MR. PHILLIPS ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke last evening on Reconstruction in the great hall of the Cooper Institute, which, in spite of the storm, was densely crowded; hundreds being obliged to stand. He said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I am to speak to you to-night on Reconstruction—the way out of the war; and in the course of that talk naturally it will come in my way to criticise the efforts and plans of reconstruction which have been placed before the nation. Let me say in the outset that this criticism does not flow from any desponding view of the present hour, from any lack of hope for the future. As I had the pleasure of saying when I stood here before, more than a month ago, I have an undoubted faith in the two most important points of the future; that is, I believe that the North will triumph, and her civilization supersede that of the South, and the result will be One Nation, as immortal and indivisible as any nation in history. I do not believe that it is possible that that result should be prevented. I do not believe that the powers of heaven above, or the Copperhead of earth beneath, or the Secessionist of Richmond under the earth, could prevent it; and, secondly, at the same close of the epoch in which we now live, the epoch marked by the convulsion of a struggle betwixt two ideas; not—understand me—the end of the war merely in the sense of a military struggle, not when we call home the cannon and furl the banner, but when the real convulsion and struggle betwixt the two ideas is ended by the substantial and absolute triumph of one. I believe that that nation will be a free one. The negro like every other race beneath the Stars and Stripes, will have his manhood accorded him. As the old negro said, it will be as impossible to put the chicken of six weeks back into the egg as to prevent that result. On those two points I have no doubt. But you observe the limitation which I endeavored to explain—at the end of the epoch. Now we have a familiar phrase, "Slavery is dead; the war has killed it." Well, I believe the war has killed Slavery just as typhus fever kills a man. But the invalid will rise from his bed when the fever has left him, and drag himself about for half a dozen years before he goes into his grave. So it is with Slavery. When it will die neither you know nor I. When it will absolutely cease depends not upon the past but upon the future. Whether its taproot, now cut off, shall be absolutely rooted up and left to rot upon the ground, or whether it is to struggle out ten, fifteen or twenty years of invalid and disastrous existence, depends upon the statesmanship of the future—depends upon the method of Reconstruction. That is, we may adjourn the decision of this question from the battle-field to the Senate; we may remand it from the cannon back to politics, and there we may see the solution of the problem hang for a dozen years undecided; and it is in that respect and from that stand-point that the statesmanship of Reconstruction becomes so vitally important. Now, in speaking of it I shall say, perhaps you may think, too much of the negro, of that race, of the system of Slavery. You might think that the time had come when it could be dismissed from the discussion, and that our data and arguments take a broader sweep; but I believe that still that race and our treatment of it is the pivot upon which the white man's interest and national unity, the prosperity of that Union turns to-day and will turn for many a year. God has linked justice to that victim people with the inevitable necessity of the white race to provide its own place, its own position, and its own future. In a larger sense than Lamartine means it we are to see that no man was ever permitted to fasten one end of the chain round his fellow's limbs, that God did not himself link the other end round the master's neck; we are to see, not the sense of justice merely, but the absolute prosperity and peace of 25,000,000 of white men hang on justice to the negro, and in the world's history this is no uncommon sight. An ignorant workman forgot to finish a drain on the outermost wall of Windsor Castle. Fever wind its way along the unguarded aisle until it seized on Prince Albert and left Victoria a widow. So God linked wealth and royalty to ignorance, and violence to poverty. And so it is to be in our problem. The royalty of the white race is to live or die according as it understands and does justice to the victim race in its hand. [Applause.] Therefore, in talking of this problem I shall necessarily turn still largely toward the negro. Mr. Sumner is fond of the statement in that shape that Slavery is the Rebellion, and the Rebellion is Slavery—no doubt with essential truth. Still, it is to be remembered that, as Benton said in a letter written a couple of years before his death, the Rebellion is ready to break out; we shall soon see it; its pretense is Slavery, the reality behind it is aristocratic institutions. It is to preserve those that the stalking-horse of the slave system is made use of by the social aristocracy of the South. Now, we are ever to bear in mind this analysis of the best student of this phase of our history—one who from early life, from deep interest, from close observation, was competent to understand it. It is the difference between Northern and Southern civilization to-day which makes the Rebellion, fully stated. It is because the South hates labor and despises it, and because the North is essentially democratic—the working man's country—that the two cannot cohere. Now, briefly to state the pathway, the goal, which is peace, would be to say that South Carolina cannot avoid union with New-York and Massachusetts. The moment you have made her a working man's State, that moment you have given the formation of a State and polity into the hands of the masses; and until you have done that, the epoch is not ended. You may abolish chattel Slavery, you may bring the States back conciliated into Congress; but until you have destroyed the element of divergence you have only changed Chattanooga into the Senate Chamber, and that is so far a disastrous change. Battle is a very excellent schoolhouse, and its scholars ripen quick. Politics is a very slow teacher, and teaches more slowly than anything else. [Laughter.] As long as the war lasts the nation ripens rapidly; whenever it ceases we go back to the comparatively slow change that preceded 1861; for, as I have frequently troubled you with saying, this is no new battle—the battle began when Slavery became the mark of the South and Freedom of the North. In 1861 we chose a new method, and, beaten at the ballot-box, the South fell back on the bullet. Now the epoch soon comes when, although she may not give up the bullet, she will not trust it. Grant will meet many a fierce battle-field covered with the blood of 50,000 dead, murdered men, before he reaches the Gulf. Still the leaders of those men in their heart of hearts recognize that unless some hand outside strengthens them there is no human probability that their fight is for victory. It is only for terms. They must give up the idea of dictating law to this belt of the Continent, although they will still fight fiercely for a broad place upon it. Under that statement reconstruction means South Carolina, the counterpart of New-York; nothing short of that is peace. What is it wrapped up in that phrase? It is each man owning his own house, with a schoolhouse behind him and a ballot in his right hand. [Applause]. The North said in '76 in defiance of Europe and history. There is but one trustworthy Government, it is where each class has a ballot in its own hand to protect itself—the civil power to protect itself." Europe says, "Poverty, don't be anxious; I, Wisdom, will take care of it; Ignorance, don't be anxious—I, Wealth, which am but another name for Culture, will take care of it." That is the whole world apprenticed to wealth and wisdom. America says, "Take yourselves out of the light, sham Wisdom and Wealth; there is no civil safety but each man and each class holding in its hand the power to protect itself." Then, given the education, to know how to protect itself. That is democracy; that is New-York; that is New-England. It is not, and for a long time it will not be, the South. On the contrary, the South is modeled on the European plan—the white race, a small segment of that race, protecting everything else, looking down on labor as dishonorable. One touch of the right hand to work, and you are no longer a gentleman. [Applause.] The South does not believe to-day that in her sense, there is a gentleman north of Mason and Dixon's line—that is, in the sense of a laboring class below it exclusively devoted to work. Until, therefore, she can be either cowed or converted, there is no place for her readmission into the capital, if you want a homogeneous, democratic republic working there—if you want South Carolina anything but a neutralizer of New-York. I have known a Southern man lose his passage on a railroad train waiting for a negro to put his valise into the freight car. [Laughter.] A friend of mine at Nashville saw a white man, clothed in rags from head to feet, which were bare, come to the Provost-Marshal's table and ask rations and transportation a hundred miles down the river, home. The Marshal's reply was, "I have as many names on my list as I dare." "Well, I am hungry and I want to get home," said the man. "Can't help it; I can't take your name." The Secretary of the Marshal, a Northern-bred man, looked up and said, "You have only to get on board the boat and handle a little wood at the waiting stations, and you may make double your passage, and rations beside." Rags looked down at him a moment, and said, "I never did work an hour, and I guess I shan't begin now." [Applause.] The Northerner suggested that it had come to a question between starving and working. Rags replied, "I will starve a week before I will work an hour." [Applause.] Now, you have not converted that poor white man; you have not brought him one inch nearer to Northern ideas. Suppose you leave him where he stands—the representative of nothing but a bare white skin—and give up to the cap-sheaf of Southern statesmanship, to the ablest man west of the mountain, and perhaps the ablest practical statesman on either slope—I mean Andy Johnson of Tennessee. [Applause.] Suppose you ask him—he, the cap-sheaf of Southern Unionism, will tell you, "I am for the freedom of the black man and the white man; every man shall have his natural rights; but I am for the white man's government." That is the negro can fight; he is a good musket, he can work; he is a good shovel, but the hand that has wielded the rifle and made the stars and stripes victorious to the Gulf is not fit for a ballot. The brain that through the dark night traveled to the Union camp and warned it so that victory was saved or defeat averted, is not fit to sit on a jury. After all he is not a man, only a tool. Now there never will be a set of men in Tennessee fit to sit down and legislate on the interest pecuniarily and honorable of the Empire State until Andy Johnson sees John Hancock under a black skin. [Applause.] That is my idea of reconstruction. You may not like it. The reason is, you have not yet seen John Hancock under a black skin. [Laughter.] You have that same prejudice against color, and more of it than the Southerner has, in certain cases, and the consequence is you don't yet recognize that 4,600,000 of men and women that you are willing to use as champions and as working people—you are not willing to recognize that thereby they have won the right to citizenship, to land, to the ballot, to education. And until the nation does recognize it North and South, the epoch of civil distinction is not ended. [Applause.] Now the Southerner knows that perfectly well. Take Illinois and Massachusetts; they put their sovereignty in common. The two States have all their future, their interests, their tariff, their prosperity, their honorable international relations dependent upon the voters of both. Massachusetts can appeal to Illinois men—Illinois men to Massachusetts men. Where we share sovereignty, we share discussion, we share opinion. If Illinois delves us in her vote, we can correct it, or try to, or be ourselves corrected. There being mutuality of sovereignty, there is mutuality of opinion. Now the South has never allowed us to approach her civil objects. I had an Alabama slaveholder pass a day with me some six years ago, and he said, "In our lower counties, where we have a large mass of slaves, there is no difference of opinion; we are all disunionists—every man under 40. In the upper counties, it is a different population. A white man holds perhaps a single negro, who works at his side, sits down at the same table with him, and sleeps in the same room—there is but one in the house. Now that man is essentially on your side; he is so in his feelings; but he can't read. We afford him no encouragement to read. He never hears a speech except what we make at elections, and we never mean he shall; if he did, he would take his stand on your side." They were fully conscious that if Northern civilization penetrated the wall of their oligarchy and reached their masses, the State would be upheaved and their rule would be ended. They kept that state of things in order to carry Alabama out of the Union, and they have succeeded. When you will reverse that state of things, Alabama will gravitate back to the Union; and she never will stay there permanently and peacefully until you do reverse it. [Applause.] Now, how shall we make it for the interest of white men, land-holders, educated men of social influence and prestige, to let education penetrate to those masses? On Democratic principles I can make them do so. If I give the poor white man and the negro the ballot, the moment he has got it the demagogue who wants his vote will be careful that he knows how to read, and does n't get the other demagogue's name on it. [Applause.] He will want to address him through the press and tell him the tactics and method of argument of his party, and I guaranty the school-house from the selfishness of politics the moment I have given power to the ballot. [Applause.] The guaranty of education to the lower masses is giving them power to effect the welfare of the higher directly at the ballot box. Now, therefore, when we have the States—for we must have them when reconstruction is announced—there is a dividing line that dictates policy. I have stood on this platform, or the one that preceded it many a time, and others have, and argued to you the slave question. Well, you would go away from here, most of you, saying, "The argument is good, Slavery is a sin and an evil, and it ought to be ended, it ought to be annihilated. I would like to do it; I wish I had the power; the only link wanting in that man's chain is, that we have no more power over Carolina than over Timbuctoo." It was a good answer; it gave a plausible excuse for your going away and leaving us alone. There was a very broad, constitutional black line between New-York and Charleston—the line of constitutional State Sovereignty—you could not pass it on this question, and we recognized the fact that you could not. But one day Charleston loaded her cannon and fired it at Sumter, and, when the smoke cleared away, the line was gone. [Loud and long applause.] That cannon God forged with a thunderbolt, and gave it into the President's hands, and said, "To-day you have exactly the same power to protect the negro in Charleston that you have in Washington, D. C." [Applause.] That is the message that is addressed to this nation to-day. To-day omnipotence is in your right hand to curb the unconverted oligarchy of the South, to mold the machinery that makes the future into such a shape that it shall produce a different set of white men. Omnipotence is in your hand to do it; before you part with it, unless history and the world brand you as hypocrites, see that you do the work thoroughly and to the center. [Applause.] Before, for one, God willing I see that line drawn betwixt Washington and Carolina. I mean that Robert Small and Gov. Aiken shall stand side by side, each on his own acre, a school-house behind them and a ballot in each right hand. [Applause.] And we are the meanest people on the face of the earth if, after Robert Small, bravest of the navy, brought us an angered Aiken, we let the land of Carolina sovereignty close around him, so that Aiken's child may whip Small's child to labor, with no right on the father's part to interfere. [Loud applause.] Now, therefore, reconstruction is to plant these two races, at all events to have these two men side by side, with the ability to produce a future that shall be the exact counterpart of New-England. When it is done—I speak in a moment of how it is to be done—then the epoch is ended—not till then. That is the statement of the problem. Now, let me say, I esteem it important that the problem in its utter extent, its radicalism, should be stated, thought upon, digested, and formed into a national purpose, for this reason: We have difficulties enough ahead of us. You will never see again the nation into which you were born; the old fashioned, calm, quiet, homely, home-bred, school-house farmer's republic into which you were born, is gone forever. The Union as it was! Why, a Connecticut full of Barnum's could not find it if they were offered a thousand dollars a minute for the sight of it. [Laughter.] In the nature of things it is gone irrecoverably. All that is before us is an utterly different future. In the first place, when this epoch ends, no matter when, we are to have a nation developed consciously into a first-rate military power. Scattered among its millions are to be one million of disbanded soldiers half fit for war, half unfit for anything else. They are to bring with them back into civil life ten thousand, more or less, officers, their idols. They are to come back and find law, medicine, the counting-house moderately crowded. Where are they to find a place? Hardly anywhere except in politics. Still more true is it to be than it was after the revolution and the war of 1812, that military men are to be available candidates. That is, in the strife of parties, there will be thrown into the scale a large vote of the soldiers who will be remembered as partners in a common danger and struggle. Now, suppose Burr and Hamilton, when the revolution closed, had come back to New-York and found the profession too crowded to admit them, and they had been thrown on the surface of political life—no food for their ambition but three, and a man like Burr, matchless in ability, incessant in activity, had commenced, with the rough soldiers behind him, that plot in 1789 which nearly finished the Union in 1801, this Federal Government would have been a matter of history, finishing its career almost before it began. That same immense military bias and military spirit has been the grave of free governments in all time. That is to be one scene. On the other side, you will see that other great danger of free Government, immense debt. I believe that we shall pay our debt and the Southern debt besides. I have no doubt of it. Only consider what Congress is made up of. One third, men of historic ambition, looking down the future, anxious to leave names that will float on the tide of time in the blessing and honor of ages to come. No fear of them. Another third, honorable men, trusting that they come home to look their neighbors in the face, live respectable lives, and sleep in honored and dear graves. No fear of them. Another third, who have wriggled their way up to office, nobody knows how—by very equivocal means and devices, possibly. This office is the last they expect to hold; when it ceases they fall back into being common white men. Now, to that third come your New-York merchants, who have got to-day in their strong boxes a million or two of Confederate paper, worth nothing, but mean to keep it till, by going shares onefifth with that third of Congress, they will get par for the paper, and put four-fifths of the proceeds in their pockets. Well, the debt of four thousand millions is to be held how? A thousand millions by foreign capitalists. Thus the foreign aristocracy will control your mercantile credit and currency, and shape your future. While our democracy is to wade and pilot its way through that dark and stormy night of military ambition, the dictation of foreign aristocracy will control until our children will record the verdict whether it survives the power of a simple republic. If it does, it will be the first instance in history. Let every man therefore bestir himself since these inevitable difficulties are in the way, that he clear every other obstacle from our path, and make every other element of the future certain on our side. Now, I contend that Lincoln, in his plan of Dec. 8, descends to share his sovereignty with unconverted Secessionists. Amnesty on the lips of the Czar of Russia means only letting the Polish peasant plow the land that he doesn't own. Amnesty on the lips of Abraham Lincoln to Louisiana and Tennessee, means "Come up and share the sovereignty of the Nation. Now is it wise? Can any man complain if we say to the President, "Before you offer a share of the sovereignty, be certain of the mood of the men with whom you share it?" Unionists are as plenty as blackberries at the South. Another Chattanooga and they will be doubled; and if Butler had taken Richmond they would be multiplied by ten. But they are divided into three classes—part the despondent, bankrupt in heart. Their children gone, their wealth ravished, their hopes destroyed, they have nothing to do but change their minds and purposes. They are one-third. Four-fifths of the remainder are waiters on providence, ready to join the strongest side. The number of those who are willing to reconstruct the Union on the basis of the manhood of the poor white and the negro I could put in a Broadway omnibus. [Laughter.] But until we get that element of reconstruction, we have nothing upon which it is safe to rely on in Southern Unionism. You do not convert a man by conquering him. The Cavaliers and Roundheads died out—they did not change. So will it be at the South. Mr. Phillips proceeded to enforce his view of the necessity of recognizing the rights of the black man. In this work the war is doing its share. I had the honor of addressing in an audience at New-Bedford Sergeant Carney, a member of Col. Shaw's regiment, the 54th Massachusetts. [Loud applause.] When that Colonel fell, you know most of his guard fell with him. When Gov. Andrew presented the flag to that colored man, he said he gave it without doubting faith that he would bring it back again without a stain. When the guard fell, Carney tore the banner from the flag-staff, and, wounded as he was, crawled home on his hands and knees. As he entered the hospital, "Boys," said he, "I could not walk, but I bore that flag, and it never touched the ground." [Applause.] And the white men sat up in their beds and gave three cheers for the black sergeant. [Applause.] Such deeds as that are God's means of making you willing that the negro should occupy this place in the Nation's history, with the powers of the white man, lifted to the electoral franchise which protects him and insures us. Break up the land into farms; put 200,000 negroes, with a rifle in each right hand and an officer of their own choosing at their head, put 300,000 white and black farmers by their side, and the South will ripen itself into a democracy. That is natural law out there. Then I would have civil law here mature the same thing; that is, I would have, with the permission of *The N. Y. Herald* [laughter], an amendment of the Constitution providing that no State shall re-enter the Union, no State shall exist in it where servitude or personal Slavery exists. But that is not enough. We have got the common level of politics. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wilson and the clear blue ether of *The N. Y. Herald* unanimous on that point. But you see when we close that line between us, between the war omnipotence of the Union and the separate State, you remember we are shut out from interference in the statues of a citizen. Before, therefore, I leave this arena of the war power, I want to provide another limitation on State authority. Now, you know this is no uncommon thing. We have a precedent for it, there is one chapter of the Constitution "limitations on State Sovereignty." You must not issue bills of credit, coin money, grant titles of nobility, &c., &c. Our fathers in '89 dared to go so far. This war has taught us that we want another item, that is no State shall have Slavery; and I think this war has taught us a third thing; no State shall be permitted to make any law which makes a distinction among her citizens on account of race. [Cheers.] You see if you leave the negro out, suppose South Carolina disqualifies him, then prejudice, and poverty and race feeling shut him out from the possibility for a long while of recovering the suffrage; just as in the old days in Massachusetts, when we had colored schools, I remember one master adopted the Turkish method in whipping his boys and did it on the soles of their feet. It took six months to get that man turned out of place, because it was only a poor class that suffered, but if it had been the son of a millionaire who had suffered, we could have had him out in six hours; because then it would have been as clear as light that he was not fit for his place. I would say, no man that does not own a hundred acres shall vote; no man shall vote that does not write or read; if you can't get the land or make yourselves read, it is your fault. But if you should say Irishmen shan't vote unless they can read, blacks shan't vote unless they can read, it is a hopeless or almost hopeless battle. I would therefore have an amendment: "No State shall make any distinction on account of color." Then, Mr. Seward, those Mississippi chairs may be filled as soon as you please. This is my plan. Why should I trouble you with it? why should I, when the wise heads, holding the inside track, hold their own views of it. I will tell you. I do not distrust the President. I think that he is all that God made him. [Great cheering.] I think he has grown wonderfully in three years. [Cheers.] At first, he would not touch the negro; then, a year or two afterward, you know the South was hiding the negro under all sorts of distinctions; first he was a man; then he was an animal, and you could not touch him in either capacity like a story I used to tell of Lee, the General's father, who was a bankrupt, and had a house on the line between Virginia and Maryland: If a Virginia sheriff came for him he would go into a Maryland room, and if a Maryland sheriff came he would go into a Virginia room. But, at last, Abraham Lincoln waked up in regard to the negro, and said, "He is either a man, and I'll enlist him, or he is a dollar, and I'll spend it." [Laughter and applause.] It always reminded me of a New-Hampshire lawyer, Jere Mason, who, when he stood straight, was about 5 feet 6, but generally he sank down until he was only about 5 feet 6. One day, in a snow storm, a man met him, both driving where there was but one track. Said the man, seeing that Mason was so small, "Turn out, fellow!" Said Mason, "I will begin." And he began to unroll himself. When he had got up to a little over 6 feet the man yielded and told him he need not unroll himself any more. So, I think, in 1861 and 1862 Lincoln began to unroll himself, and that he kept on until he got to the length of the Proclamation in 1863. But every lady here knows that an orange tree will be exactly in proportion to the box that it is rooted in and it cannot be any larger. Now, the difference between the President's type of man and the type of man that I would prefer is just this. The roots of one type of men are as broad as God's creation: they go down to the original granite of right and wrong. Take such a man as Fremont or Butler [loud cheers]; their views are as broad as humanity, and they are rooted on right. Now I think there is another type of men in the community. Their views are just as broad as the white race, and they are rooted in the black, bloody soil of Kentucky. And one animal in a day like this needs a curb, and another a spur, and you must know the difference before you mount. You must know whether you have to the front a man that needs the spur and curb, and claim a most indisputable right to that knowledge. Bear with me a moment; the error of our politics is this: We do not, in choosing candidates, take the best man, we take available men; you know we do. Who is the available man in critical hours? It is the last convert, the man that just got inside our fold. We take him because the outsiders have not learned to hate him, and we forgive him, and consequently he gets more votes. What is the result? That he sees one point, he gets one idea, but his bias, the old habits and associations that would dictate his judgment in untried exigencies, we do not know. The consequence is that the man is trusted and he always disappoints us. We took a man, and I need not tell you his name—a portrait if well drawn needs no designation—we had a man in Massachusetts. By an accident he was given up by the Democrats for what they thought his Anti-Slavery. We took him up instantly; sent him to Congress; somebody made him Speaker there, but he never did an Anti-Slavery act. He came home, and we insisted on believing that he had an Anti-Slavery heart; but he never did an Anti-Slavery act there. We made him turn out a Judge because he hunted slaves, and he said he did n't turn him out for that, and when the Chief-Justiceship became vacant, he picked up a fossil to fill it and blockaded the State. Then we sent him down to the third city in the Empire. Lincoln threw off the chains from the limbs of the negro; Banks took up the chains and fastened his feet to the ground; he made an order that no black man should make a contract for labor except for a year and that he should then be confined to the plantation. Therefore I claim that now, when the nation sets sail on a second Presidential career, we have a right to know every man, and catechise him, not merely as to what he thinks on chattel Slavery, but on kindred subjects. If Abraham Lincoln is a Colonizationist I have a right to know it before he takes the helm of State for another four years—and he is anti-Democratic who affirms that I have not the right to ask. For instance, take a man of the Butler and Fremont stripe and he says this: "I won't be mean enough to ask a man to fight for me until I have given him his rights [Cheers], and I wont leave him until I have given him the means of protecting his rights. Now, generally considered, four years ago Abraham Lincoln was a better man than that type of man, and Butler (omitting the adjective) was a very equivocal Democrat; but one breathed the atmosphere of New-England, the other of Kentucky. Over two such hands swept the tornado of the Rebellion planting its seeds. What did Butler come up? He came up a man as his type of man is. He says: I do n't ask a man to befriend me and then deny him a right in dictating the policy and writing the statute-book. The man who sheds his blood has earned the right to the ballot-box." On the other hand, the other stripe say to the negro: "We have unshackled you; we have broken your fetters; that is a great gain;" "Yes." "More than you ever dreamed of?" "Certainly." "Very well, stay under the harrow twenty years, and you will come up something then." Butler and Lincoln see a man drowning in the Atlantic. Butler seized him by the hair of his head, and never let him go until he landed him on Plymouth Rock. Lincoln landed him on the low tide, and said, "Stay there six hours, and you will find yourself in the mud, but you won't drown." [Laughter.] His right must be recognized; the word is MORT. When that negro regiment charged at Port Hudson, the nation was not rich enough in its garnered wealth to give the negro his due. The word I want is the rights of the negro, the whole of them. God made them the essence of the nature and foundation of our Government. Hitherto trespassed upon and ignored, bearing fruit in rebellion is a lesson to the nation that hereafter if it wants peace, it is to plant it on the broad basis of the recognition of the manhood of every man and every race. When it is done, then we have peace. Until it is done we are in disgrace. Now, we are just launching on another campaign. What is at Washington? I will tell you. One set of men, anxious to reconstruct, sees that whoever goes into that nomination with half a dozen reconstructed States for a retinue is sure of a nomination. On the other side stands capital, saying to the Administration, "Give us plantations on lease; we have seen this Yankee making five-hundred fold; give us a chance. Keep your troops on the Mississippi River, and the black man on it; give us land and labor, and we will pluck a fortune for seven years, and then leave them to shift for themselves." Politics on one hand and wealth on the other pushing the Government on to reconstruction. That one question of dollars, that one overwhelming cloud of the mortgage on the industry of every unborn child, that one gulf of National Temptation, National Debt is enough to appall the stoutest soul, and to rally every heart, whether it beats under a black skin or a white one, into a cordial friend of the nation, which is walking under such a shadow. With the negro on his own land, not enslaved, not crippled by the prejudice of the white race, we can treble the crop of cotton in four months, and pay off the debt in thirty years; without it, with a divided North and South, nobody knows when. We can have no man who is not willing that all he says shall be told to the people. Honesty is a capital thing, but an honest pilot of a dark night is not half so good as a capable one. Now what we want to know is where we are going; we have a right to it. We have made a red path of the purest and best blood of the country from New-England to New-Orleans. We have given Virginia a better title than "The Mother of Patriots,"—"The grave of Martyrs." By every empty seat around the hearthstone, by every danger in the future, I claim of you not only for the negro's sake, but for 20,000,000 of white men whose prosperity is in the balance, that you be not wanting in vigilance, sincerity, or daring, in this our nation's crisis—that you demand of every man to explain his record; that he welcome criticism if he asks to lead the country; that he show himself capable of doing it, and shows his plan. [Loud applause.]

CITY ITEMS.

THE METROPOLITAN FAIR.—On Friday the lady managers will hold a meeting on the raffling question, when there is no doubt that the offensive proposition will be withdrawn, and the goods unsold at the close of the exhibition, instead of being subject to the vagaries of chance, will be disposed of at public auction.

DEATHS OF CLERGYMEN'S WIVES.—Mrs. Evelina Whitehouse, wife of Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois, formerly Rector of St. Thomas's Church in this city, and previously of St. Luke's, Rochester, died on Saturday evening last at Rochester, where she was on a visit. The deceased was formerly Miss Bruen of Perth Amboy. Her remains will be interred in Brooklyn, L. I. The wife of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Rector of Grace Church, died yesterday morning at the Rectory. The deceased was the daughter of Joseph Manigault, formerly a prominent citizen of Charleston, S. C. Her funeral will take place from Grace Church on Thursday afternoon.

FUNERAL OF FATHER AND CHILD.—The funeral of George X. Seymour and daughter, whose sudden deaths were noticed in yesterday's TRIBUNE, took place yesterday morning from the Broadway Tabernacle Church. The Rev. Dr. Thompson officiated, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Cobb of Peekskill. The choir, of which Mr. Seymour was the leader, sang with admirable effect selections from Mendelssohn's St. Paul. Dr. Thompson delivered an impressive discourse, remarking that Mr. Seymour was, at the time of his death, a member of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, though he had for some time attended the Tabernacle as the leader of the choir. The remains of father and child were conveyed to Peekskill for interment.

BULL'S HEAD.—The close of the beef cattle market showed no falling off from opening prices, which although the highest of the season, are not as high as they were in May, 1855, and May, 1857, though higher now than we see any reason for in the supply, which is not a very short one, being over 4,000 head for the week, with a large proportion of heavy bullocks. We estimate the average weight of beef at 7½ cwt., making 3,450 lbs. of meat, the average price of which being 12c. per lb., makes $414,000 disbursed by the city to the country this week for beef. It will be seen by the report of the market that live hogs are selling at very high figures. Sheep are not as high as last year by three cents a pound.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE—STUDENTS' SEMI-ANNUAL.—Yesterday morning Wallack's Theater was filled with a large and fashionable audience at the Semi-Annual Exhibition of the Students of Columbia College. Mr. H. Floy acted as Chairman, the Rev. Morgan Dix made the opening prayer, and Helmsmuller's Band furnished the music. Among the more striking addresses was the President's, by H. Floy; Then—and Now, a class poem, by S. W. Cooke; Philolexian Poem—Donald Lorn, by Arthur P. Sturges. A poem by Henry B. Cornwall, showing up the seniors, their habits and freaks during college life, was applauded. The programme was as follows:

President's Address, H. Floy; Patriotism, Clarence M. Hyde; Burial Scene—"March of Dundee"—A. Ernest Vandergoot; Uprising of the People, Wm. A. Hooker; America and Freedom, Edward W. Mallory; Then—and Now, a Class Poem, S. W. Cooke; Three Old Proverbs, Francis F. Wilson; The Reign of Terror, Howard Osterhoudt; The Netters, Albert E. Valentine; Philologian Poem, Henry B. Cornwall; Philolexian Poem—Donald Lorn—Arthur P. Sturges; Matrimonial Joys, as described Musically by a Bachelor.

BOLD ROBBERY AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.—A bag containing $5,000 in gold was stolen from the Custom-House yesterday afternoon almost from under the elbow of a clerk who had just taken in three bags containing $5,000 each, to pay duties. The office was very much crowded at the time by parties paying duties. The thief made good his escape, and no trace of the stolen treasure has been obtained as yet.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S SALE.—The United States Marshal sold 2,300 barrels of rosin at public auction, on Monday, for $27 per barrel. The rosin was the remainder of the cargo of the prize steamer Alliance.

[Advertisement.]

EVERY SOLDIER SHOULD HAVE THEM.—From R. B. HEINTZELMAN, *Steward 72d Regiment P. V.*: "Your medicinal preparation (BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES) is certainly valuable to Soldiers in the field, and I feel satisfied, if generally adopted at the Hospitals, many sleepless nights of the weary soldier would be averted. Our regiment are now testing their qualities, and I believe are all satisfied with their good effects in alleviating those distressing affections of the throat arising from cold and exposure. They are now daily prescribed in our Hospital and at the Surgeon's morning call."

Sold everywhere at 25 cents per box.

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[Advertisement.]

Mrs. H. B. O'LEARY, M. D.—NEURALGIA, CATARRH, BRONCHIAL DIFFICULTIES, DROPSY, &c.—Names of residents in New-York and Brooklyn restored from these and other diseases, by Mrs. O'LEARY, may be seen at her office, Gates av., corner Hamilton st., Brooklyn, N. Y. Office hours from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Consultation free. N. B.—Ladies crossing Fulton Ferry, take Fulton-av. car to Gates av.

[Advertisement.]

Intensely interesting Illustrations on the live subjects of the day, with many graphic scenes and valuable literary matter, will be found in DEMOREST'S ILLUSTRATED NEWS of this week. Out on THURSDAY.

[Advertisement.]

MULTITUDES prize the beverages of the festive board quite as much as they do the solids. The most healthful and best for family use is the far-famed KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE, which is sold by all Grocers at 25 cents per lb. Ask for KENT'S. No other genuine. General Depot No. 154 Reade st.

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DISSOLVING VIEWS OF THE DEMOSTIC INSTITUTIONS OF DIXIE; Or, JEFF. DAVIS'S NEW AND COMPULSORY DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. See DEMOREST'S ILLUSTRATED NEWS of this week.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT—FEB. 16.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE LAW AND THE LIQUOR DEALERS.

Since the conviction and sentence of James Riley, for selling liquor without an Internal Revenue license, some thirty persons similarly indicted have appeared in Court and paid up all arrearages, taken out licenses, and given bail to answer the charges against them. It is probable, in view of the fact of the willingness of the liquor-dealers to comply with the law, that no further proceedings will be taken against them.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT—FEB. 16.—Before Judge BETTS.

PETITION OF PROCESS.

United States agt. 1 Leather Bag containing Bonds of the State of Virginia. Same agt. 2 packages marked A. J. Benet, &c., containing military gauntlets, &c., part of cargo of steamer George Cromwell. Rufus Lodge agt. Charles Durand. Daniel Salvesen agt. steamboat George Birkbeck, her machinery, &c., and the American bark Texas, her tackle, &c. In these four cases appearances were duly entered, and one week allowed to answer.

United States agt. 4 cases cavalry boots, &c.—A decree of condemnation and sale was ordered in this case.

Same agt. five cases cavalry boots, &c.—J. H. White appeared for the claimant of a portion of the goods attached, and obtained one week to answer. A decree of condemnation and sale was ordered as to the residue.

Joseph Lang agt. the brigantine G. L. Buckman, her tackle, &c.—Mr. Nash appeared for the master and other parties, but could not make it appear to the court exactly who he appeared for. He was ordered to file a written appearance.

United States agt. fifty barrels ale.—Libel dismissed.

SUPERIOR COURT—SPECIAL TERM—FEB. 16.—Before Justice HARRISON.

DECISIONS.

David Dayton agt. Edward P. Clark; Julia Zorkowski, &c., agt. Samuel Zorkowski.—Referred to Wm. McMurray, esq., to hear and report.

Santiago Castro agt. Edward Saffey.—Default opened and cause restored to calendar on terms.

Margaret Case agt. Thomas Petti et al.—Motion granted.

Before Justice MONELL.

Thaddeus B. Curtis agt. Lewis M. Van Eeten.—This case involved a large claim growing out of stock transactions between plaintiff and defendant. The facts were published last week. The jury now rendered a verdict for the plaintiff for $9,242. Thirty days allowed by the Court to make a case.

Lucien Birdseye for plaintiff; Ex-Judge Dean for defendant.

TRIAL TERM—FEB. 16.—Before Justice MONCRIEF.

ACTION TO RECOVER FOR RATIONS.

Emil Von Schoening agt. Salomon Kohnstamm.

This was an action brought by the plaintiff, Colonel of the 52d Regiment, sometimes known as the German Rangers, to recover $2,573 30, collected by the defendant from the United States Government as the agent and broker of the plaintiff, and claiming interest thereon from the 15th of September, 1862. The answer denied that the defendant, as the agent and broker of the plaintiff, collected such moneys.

Justice Monerief held that, under such an answer, evidence of the claim being fictitious or fraudulent could not be proven.

If the defendant desired to set up that the money which he received was obtained upon any fraudulent or fictitious claim, or that the Government had made reclamation upon him for the amount, it must be alleged in the answer, so that the plaintiff might have an opportunity to come prepared to controvert it. And the defendant, having made an affidavit that he was taken by surprise, and desired in good faith to so amend his answer, was permitted to have the cause go off for the term upon payment of the trial and term fees and disbursements, to be enabled to make such an application at the Special Term.

F. R. P. Bryan and James Sheehan for plaintiff; ex-Judge Dean and Chauncey Shaffer for defendant.

Before Justice MONELL.

STOCK TRANSACTIONS VENTILATED—APPARENT PROFITS CANNOT BE RECOVERED.

T. B. Curtis agt. Lewis M. Eeten.

This case has been on trial for a week past.

It appeared from the evidence that the plaintiff was introduced to defendant as a broker, and employed him in certain stock transactions as a broker to buy and sell stocks for a commission. Defendant, it is alleged, represented that he did business with the house of L. Patton & Co., and that, by means of large amounts of money and securities in their hands, he had superior facilities for purchasing stocks, and them on small margins.

Van Eeten bought stocks to a very large amount for plaintiff, in the course of which transaction plaintiff paid to Van Eeten $8,600 as margins or security on the various orders. These orders were taken by the defendant as commissions; he reported them to plaintiff as executed to Patton & Co.; plaintiff directed sales to be made from time to time of the stocks so ordered to be bought; and defendant represented them as sold through Patton & Co., and on such reports being made to plaintiff statements of settlement, as they were called, were indorsed on the several papers passing between the parties and signed by plaintiff.

Plaintiff testified that he was not aware of the legal effect of these so-called settlements, and that he had such implicit confidence in defendant that he believed all his representations, by which it appeared that by the rise on stocks plaintiff had made over $40,000 profits. It is alleged that defendant, seeing that he would be called upon to settle with the parties for whom he was acting, and whom the rise on stock had made largely his creditors on these apparent transactions, procured himself to be arrested through the agency of an attorney named Cornelius