in Judging him to-day as a public servant, is not his record, with which I have nothing to do, but it is his possibility of serving us when he underit is his possibility of serving us when he under-takes to serve. If he cannot bear criticism, let him quit public life. Our public servants are either to do our will, or to run beyond it by a superior wisdom. By what right do they claim exemption from criticism? At Constantinople, if you remain in private life, before one single eat shell be criticized you shall have a Court if you remain in private it's, before one single act shall be criticized you shall have a Court and a Cadi to judge your case; but go once into the public service of the Sultan, and the bow-string, without trial by judge or jury, is your tate at the nrst omission

2

The same is substantially true, and must be true, in all Governments. The public servant must do his work, or he must submit to be told that he has not done it. This is the sum total of my criticism. All I ask of the public servant is that be shall exhibit the same fidelity that we have in the industrial business concerns of the country. There is no mystery about governcountry. There is no mystery sense. There ment. It is a matter of common sense. There s no peculiar machinery about it.

Now, gentlemen, my view of our situation is just this. We need more to-day, peculiarly, emphatically, the voices and instincts of the people, because now and in former times de-mocracy has produced no leaders. Lincoln said with pre-eminent truth, "If this battle is fought, the masses lought it." To day who are the parties to the great quarrel and to the great issue that agitates the country? What is that issue

Well, it is simply this: We have struggled for seventy years to be one country, with aniago-nistic institutions. At last the irrepressible conflict has referred itself to arms-the South meaning by that term not a geographical sec tion, but an idea, residing in Philadelphia and Chicago as much as in Charleston; the idea that the Declaration of Independence is a mistakethat obgarchy and aristocracy are the only safe lovernment-that one man is born with whip nd spurs, and another man bitted and saddled, nat he, the first, may ride-that intelligence is argerous-that education is revolutionary-'crolina, "If a man raises his hand and touches ivernment, it is anarchy." In the language the man of South Carolins, "Would you uch a horse to read, would you give an ox an cation ?" It is just as reasonable as to teach mechanic for, says he, "the educated and wealthy class, because the wealthy man wealthy class, because the wealthy man is the same right to rule the masses and use m as man has to use the animal."

This idea, originated at the South, yet confined the re, rebelled against the Declaration of Indence, appealed to arms and was beaten. That is the meaning of victory. If it has any guideance? It is that the rival idea-the idea oi universal education-au open Bible-un-gagged lips-the Declaration of Independencequality before the law-rights resulting from manhood, and limited only by that idea, is to remodel the Government in its own shape, reconstructed after its own model-that is the significance of victory. Now in that issue, which is not a short one, ideas are not developed in an hour. Great communities do not change their convictions by a battle-a single generation is not long enough to get rid of national prejudice.

The injurious tendency of democratic institutions is haste. In the old countries, where half of the minds are the Government, where five hundred active brains are the State, they lay and lay and plan to-day, watch to-morrow, turn and at the close of the next month, watch the all of events, are not discouraged by transient vils, and, after long patience, the long-breathed. hound-like patience of oligarchy, without rest and without haste, they reap in the end full harrest of complete success: but the trouble with the masses is like a child, they dig up the seed in six months to see whether it has sprouted. They must have an immediate result. They must see a palpable effect. They cannot wan for ideas.

Our danger is that we hasten after a pasteboard reconstruction, an outside cure, a seeming peace. Why, the Democracy thirty years ago commenced this very struggle between the prejudices of the dominant white race, and to-day, after thirty years, a generation honors the industry of the blacks, which has been so tireless and so ceaseless and successful, that three-fifths cultivated the land of the Southland, the very basis of the Government-the foundation of power-the source of governmental force

Now this problem of getting rid of the ignorant, besotted, defant, revengefal, bigoted white race, full of prejudices to the negro, be-

issue. They said to the white men of the South, "Come back a the dominant race. You are welcome to hese halls on certain condi-tions. We leave the negro and the machinery of route black of the mean of Congress is the of your State Governments as they were." That was the amendment. That was not joining issue with the South. It was a neutrality. It was an abdication.

They went to the people; they met the great instincts of the masses; they tried to look into the faces of their constituents and say amend-ment. They could not. The people ignored it. The people joined issue with the President. The people said, "We have our right hands on the jugular vein of this self-styled aristocracy, and, by the living God, we will strangle it before we let it go." (Vociferous app actse) The masses joined issue, and there are but two parties to this quarrel. One is the South, led by the President; and the other is the instincts of the people, blindly groping sometimes—the masses hardly knowing (consciously what they want— but leeding their was towards, it with an uncebut feeling their way towards it with an unre-

In the set of the set what did he say ? Suffrage. What hobby did he ride ? The negro. What word did he not dare to omit from his speeches ? Rights of the black race. Kelley, Wilson, Ashley, Boutwell, and Banss-wherever you follow them the tenor of their speeches, the burden of their arguments, the tone of their pledges, is all suf-trage. It is not amendment. Like Hercules' antagonist, they have touched mother Earth, and come up as suffragers.

You say why did they not say it in the House of Representatives? I don't know. I sometimes think it was like Cooleridge's Unitarian Church; he preached to them twelve months, and debated whether he would preach another twelve months. So he went around to see what was the result of his preaching. He found that three fourths of the people went, solely out of example, for the other quarter. (Laughter.) So these men, tull of impartial suffrage, goes up to the House of Representatives, and every man is atraid of his fellow, and they did not seem to get over it till policy got down to this canvass. It is evident that there is but one idea. It is the status of the negro in the future. It is this Government oligarchy or democracy-it is the South on the one hand and the people on the other. Why, look at it; let any man try to gainsay this truth, this unuttered instinct of the people, and where is he? Let any man serve it, and where is he? No matter what his party record-how black-if he will only do service to-day, the people forget the past and hug him. Look at Lincoln on the prairies in Illinois, the pet of the West, he tried to serve this opinion-this curving wave of the ocean; and witness Beecher, he tr'ed to gainsay it and went under. (Prolonged applause.) He had been the apostle for thirty years, but he beat against that cloud and went one side: no one trod after him, his footsteps were the only ones.

Take the New York Times, trying to serve Johnson, and acknowledging that on the first day of January it was worth six hundred thousand dollars, and that to-day it would sell out for half that. It tried to go against the wave, instead of with it.

Witness Grant, the Wellington of the nation, the idol of the army, gathering armfulls of laurels. In his own State of Illinois, an audience of twenty thousand men, one-half his soldiers, when a letter was read from him, received it in silence. When one man asked for a cheer, silence; another suggested a cheer, silence; a third suggested a cheer, silence; when the pet of the State, Ingersoll, mounted the platform and said, "Not a cheer for a Grant?" and a hundred men responded out of twenty thousand; but the General chose to be neutral. He does not take a platform, or any part in this struggle for this great idea, but the people "never buy a pig in a poke." (Tremendous applause, lasting upwards of five minutes.) the most wholesome sign of the times. (Renewed applause.) It is a symptom of intellec-tual and moral health in the people: they know what they want. They do not lorget the services of any man, but what they demand is service to-

day. (Applause.) Now, in this struggle, where shall we look for Now, in this struggle, where shall we look for help? The principles of the South having en-camped in the White House, want to spread her quarters into the Capitol, and to take pos-session of the Government—to get her hand on the helm. Well, now, reconstruction-that is a we are in danger of being contented with a sham democracy. Look at it-what is expressed in the sense and essence of our four years' history just ended? It is that we have been obliged to uphold this Government with the bayonet. That sec-tion would have gone off it' it hadn't been held Great Britain holds freland by force ! Great Britain could not exist as a government one hour, except by force. Let her throw off the trappings of force and trust to public opinion, and there would be a revolution in a ew hours. Now, for four years we have endeavored to hold our nation together by force, and have done it; but that is not the American dea of government. The American idea is to hold the Government together by popular opinion, by harmonious cohesion, by natural gravitation, Two negroes chained toge-ther don't make a marriage; put South Carolina in chains and drag her to the foot of Massachusetts, and leave her there-that is not a Union. A Union begins when you have made South Carolina-for you have the right to do it-over into such a moral, social, industrial, and intellectual form that she gravitates towards the North and New England naturally. That is re-construction, Wuy, we have tried it. We have reconstructed the West. You did. New York did. New England did. How? They took their brains, their capital, their enterprise, went to the bare pratries of Illinois, dotted them with towns, cobwebbed them with railroads, covered them with schools, infused them with the spirit of government and civilization, and the West i so made in the image of the East, imbued with the industrial enterprise of a civilized seaboard. that you could no more tear them asunder than you could the solid gtobe on which they rest. (Applause.) Now rec-ustruction is the same thing elementarily. The war means that Pennsylvania and New York, New England and Ohio, are to go down with enterprise, schools, cspital, and ideas, and make the South over in our image, so that it may be one homogeneous Government That is reconstruction. Some men toss the word "reconstruction" about as if it meant Alexander Stephens sitting arm-in arm with Charles Sumner, or Judge Kelley walking down Pennsylvania avenue with Roger A. Pryor. You might as well dam Niagara with pasteboard. (Laughter.) Reconstruction commences when Pennsylvania or the Connecticut Yankees can go down to New Orleans and walk its streets with freedom, with free hsp guaranteed, carrying capital and his ideas, his energy and his education, and be an element in the character of New Orleans. That is reconstruction. (Applause.) As long as that fact is not possible, reconstruction has not begun at all. Is this peace? There is no peace. Thomas J. Durant, for thirty years when he proclaims to the civilized world. "I cannot live in these streets of New Orleans, where I ventured to live until the summer o 1865; now I leave it, take my children and wife and go North"-when he uttered that singular protest, when he made the statement of that meiancholy tact, he recorded in the face of the world the proof that we have not yet conquered the South-that New Orleans belongs as much to Jeff. Davis as to us. Now, until he can go back, until halt a million of dollars and its owner can go down to Charleston, there is no reconstruction. There is no myslery about it. You make a town, you make a State, you make a countrymvatery. Now who proposes to make it? The President proposes that you shall not make it. He proposes that the South shall put a girdle about berself, and repudiate Northern ideus; that sovereignty shall come back as it was, strong enough to support oligarchy and repudiate freedom. That is his error. It is not a

others say of bin. Now, the error of the plan of Congress is the swindle of Congress; for it is a swindle. (Laugh-ier.) Yes, it is a swindle. Suppose we use the word compromise. That is a good word, which you will find in both Worcester and Webster. It has an honest meaning. Two men own farms and do not know where the line runs, they don't waste their money on courts, but sit down and make a compromise, and tun the time some where. Two men have made a contract, and made money, but they don't know how to divide it, and don't intend to fee lawyers, so they sit

down and don't intend to be sawyers, so they su down and divide it with common sense. Both parties at present should be consulted about the right to vote—that is, a compromise. In 1789 the while men of Massachusetts and South Carolina met together and shut the negro outside of the door, and cheated him, and called ourside of the door, and checked him, and called it a compromise. (Applause.) The Thirty-ninth Congress did the same thing. They met to aid the loyal white man of the South, and the President of the White House consulted with them and shut the doors against our allies, our only alles in the South; for in those disastrous years, when hope almost died, when with sick-ening hearts we watched the two beams of the scales hauging even, and no man knew which would strike the beam-in those long, dreary of 1860 and '61, '62, and '63, when we nonths feared the foreign hand which would make one weigh the most; what made England and France tremble before they put their hands into our quarrel?

It was that in our own scale hung tour millions of blacks, representing the justice of God and the civilization of the ninetcenth century. And when the South craved assistance, Napo-leon looked down to the foundations of his throne, and Victoria scrutinized hers, and they heard the muttered protests of Lyons and Manchester's starving thousands, and dared not put themselves into our quarrel, against God and justice. (Applause.)

They were our allies, but when Congress met to settle the fate of the nation, they shut the door in their faces, and having swindled them out of protection, we came out on the portico and said, "Behold the patent compromise !" The negro said, "Give me a vote; you took me for a mark for the bullet, now give me a ballol," "I can't do that," said Thaddeus Stevens, "here is a plate of soup cooked at the public expense." "Give me my banner," said the black man. "You can't have that," said Massachusetts, "but you shall have the right to buy land in South Carolina, and if you date to take possession you shall be sho. You shall have the rights of a trial trial by jury, where the judge and all are Rebels, who will be sure to cheat you. The thief aries el on Sunday merning for stealing, assured the officer that he could not escape as he had conscientious scruples against traveling on Sunday. So the Congress, when it gave the negro this sham, ragged tragment of rights. pretended they had scruples about giving him that ballot which was guaranteed, and protection alike. But the main fault does not he there; the main disgrace does. It is a swindle not a compromise. It was a mistake of statesmanship altegether. It was an abilication of Seven months in long debate they argued duty. to protect him. Who from? Protect him with Bureau and Civil Rights bills. From whom?

We do not have an Irish tureau nor a German bureau. We do not have a civil rights bill for the Irisb. What do we have a bureau for the negro for? Who will hurt him in those ten territories where Le has been our only ally Who will hurt him? I look back three years and see Wade Hampton on his knees, in the month of April, a balter around his neck, and his hands tied behind him. He could not hurt the negro then; but we unloosed his bands, we took the halter from his neck, raised him to his feet, gave him the land on which he stood, put the power of a ballot in his right hand, gave him back his property and prestige, and then set to work to protect the negro from him.

Protect the negro! The rulers ought to have given to the loyal black man at the South the right to vote, and then protect the white man; for that is what you will have to do. (Applause.) Protect Robert Small from Governor Atken No, indeed! Give Robert Small a political status in South Carolina, and pass a bill that he will not abuse it and hang Wade Hampton. Protect the negro from Mayor Monroe, of New Orleans? Nay, more; give to such men as Darant, of New Orleans, all the power, and then circum-cribe it, and you will see that he will circum-cribe it, and you will see that he will not abuse Mayor Monroe. It is the cart before the horse. I am not making nice distinctions to-

Slewart, of New York.

The South is not tempted by money; she does not want the foul com; her ambition does not he in that direction. I am doing her no injustice. She believes in an idea through the her ambition does machinery of Government; she thirks to-day that she is serving civilization, and when in sh that she is serving civilization, and when in she will put in orieration all the machinery of that political arrangement which ruled us for sixty years, and so fortify herself in that weakers point. Many of you will understand it. You know as well as I do. I was thought to be an enemy to the South. The Abolitonists were thought to be her worst enemies, and he stood on the frontier and said, "You are leiding Ame-rics and the nineteenth century a muck. You are jeopardizing our institutions. This will only end in bankruptey. You are running on only end in bankruptcy. You are running on the thick bosses of the Almighty's buckler," [80] dawned upon her, and she was where she is to-day. Now, says the patent Christianity from the Plymouth pulpit, here is a consolation that has forgotten common sense:--"Comp back as you are, covered all over with your, errors, full of your mistakes, bigoted with all your old, and, as we thought, conquered errors.

Come back, and try the experiment again." Why what, then, were the uses of viotory? What was the use of five long years of war Why did we try it? We could have submitted 1860. The war means that two ideas tried their strength-one conquered, and conquere by the right of its justice and its strength It is a pride to the nation. (Applause.) That is common sense. The Rebel is to be consulted is common erase. I as much and just as fast as will be for his entire benefit, and for the satety of the mation in an acknowledged form. (Ap-

Well, now, I have spoken thus briefly of the aspect of affairs. How shall they be met? Shall we tight this battle? The President has confronted and descried us. What stands next in the pyramid? The Cabinet, that little circle' of counsellors that surround him. And who are they? The Attorney-General is a man selected because he was willing to be a tool, and be-cause, having done the dirty work of the profession, he was the fit tool for the service required The Secretary of the Treasury is a man that agrees so far in the ideas of his chief that, in any villany to be perpetrated against the North, he will be the tempter instead of the tempted. The Secretary of the Navy is a man so utteriy ignorant of his post that his holding it is a farce. and so utterly corrupt that any honest act he would be guilty of must have been a mistake (laughter)-a man who never had convictions, and who always changed his professions when his chief ordered him.

The Secretary of War is a man of eminent service (applause), of great energy, but the nation has no key to his intent or his policy. His next act may give an honorable interpreta-tion to his whole career, but I say it nangs in a cloud. The Secretary of State is one shows a cloud. The Secretary of State is one whose warmest triends deny his weakness, on the ground that age has chilled the intellect of his prime. (Applause and hisses.)

This is the Cabinet and Congress I have endea vored to paint to you, neutral, not treacherous, only it abducated. It wanted to be certain what the elections would say. It would not be a leader, It risked nothing. It had no convic-ions. They were delegates, and not represen-tatives. Now in this wariare of ideas no man can get another full of convictions. Who has not convictions? The Congress had none. Let us hope that it comes together on the fourth day of December with convictions. (Prolonge applause.) It has had convictions in the canvass. It has expressed them in the face of people. Let us hope when it enters the halls of Congress, it will throw reconstruction out of one window, and the amendment out of anothe and begin the business by impeaching the President. (Prolonged applause, a few hisses; again applause; hisses again, and drowning, deaten-My friends, Mr. Wilson, a Senator from my

State, in a recent speech in his own native town, Natick, pointed out the South as a slaughter-field from one end to the other. He said twenty-five hundred negroes have been butchered. There is no safety for them in the Carolinas; no execution of law anywhere; and what is the remedy? Why, he said, we will give what is the remedy? Why, he shad, we will give you a better President on the fourth day of March, 1869. Now, we will, or try to. But, gentlemen, there are three years between now and 1869. Are we to lose that in this great hational problem? Are we to lose three years, while the South has time to grow and cohere, and get all her machinery straightened? Is the

men in that 256 who are not superior to J. A. | Above all things it needs to know its servants

Above all things it needs to know its servants before it trusts them. (Cries of "yes," and ap-plause.) There is a reticence. There is silence which covers nothing. A man says nothing, because he has nothing to say. That is no quali-ication for office. There is a reticence that covers something. A man says nothing because he has something which he does not want to say. If that is the explanation of General Grant's reticence, we want to know what he conceals before we make him President, and my criticism on these leading Senators and Gene-rats is, that they do not do their duty to-day. Many n en put the blood of New Orleans upon the President instead of on General Grant, on haby it en put the blood of New Orleans upon the President instead of on General Giant, on whom part of it belongs. What is his business? The armed hand of the Government. Twenty thousand dollars is his salary; for what? To make the flag protect the citizens of New Or-teans as well as it does those under this roof. (Cheers.) If he cannot do it, let him report to Congress and ask for fresh power. If he won't do it, let him tell the people whether it is of his own will or because he is hindered. (Applause.) Fellow-citizens-I feel-not knowing what you feel-I feel the keenest national disgrace that New Orleans was a possibility. It was ours; the symbol of victory was that the "Stars and Suripes" protected the citizen. Why, was it not a fact? Couldn't it be done? It has been done. Don't deem the procentruction of the South Don't deem the reconstruction of the South a seeming impossibility. There is a Yankee who went down there and made New Orleans quite

sale for Yankee men. (Prolonged applaase. Three cheers were given for Butler.) Only extend the jurisdiction of New Orleans from Mary land on the north to Arkansas and Texas, and the problem is solved. That same New Orleans that was safe for Yankee men and Yankee capital, can be made so over sgain. Why was it not done? They have said that General Grant was not allowed. Then he owed that fact to the was not allowed. Then he owed that fact to the people. The masses fought this battle, and if General Grant was not allowed to make the fag competent defense for citizenship in New Orleans, he should have said so to the North, through the telegraph, and Boston and Chicago would have hastened to send forth men enough for the service.

What I contend for is for honorable men to do their duty. Suppose a rebellion in Ireland was to break out. Suppose that Wellington heard in London that a man had been assassinated in Cork for cheering the Queen! He would have been in Cork in less than six hours, and in half of that time a terwards all England might have cheered in the streets of that city with safety. What I ask of our Wellington, is the reason. But the armed hand of the Government was battling in the waters of the Lakes, while the flag of the country clings to its flagstaff in every

Southern city heavy with Union blood. This is not victory, this is not fidelity, this is not official responsibility, this is not criticism to demand more work. No, a solemn-the most solemn crisis that any generation solemn crisis that any generation ever met. The world looked across the water in 1861, and said, "The bubble of Democracy has burst, the great Republic is overthrown;" but they looked in sixty and ninety days and saw a million of men rise as it by magic, and crush it out more thoroughly than any despotism ever did. The most augantic of any rebellion, and Europe said,

Yes, Democracy can fight." Now comes the second chapter. Can demo cracy govern? Has it brains as well as muscle? Can the people control themselves, and succeed n rising above mere hero-worship, and can they solve this great problem and remain a Union? The world looks at it. Upon you and me rests the responsibility. Let no partisan pride; let no tenderness; no consideration of profession; let no bastard Christianity alienate, and common sense mislead you. What we want is the same fairness of conviction and loyaity to ideas that the South has shown berself.

I am no alarmist. I am not despondent. man who asks his way home from the nearest roof does not the less design going there. A man who plants his seed in the spring is not with the lest. I am not merely arguing for the pegro, and I remember that this great war has left one chair vacant at every hearth. It has robbed every poor man's table of a comfort, every poor man's son of some of his means of rising to a better educated position. It has ground down industry with taxes, in order to subserve a great national purpose. I would to God that the masses would not be cheated out of what they have so fairly earned ! (Great applause.)

I apply plain Saxon terms to Saxon deeds. I know they are nard terms; but a Saxon can sin twice as fast as the English dictionary can de-

and Vermont. These were the light blows. Second came Indians, and then came Pennsyt-vania and New York, swinging around the circle. No fear when such people speak, and the public functionary of these States will soon be telling us why he did not betray the Union. The hun ble individual will stand on this plat-form long before the fourth day of March, 1869, explaining why he did not asceed and why he never meant to. (Prolonged applause.) never meant to. (Prolonged applause,)

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cause it'is whipped and likely to be convertedbecause unsuccessful-this problem is one the nation has to solve. For what are the parties On the one side stands the mobocrat White House-(applause)-this selfthe educated leader of Rebeldom within the camp of the loyal States. 1 am called a harsh critic. A year ago in September I ventured to say, in the city of New York, that the Presi-dent of the United States, instead of being a mistaken triend, was a deliberate, systematic conscientious enemy to the loyal States-that he was not merely in error, but was plotting antagonism. Nine out of ten of my audience hissed me. Well ! I was wrong; I was mis-My mistake was that I said that the taken. President bad gone to the Democratic party. He had not. He never stayed in that camp long enough to beeray it. He never went there. Our children will see the proof of my belief in black and white, within ten or twenty years -that before the 4th day of July, 1865. President was in direct personal communication with the Rebel South at Fortress Mouroe.

Supposing it was not a party definition. If was not a partisan treason. It was the South-erner and the Rebel revealing himself the moment he stood under the full temptation of power from Mobile, from New Orleans, from Charleston. As early as the 10th day of June, you may have, if you seek it, evidence that the leaders of the Southern Union had gotten up from their knees, defied Northern clemency, shook their hands at the Republican party, and boasted that they had a friend strong enough to protect them in their opinion, whence came, all over the South, thus early, an unfaltering, un-hesitating considence in the power that was strong enough to protect them.

We shall see it fina ly, when the Cabinets and statesmen meet, as I believe, in the im-peachment of the President himself. At any rate, no one doubted to-day that the mobocrat of the White House is the efficient, substantial leader of the effort of the South to save her idea from the consequences of her defeat. (Applause,) The South is not a hypocrite. There is no sham. She does not pretend to philo-sophy. She believes in her system more thoroughly than we believe in ours. She does indeed, from the crown of her head to the sole of her foot. She believes that society is only safe in the predominant classes, that capital must own labor in order that the Government should exist. She is striving to do what the thousand brains that make her Government desirestriving to save the wholesale defeat of her idea. oligarchy. The President stands in front of it and it is not supposed that he is declaiming de-Elocracy

The President, like the rest, believes, and under that conviction is plotting to put us back as far and as near as possible to the America of 1860. That is his treason; I do not exaggerate it. I do not wish to visit it with hard words. Wade Hampton is as honest a man in the sin-cerity of his intellectual creed as I am, and he cerity of his intellectual creed as I am, and he is putting, as I put, the energies of his being behind his idea. Now you cannot crush a revolution with rose-water. You cannot make a real man with a sham one. It is useless to put William A. Seward, without a conviction, in front of Wade Hampton, running over with conviction. (Laughter.)

Now and then, gentlemen, one of the men must say aye, and the other no. Then there is a quarrel, and then there is a light; then there is an issue, gentlemen, between two ideas or sections. Now, the South, plainly, without com-promise or concealment, lets us know that, in her ideas of civilization, she does not believe that it is safe, or best, that the negro should be counted as a political element. It is not that she hates him. It is not that she wishes to crush him. It is that she does not believe it safe to count him as a political element. Congress sat seven long months, debated every-thing, and adjourned with what they called a series of amendments. For it did not join night. I am not claiming too much of Congress. We met the Rebellion on our frontier with four millions of block men, and some naif million of whites, our allies. Who is to be trusted with power? Are our allies to be put at their mercy

No! no! (Applause.) Instead of that, the policy of Congress trusts the white, dominant, still unconverted, dedant, revengeful white race with power, and then sets to work to create machinery to guard them. Sheridan said once, in the English House of Common<sup>\*</sup>, "I have heard of a man dashing his head out against a brick wall, but I never heard of a man building a wall expressly for that purpose;" and yet this is exactly what Congress has been doing for seven months.

The error and the danger are here-every single question of great importance, morally or justly. to the financial circles of our seaports, has vasi interest. They look at that possible revolution and panic when the country floats back to colo; they remember the dreadful 1819 in England's history, when Sir Robert Peel dragged the nation back to guineas; when every other man was a bankrupt, and then say when is our 1819 to cone? Under this policy, nobody can tell how soon. Nobody can tell how wide these influences will be, and on the policy which says to the South-Be a part of use, come into har-mony with the nineteenth century, arrange yourselves with the industrial energies of the vation and all its ideas, and we have twelve milhons of customers that will make every Northern spindle do double duty, make every Northern hand be crowded with work, tide us from tha possible panic, and leave us no possibility of one. The nation has not skill, industry, or capacity sufficient to supply the aching void of a truly reconstructed South. Four miliions of negroes wanting fifty to a hundred dollars a year o Northern manufactures, or from five to seven millions of whites in the same condition! Why, t would add to the demand on Northern manufactories two hundred millions of dollars for only the negroes.

the contrary, admit the element unconverted. No sin that it is unconverted, but it is unconverted. They mean to get capital; not from you, not from idear, not as Illinois got it, from Northern energies and enterprise, but from the Government, from intrigue, from diplomacy. The South, minority as she was, ruled us from 1800 to 1860, with the single exception of Kansas. She means to try it again, once in that hall of Senate and House, It is not e-senttal reconstruction that she will there seek to gain, and it is through political intrigue, through the resources of present triumph, that she will fill her exhausted exchequer.

Pay her debt ! Some men are afraid that the South will try to pay its depts. I never knew any great anxiety on the part of the South to pay its debts. They do not mean to settle with the English bondnoiders. know that Sheridan spread his trail fitty milewide through the South, and made the terri-tory yold wherever he went. They know that that vold is to be filed up. The North stands up with her hands filed with gold, rendy to fill ir, only accept her ideas. The South says "No!" by the voice of the President; "but I will have the money," Vice-President Hamily tells have the money." Vice-President Hamin tells you how, when he says he was offered a Texas bond for fifty thousand dollars, with the intima-tion that he should vote right to-morrow-"I did not accept it," he said, "but I saw around me many a Senator that did." Now the needy and bankrupt South wants this capital. Put them back in their seats, and she will bring bushel-baskets tull of Confederate bonds, not worth a cent to day, but will be worth 70 per cent. to morrow. And I know at least one Massachusetts Representative that would not stand the temptation an hour.

Why, you know saints do not come in troops, or travel in batallions; so these men in Congress are to bitter, on an average, than the men out of it, and it is not surprising that you may and of it, and it is not surprising that you may and

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Democratic party to grow stronger, and in 186 to meet us with a mighty banner? And in the meantime the real reconstruction of the country uncommenced? I pray you, look at it! Over fifty thousand

in the Empire State voted for the mobocrat of the White House, even after his Western journey. A million and a quarter of men are on his side. It is a great cloud. It is an immense consideration, with the patronage of the Govern-ment behind it. It is not safe to risk many hours with such a Fresident. An hour lost is an opportunity for misfortune. What foreign complication may come in? Who knows? Months now are pregnant with the effects of centuries.

On the first day of May Napoleon sat on his tarone, and looked over Europe and said, "Nobody can touch my sute mountain. My roots go down to the granite of the nineteenth cen-But he looked up in thirty days, and the tury." phantom of Bismar's rose, and he was nowhere. Austria said, "I am a thousand years old. I strike my roots through the strain of ten centuries." She came into the field and was vanquished. The three years may do for us great things. Why, in three years we can build railroads and make spindles vocal and fill all their land with pienty. We can call up the poor white man; lit up the masses against this aristocracy; outfank the Wade Hemptons and the Governor A kens; and in three years no man knews what we may not do.

On the 5th day of December Congress reassem bles, and reconstruction will commence, May it throw shams out of the window and comnence business by impeaching the President, and success will be yours! (Applause.) Sequester him from other. Why, suppose a Bank President to day comes into your bank, robs the safe on Monday, lorges on Tuesday, steals notes on Wednesday, you most him on Thurs-day; do you release him on Friday, and give him the keys of the sale on Saturiay? No! You but up the facilities of misconduct and curb him from his malfeasance. Imreach the Presi-dent! He has con-pired with the South to help them take this great and fatal step. The South never meant to rebel. Jeff. Davis

never meant to rebel. He never wanted to leave Washington, and to give up the army and But the excited and misguided masses navy. or the South hurried him out of Washington, He meant to be there, and Breckinridge meant o be there, and have the seat of government at Washington, and to be recognized by Enrone. They though we would rebel, he knew his cards, he saw his mistake in ninety days. The effort of the President to day is to correct it, to make he South the Government, Let us rebel. Put her where she was in 1860 to us. My Policy is to put the Recei out of the chair of state, and then we will run the machine. That is, I want the commencement of the elements of the American nation to be plant, d at the South It will take a long time to grow; God moves a generation into their graves. Tout is the way He gets nd of national difficulties, and most of these will have to go before we get rid of them.

A volco, 'That is the troth.") Eegin Begin now! And what I contend is that our public men are talking coaff, the sham of politics, instead of rational, substantial, national action. Men do not do their duty. Sens or Wilson says he knew last January the President was a traitor. What dot he do? Tried to conciliate him. And he is called a practical statusmen, and I am a lanatic-have an unfortunate habit or speaking out in meeting. Practical nate haoit of speaking out in meeting. Fractical statestranship means knowing a great deal of and telling nobody. Practical statesmanship means, don't let the negro have a vote in the District, for it will irritate Governor Swana. Give our alles in Maryland no help, for it would have irritated Governor Swann. This is practi-cal statesmanship 1 (Laurhter.)

ary can de scribe him. We have gathered all the virtue: and all the vices of our nature into a hotbed for cultivation, under this democratic form of rovernment, and they come up many a tail branch both of mischief and moral virtue. It

was God who gave us the victory, no one can doubt; but we must not now cheat the negro. (Applause.)

Whether the struggle will end in three years, or thirty. God only knows. Give your leaders harmony, and it ends in a few short months. But give to us the maelstrom of party politics and no man knows its conclusion. It is not in a man to save us, nor in a man to harm us. The President himself is but a waif on this great acean. He only bappens to be in a pivotal place, and in ordinary times we could not re-move him. It is the defect of the republican government, that where we get a mistake into the Presidential chair, it takes four years to get rid of him.

This slowness is, perhaps, inevitable to republican institutions, but, perhaps, more important. Now, when events, and the proscriptions of the President, have given to us the constitu-tional right to get rid of him, we should begin this great social change at once. (Applause.) I do find fault with Congress, and this practical state-manship, which went down to Tennessee and dug up a traitor, and proclaimed him Presi dent in the month of June. They have done nothing in Congress but to quarrel over Nebraska and Colorado, both of them the betrayers of the Northern idea. Congress then goes into cances, and, by the voice of its best and leading members, says .- "We don't know that we shall ever meet again."

Do you suppose they would have adjourned in Cromwell's time? Not they would have held perpetual session. That was practical statesmanship. They feared the President, yet placed num in unlimited power, with unlimited means of corruntion. How was it in the time of King Louis XVI? The Convention never rose. Con-press should have said, "We will never rise," or it ought to have stopped the supplies. (Applause.)

The caucus meant nothing. It meant that Boutwell, Kelley, Stevens, and Sumner could not trust Government, and yet they trusted it with untold millions. If you cannot impeach the President, stop the supplies, repeal every act that pays the public creditor, and pay the capital to the country on our side. (Applause.) I confess, fellow-citizens, that I would insist upon the renewal of constitutional law, and by that means make a Northern victory a victory The taxes are a reality; the people (Applause.) have a right to all that they earn; and whether impeachment or slopping the machinery of the Union-whatever the remedy be in these days, of revolution, like the long Parliament, the legislative body representing the loyal North is to assume and be the Union until the ideas of the North are strady planted. (Applause, I have detained you longer than I intended, but (Applause.) this is a very serious question. It is one that goes down to the very roots of civilization. It is not unlikely that it is going to remodel old Europe. Soon a million of black votes, recorded in Washington, will say to Cuba. "Break off those shackles, and you will recover the islands into harmony with the nineleenth centery. It means the black race is taking its

place among the races of the earth. Don't think I tear Johnson in his high sta-tion. Whenever I think of him I am always reminded of the device of the Russian per who endeavor to kill the bears for their oil and ibide, without the use of brearms. They select a hollow tree filled with honey, hang over it a bidge stone; the bear comes along and puts his bead in and smells the honer, gives the rock a pub to get it out of the way, and it, true to its centre of gravity, talls back and hits him ablow;

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