SPEECH BY THEODORE TILTON, ESO., EDITOR OF THE 'N. Y. INDEPENDENT.'

EVERY AMERICAN IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Introductory Speech by Robert Purvis,

Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc.,

[SPECIAL REPORT FOR THE EVENING THLEGRAPH.] A large audience assembled last evening at Concert Hall to hear a lecture from Mr. Theodore Tilton, editor of the Independent, upon "The Corner-Stone of Reconstruction," delivered under the auspices of the Social, Civil, and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania. The exercises were opened with music by the "Black Swan," after which was delivered the following

Introductory Speech of Mr. Robert Purvis.

I share with you, ladies and gentlemen, and with you, Mr. Chairman, in the felicitation of with you, Mr. Chairman, in the felicitation of weleoming our highly gitted and honored friend here to night. He is no new man among as, Not an Apolitionist coming out or made up from the necessities which the war has imposed. Not one who needed to be convinced that human liberty and rights did not depend upon the color of the skin or the texture of the hair, but as a natural born lover of truth and justice, of humavity, and of freedom. He has been from youth to manhood the earnest believer, and inithral and able and eloquent advocate of that great republican law which declares equality of

rights of the black man. (Applause.)
And now, accepting, as our noble friend does, and as we all do, that the abolition of slavery in our country is a fact, and a living fact, that the accursed and bloody monster is dead, dead, DEAD, beyond the possibility of resuscitation—ay! sir, even beyond whatever power remains—yet our friend is fully alive to another important fact, which proves that the work of anti-slavery is unaccomplished, and that is, that the foul and fatal spirit of the demon exists still in the haughty and God-defying lines of caste, and in the bitter hate and contempt and scorn of the colored race.

Hence our distinguished friend grapples with

the vital issue of the hour, with all the intense earnestness of his earnest nature, and advocates that only form of political and republican freedom, (Applause.) I have the honor, ladits and gentlemen, to present to you to-night the advocate of human rights, in the person of Theodore Tilton. (Tremendous ap-Speech of Theodore Tilton.

Ladies and Gentlemen:-My friend who has presented me to you has taken occasion to say that I am not a new man. Allow me to reciprocate that compliment, and say that, despite his grey hairs, his five minutes of eloquence have proven to you that he is not an old man. (Applause., To-night it feels like summer time, and the lecture system, like the winter's snow, begins to melt away in the spring. If you are glad that your course of eight lectures ends here to-night, I am glad that my course of eighty lectures ends here to night. We may congratulate each other,

Thirty years ago, when De Tocqueville came to this country to look at our institutions, and went home and wrote a book, he made this remark:—"The Americans speak for a federal, the French for a national government." But that was a generation ago. Now, thanks to an overruling Providence, the Americans have not only a federal, but they have made it a national

The question I bring to you this evening is, and which you are to consider while you are tanning yourselves:—"How shall we reset these ten States upon the solid rock?" In other words, "What shall be the corner-stone of reconstruc-tion?" Now it is idle to settle, it is idle to touch, what Mr. Lincoln used to call the permicious question, whether the States are in the Union or out of it; for suppose they are in—How are they in? They are in because they never were out. If they never were out of the Union. they were in during the war. But if the ten States were in the Union during the war, and yet out of Congress, the ten States cannot be in the Union now and yet out of Congress, and I am content that they shall remain so awhile.

Now, how multitudinous have been the plans for rejoining the broken fragments of the dissevered Umon! First of all we had the plan of Andrew Johnson; then the plan of the Constitutional amendment; then that displacing the one and supplementing the other, viz., the mili tary plan of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Let us inquire what is the difference between these

Long ago you were told that, except for the Constitutional amendment, a white man in the South would have twice the political power of the white man of the North. I blush as I mention it, that when Robert E. Lee goes to the poil and gives his one vote, it counts equal to the two votes of General Grant and General Sherman; and that is a fact. Now, in the light of that fact, let all these three plans be traced by the shadows which they cast.

Andrew Johnson's plan is that a negro shall have no vote, and a Rebel shall have two. The Constitutional amendment is, the negro may have no vote, the Rebel may have one. The military plan is that, as the white man of the South has a vote, the black man of the South shall have a vote. I wish to add another plan to the three, and that plan simply to consist in an amendment to the Federal Constitution which, at one beneficent stroke, reaching to the North and South alike, wherever it sees an American ciuzen, whether white or black, whether in South Carolina or Connecticut, suali give to that American citizen the American citizen's tranchise. (Applause.)

While a few months ago it was of conse-quence to consider the plan of Andrew Johnson, it is of consequence no longer. The ver dict of the people fell upon it like a millstone and ground it to powder. What shall be said of the man who for this office is to be honored who for himself is to be dispised? This is the man for whom the police cleared open a path through half a nation of astonished spectators, that he might make the pilgrimage or Billings gate from Abraham Lincoln's chair to Abraham Lincoln's grave. Shame! I say. Hear him say "With the Army in my right nand and with the Navy in my left, were it not for my exceeding grace of humility, I should stand your dictator." An insult to every soldier and sailor of the republic; a double linsuit to his two travelling companions, Grant and Farragut; for it was as much as to say, with gestures speaking louder than words, "These two Lieuenants of mine, whom you cheer while me you tenants of mine, whom you cheer white me you hiss, are but the patient servitors waiting to hear of my supreme design, and to leap to my side, and to cover me, like Mohammed, under the shadow of their crossed swords."

But this is the man who denies constitutionality to the Congress which was elected at the same time he was elected Vice-President. If the Thirty-ninth Congress was unconstitutional, what then is what then is Andrew Johnson? A Congress before whose sober Senate I saw him stand a drunken man. A Congress whose bills he signed, or whose bills he vetoed, until the vetoes, like that applauding echo that doth fall again, rebounded upon the President vetoing a veto. A Congress from whose appropriations of money he pays for his daily bread, and for his daily drink, and perhaps the last costs more than the first. A Congress before the solemn bar of whose successor I devoutly trust Andrew Johnson will yet bow his head as a President impeached. (Tremendous applause.)

I believe that if the House of Representatives shall draw the indictment, and if the Senate shall try the case, if the Chief Justice shall pronounce the sentence, warm as it is, faus in your hands though there may be, and though

summer time be now upon us, you would away violently out of Concert Hall, and run to a Methodist Church, and borrow a hearty

Amen." (Applause and laughter.) But it is idle to waste breath on Andrew Johnson. It is more important to consider the pro-position, Andrew Johnson being out of the way, what shall be substituted in his place? Now, there are those who cry out for the Constitutional amendment, for the military plan offers to the South the Constitutional amendment. The Democratic party say to us, Why don't you stand by the Constitutional amendment? If I am to speak with the voice of a trumpet here to all parts of the country, I would say, "Down with the Constitutional amendment," excellent as are many of its features, vital and necessary as they are to any safe plan for the reconstruc-

as they are to any safe plan for the reconstruc-tion of the Union.

For instance, the Constitutional amend-ment provides for the payment of the national debt. Good! It provides for the repudiation of the Rebel debt. Good! It provides for the incorporation of the Civil Rights bill into the Constitution. Good! It provides that the Constitution. Good! It provides that the ringleaders of the Rebellion, of a certain grade of office, shall be deprived of the power to exercise the ballot, or to sit in a political jebair. Good! None of these testing a political jebair. Good! None of these features can we afford to omit from our final plan of reconstruction; but the Constitutional amendment, however excellent in itself, nevertheless, considered as a plan of reconstruction, or considered as Congress i the bill cousiders it, as part of the plan

of reconstruction, reconstructs nothing.

Tell me, did you join in the offer that the ten unreconstructed States shall, when they rally this amendment, thereupon return to your wacant chairs? Have you made such an offer?
What meant you by it? Well, certainly you did not mean that if the ten unreconstructed States should reject the Constitutional amendment, they should thereupon resume their original seats. Well, how many of the ten States have ratified the amendment? Not one! How many of the ten States have ratified the amendment? many of the ten States have rejected the amend-ment? Every one! The whole ten, in solemn succession, nave struck down the Constitutional amendment. It has proved like a rope of sand, and has dissolved away, and it ought to be

stricken out of the new bill.

As a scheme for the reconstruction of the Union, I say that it had excellent features. So it has, looking upon one side of the coin, but turn to the other. What record is graven thereon? A sad story of injustice. The Constitutional amendment commits the political vote of the negro into the hands of the Rebels; and though the Legislature of Pennsylvania has been pledged to it, I am no party to such a

It says to the aristocrat of South Carolina, Sir, you vote of course; you are a gentleman; you are white. As to the negro, we wish him well, but as to whether or not he shall vote, we consuit your preferences.

Now, sir, I don't mean to consult their preferences. The question whether or not the black man shall have the ballot, which speaks to all citizens alike, is a question which is not to be referred to the aristocrat of South Carolina; a question which is not to be referred to the envaluer of Mississippi; a question which is not to be referred to the first lamilies of Virginia. It is a question that is to be referred only to the victorious and majestic North. It is not their question, it is our

I know it is said that the Constitutional amendment will do some good, and that the military plan for the reconstruction of ten States opens by appealing to the interests of the South, touching her to the quick in her desire to enjoy her basis of representation, and that it will gradually drive the ballot into the negroes' paim, and this will at last be the result. I deny it. That is a question of fact to be determined by the temper of the Southern people. Well, who knows their temper? Alexander Stephens himself told me-"Sir, if you place your hopes in the fact that this Constitutional amendment shall be made part of the organic law, and deliver into the negroes' grasp the ballot, it will never come," Perhaps you want the amendment. I don't. Suppose that you had stopped Abraham Lin-coin's 186,000 negro troops, and said, Boys, under what banner do you fight? Under the banner of emancipation. Against what enemy do you fight? Against our old enemy, the slaveholders. What is to be your condition after the war? And, with a prophetic vision of this Constitutional amendment, you had stopped the men of the regiment and said, after you have conquered the enemyland put him on his knee-Kneel you with him, a beggar and petitioner at his hands for your political rights. It would

Wagner might never have been written in American history. I deny the right of the ten States to accept, eject, or entertain the amendment. You do not give their legislators permission to sit side by side in the Capitol with your Representatives of the North, for the purpose of altering the laws of the land. If they cannot touch a law of the land, how can they touch the supreme law of the land? To concede to them this right is to con-cede them a right above all rights, and that stands central and supreme, the crown of all.

save chilled the ardor of those noble men, and

that banner which they carried proudly to vic-tory they might have cast scornfully upon the

field, and the names of Port Hudson and Fort

God grant that it will never be made! We have had a new scheme of reconstruction n the promise of general amnesty and impartial suffrage. Two great questions lie locked up in that proposition—the question of amnesty, the question of suffrage. Shall we give it to the South? I call you to witness that of all the parties of the North, from the beginning of the Rebellion till now, the one above them all is the extreme radical party of the North.

The way to pargon a great conspiracy is to pardon the many and punish the few; and in the punishment of that few what penalty has been asked—death? The radical party thirsts for no man's blood. Confiscation? It begrudges no man's property. Exite? It has too much respect for loreign nations to banish American reperades to foreign shores unless

American respect for foreign sations to banks, they go to Russian America. (Appiause).

Mr. Henry S. Foote, honorable and dishonorable (applause), tor I would not willingly withhold any man's titles (applause), proposes as his scheme that the North and the South assemble in mass convention, and debate and decide on equal terms. But what gives to the South the right to sit with the North and decide on equal rms? The North is the conqueror and makes the terms. The South is conquered and accepts the terms. Let the North stand on her dignity;

let the South kneel on her humility.

From the dead body of General Wadsworth was taken a blood-stained letter, written by Abraham Lincoln, declaring that if in the reconstruction there should be amnesty to the South, there should be likewise sufrage for the pegro. Think you the yet unmartyred President forecast a war of races? Andrew Johnson himself, in front of the capitol at Nashville, uttered that memorable speech which, more than any other that fell from his lips, sprang up to make him Vice-President. He said, "That loyal men alone, whether white or black, should govern the State." Did Andrew Johnson then mean to threaten a war of races? After he wrote his famous letter to Governor Sharkey about the matter, he says:—"Now let us outwit the radicals," But the poor man has never dreamed that the "radicals" are never to be

"Let us give," said he, "the franchise to those "Let us give," said he, "the franchise to those hegroes that fought in the war, or to those that have \$250;" and you remember what he added: "This," and he, "you can do with perfect safety." That is to say, Andrew Johnson himself being witness, we can have a war of races with perfect safety. Still, if this continent should shake and quiver to the battle of the races, who are to be subduers? Is the negro to strike the blow? If the negro has borne his wrong so patiently, will he not bear his right as

will go into a dignified decline under it, except that John Bright disturbs her gouly rest, and infuses new life into her. Did you read his speech, in which he set his royal heart to beating down the wrongs of Ireland?—and he said the degradation of the Irishman is not in his race, but in his condition. I would plack up the words and transplant them on the other side of the sea, and tell them to flower forth into the declaration, that the degradation of the egro is not in his race; it is in his condition.

(Applause.)
Well, don't applaud it to me. Arise, go to the
Legislature of Penns, Ivania, and tell them to
remove the condition and to break down the
barrier. (Applause.) Sweep away the obstacles and give the man a chance. When I
stood under the shade of those two oaks, one at
the head and the other at the feet of our marryred President, I stooped and gathered a few unwithering memories of his unwithering name. I said, Blessed is the man who links his fortunes with the lowly, for behold his name shall be emblazoned among the proud. (Ap-

Mr. Tilton continued his remarks at great length, occupying over two hours in his address; after which Professor Philip Lawrence recited Sheridan's Ride," and after music by the cele brated Black Swan, the audience dispersed

THE AMERICAN COLONY AT JAFFA. Visit of the Agent of the United States

Government. Correspondence of Chicago Evening Journal. JAFFA, Palestine, Thursday, March IL-My first visit, after arriving here, was to the American colony recently located in Jaffa. The accounts in the various newspapers of America and England in regard to the condition of this colony have been of such a character as to attract much attention throughout the civilized world. Mr. Seward, our Secretary of State, has recently appointed an agent to come here and make a thorough examination into the affairs

and prospects of the colony.

This agent (Rev. Mr. Bidwell, of the *Eelectic Mogazine*, New York), was a fellow-passenger with me from Egypt. He seems to be well with me from Egypt. He seems to be well qualified for the work he has undertaken. In company with Mr. Bidwell and others I called upon Mr. Adams, the President of the colony, heard him preach in the evening, and learned enough of the situation and prospects of the people to justify a brief article in regard to them and the strange opinions which have led so many to leave the land of their birth and emigrate to this far-off country. The colony numbers about one hundred and sixty persons, old and young. The majority of the members express themselves entirely satisfied with their situation and prospects. But a very with their situation and prospects. But a very respectable minority are in favor of returning to America. At the meeting last night a vote was taken by Mr. Bidwell on these two questions:—"First, Are you satisfied in regard to your situation here?" The vote was a unanique one in the offirmality. "Second Do and mous ope in the affirmative. "Second, Do any of you wish to return"". All voted no but one, This exception was a pale-taced and decidedly intellectual-looking woman. She, in accents sad and plaintive, said, "I wish to gome home to America." I confess the word home sounded strangely sweet to me, and my sympathies are decidedly with the lone voter.

Mr. Adams, and all with whom I have conveyed are of the opinion that the colony will

versed, are of the opinion that the colony will be a success. Religiously, they believe that Christ's government will be established in Palestine, and that the whole land will enjoy a prosperity and glory unparalleled in history. They say that they have had an abundance to eat and drink during their sojourn here, and now have about three hundred acres under cultivation, which bid fair to produce a large yield of corn, wheat, potatoes, and the necessa-ries of life. Four adults and seven children have died since the colony settled here.

have died since the colony settled here.

The colony have built quite a number of houses, having brought the lumber all the way from Maine. A three-story hotel is now being erected in the village, and is well under way. All the members speak in the highest terms of the kindness of the Turks and Arabs to them, and in very strong terms of the unkindness and unfairness of the American Vice-Consul at Jaffa,

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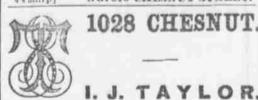
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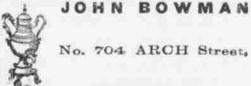
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