 2,819, June 27	36,496 85	
		103,648 68
Total		$6,198,957 85
Miscellaneous small warrants		113,583 52
		$8,312,541 37
Ingersoll deposited warrants		$3,501,584 50
Ingersoll deposited check of Garvey		47,744 68
Total		$3,549,329 18
Ingersoll's checks paid over to Woodward		1,817,467 49
Ingersoll's checks to parties not traced		$1,731,861 69
Garvey deposited warrants		$1,177,413 72
Garvey's check paid over to Ingersoll	$47,744 68	
Garvey's checks paid over to Woodward	731,871 01	
		779,615 69
Garvey's checks to parties not traced		$397,798 03
Woodward deposited warrants		$1,032,715 76
Woodward deposited checks from Ingersoll		1,817,467 49
Woodward deposited checks from Garvey		731,871 01
Total		$3,582,054 26
Woodward paid over to William M. Tweed, in checks, deposited in Woodward's handwriting		932,858 50
Woodward's checks to parties not traced		$2,649,195 76
William M. Tweed received from Woodward, as traced	$932,858 50	
William M. Tweed received from Printing Company, as traced	104,333 64	
Total		$1,037,192 14

Mr. Tilden and assistants, on a careful investigation and analysis, have developed the following results, which are to be used in a suit against William M. Tweed and others.

Hall, Tweed and Connolly were authorized by an act of 1870 to audit claims against the county which might be found due. Mayor Hall, at the one meeting of such Board of Audit moved a resolution as follows:—

Resolved, That the County Auditor collect from the appropriate committees of the Board of Supervisors all bills and liabilities against the county, incurred prior to April 24, 1871, and amounts now due thereon; that the evidence of the same be the authorization for the same by the said Board or its appropriate committees, on certificate of Clerk or President, and that thereupon the said County Auditor annex the voucher to the appropriate blanks for our signature, as directed by the section aforesaid, and payment.

Auditor Watson, now deceased, annexed certificates of allowance to claims amounting in the aggregate to more than six millions of dollars. Fatal objections appear in every part of these transactions. Let it suffice, however, to state this much:—Warrants or checks on the bank for claims mainly originating in the noted Ingersoll, Garvey and Keyser affairs, were issued to the aggregate amount of $5,759,458 68.

Ingersoll and Garvey may have retained for themselves portions of this vast sum, but it is certain that of it $3,582,054 26 went to the credit of an account kept by Woodward. This Woodward—a mere deputy clerk—was the general distributing reservoir of this great mass of public plunder. He deposited to Tweed's credit in the bank $932,858 50, and divided the balance among persons not yet ascertained. Tweed's share, however, is distinctly traced to him.

The tabular statements show that upon the issue of these warrants for payment the proceeds were immediately distributed as above stated. That is to say, the distribution was in every instance, on the very same day, with an exceedingly small number of exceptions, where one or two days intervened.

Thus, out of one single set of connected transactions, Tweed's share was over $900,000.

Mr. Tweed's Dilemma—He is to Disgorge $3,500,000.

Mr. Charles O'Conor, who represents the State Attorney General here for the prosecution of the municipal defaulters and peculators, has opened a State office in the same building wherein his own law offices are located, in Wall street, and he is daily in communication with counsel and witnesses, preparing documents on which to base his suits. An evening paper yesterday announced that he would formally commence criminal suits to-day against Mr. Tweed. A reporter of the HERALD called at his office and held a conversation with Mr. O'Conor substantially as follows:—

REPORTER—Mr. O'Conor, an evening paper has announced that you intend to bring criminal suits against Mr. Tweed to-morrow; I desire to make some inquiries in relation thereto for the HERALD.

Mr. O'CONOR—I don't know about my criminal suits being commenced. But I can tell you that under one little chapter in a civil suit we can recover from Mr. Tweed

THREE MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS,

which would make quite a hole in his estate.

REPORTER—Do you intend, then, to begin a civil suit to-morrow?

Mr. O'CONOR—Now you ask me a question which I cannot answer. I have already done what I intend to do immediately.

REPORTER—Would such suits as you intend to bring disqualify Mr. Tweed from being elected to the State Senate, as he anticipates? The evening papers think it would.

Mr. O'CONOR—I don't know that it would. A man might be in State Prison and be elected to office. But I think it would very largely affect the votes of respectable citizens for him.

REPORTER—Have you documentary evidence to convict on civil or criminal suits?

Mr. O'CONOR—I think we have.

REPORTER—When do you expect, sir, to begin your suits?

Mr. O'CONOR—Well, that I cannot say anything about at present. Your question would imply that I had not yet done anything. You understand the work has been divided and one man attends to one case and another to another, and it would be impossible for me to say now what has been done.

Mr. O'Conor being pressed to go, the reporter thanked him and retired.

A legal member of the Committee of Seventy was also interviewed on the same subject, but he had very little information to give, save in relation to the grounds of action of either civil or criminal suits which may be begun against Mr. Tweed and others. He believed that both classes of prosecutions might be instituted against Mr. Tweed for fraudulent disposition of funds entrusted to his care as a public official, and for

CRIMINAL PARTICIPATION WITH OTHERS

in defrauding the city treasury and to recover the sums specified in the indictments found against him. Criminal suits will probably be begun in the police courts in the same manner and very likely by the same party as in the case of Mayor Hall. Bail will, of course, be asked and given, and Mr. Tweed's election will go on, doubtless, as if nothing had happened. But when the republican and reform Legislature meets that body will decide upon the qualifications of Mr. Tweed and others to take seats with them. And the man of "The Seventy" thought that Tweed's chances then would be very slim indeed. The fact that the Committee and counsel have legal evidence against Mr. Tweed to convict and recover they believe, however, to be conclusive.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF APPORTIONMENT.

The Transfer of Appropriations for Interest—The New Court House Money.

Shortly after one o'clock the Board of Apportionment met at the Mayor's office. There were present Mayor Hall, Deputy Comptroller Green, Mr. Sweeny and ex-Deputy Comptroller Storrs. After the usual routine had been disposed of Mr. Green offered a resolution as follows:—

Resolved, That transfers of appropriations for interest on city debt be and the same are hereby made as follows:—

To interest on city improvement stock, 1869	$13,526
Croton Water Main stock	5,493
Department Parks Improvement bonds	7,785
Street Improvement Fund bonds	220,520
Assessment Fund bonds	64,898
Total	$311,222
From the following accounts:—	
Interest on City Park stocks	$17,000
City Improvement stocks (under chap. 299, sec. 71)	17,500
Museum of Art and Natural History stock	1,750
Third District Court House bonds	3,500
Fire Telegraph bonds	15,750
Account of interest generally	255,222
Total	$311,222

After some slight discussion on the matter the resolution was adopted.

A communication was received from the Commissioners of the new Court House, stating that they had made two requisitions for $300,000 each; that only one had been complied with, and if the Board did not appropriate the money they would be obliged to stop the work.

This matter was referred to the Comptroller, with power. After some further routine business the Board adjourned.

Removal of Court Attendants and Clerks.

Deputy Comptroller Green yesterday made some further removals of attend