WENDELL PHILLIPS.

HARANGUE AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE.

Wholesale Denunciation of the President, the Cabinet, General Grant, the Republican Party, Congress and the Fathers of the Republic.

A CABINET PICTURE.

The Constitution a Swindle, the Proposed Amendment a Swindle, the President a Rebel and Mobocrat.

General Grant in the Most Humiliating Position, and Ben Butler the Man for the Lieutenant Generalship.

The President to be Impeached and Sequestered from Office Pending Trial.

&c. &c. &c.

Mr. Wendell Phillips, the *enfant terrible* of the republican party, made one of his characteristic speeches last evening at the the Cooper Institute, the keyword of which was "reject the amendment. Depose the President." Admission was by ticket, price fifty cents, or a dollar to the platform. The body of the hall was occupied to about three-fourths of its capacity, and there were but few vacant chairs on the platform, so that, in a pecuniary point of view, the affair was a success, and must have netted close on to $1,000 to the lecturer.

Mr. Phillips having been introduced to the audience proceeded to speak, as follows:—

A YEAR AGO AND NOW.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—This is the 25th day of October, 1866. On the 25th day of October, 1865, standing on this platform, I ventured to say that the President of the United States, instead of being a mistaken friend was a determined enemy of the republic; that instead of being a comrade to be conciliated, he was a foe to be opposed; that instead of a bulwark to hide behind, he was an obstacle to be removed. I ventured to say that the rebellion, defeated in Virginia, had taken up its headquarters in the White House. About one-tenth of my audience accepted the statement, and nine-tenths received it with hisses or silent indignation. An eventful year has rolled over our heads since; and I think if the proportion were taken in any audience in the land to night the number that dissented from me then would agree with me to-day. (Some applause.)

ANOTHER WARNING.

Well, friends, my mission, as I understand it to-night, is to warn you again that the danger from that quarter has not ceased. The great danger that lowers ahead is that the rebellion, quartered in the White House, intends in its next move to encamp under the dome of the Capitol, in the Senate Chamber and House of Representatives. It had then taken possession of one section of the government. Its present plan is to take possession of the whole. I did not utter my conviction a year ago because I feared the rebellion. Men said I was afraid of the South. A man does not exhibit any undue fear of starvation when he plants wheat. A man does not express any anxiety about getting home when he inquires the shortest road. I believed then, as I believe now, that the masses of the republic, duly warned, would save it from any enemy, inside or out. (Slight applause.) There never has been an enemy to be dreaded outside our own lines. No; not in the darkest hour of the civil war was there any danger outside the lines. Our whole danger has always been inside, in our own forces; in the irresolution, the haste, the imminurity, the distrust in our own ranks. One of the greatest evils of democracy is that it is too much in a hurry. It would reap almost before it has sown. It digs out its seed every twelve hours to see how it has sprouted. The haste to-day is to reconstruct the form of the republic. Now oligarchy has one great merit; it never hastes. Without haste, without rest, the far seeing and patient dozen or hundred men lay their plans for their generation and the next, watching, undeterred by temporary disaster, undismayed by any result, however unforeseen, and going steadily onward till they reap complete success. What we want to engraft on democracy is the patient foresight, the long waiting, the readiness to see events unfold themselves in natural proportion and order. Every man who undertakes to advise his fellow-citizens to-day is to advise them not to be in a hurry. The struggle is not of forms, but of ideas.

THE SOUTH TO MADE OVER AGAIN.

What have we been doing? The South, not a geographical section but an idea, represented by a faith which repudiated the Declaration of Independence, which believed that one-third of the race was born booted and spurred, and the other two-thirds saddled and bridled for that one-third to ride, which believed in gags and Lynch law, in the bowie knife and the flames as the test of public opinion, which sent women to jail for teaching poverty to read, which made its streets unsafe for free speech to tread—that South rose in rebellion against the open Bible, against the equality of manhood before the law, against ungagged lips and the Declaration of Independence, and that South was whipped. Now the question comes what that victory means. If it means anything it does not mean dragging South Carolina to the feet of Massachusetts and chaining her with clamps of iron. It means that North making over that South in its own likeness till South Carolina gravitates by natural tendency to New England. (Slight applause.) Every other close of the rebellion is a sham. Every haste to complete any other seeming close of it is treachery, conscious or unconscious. Now that reconstruction can be had but in one way, the South must lie open to the capital, to the energy, to the principles, to the habits of the North. It must be a free passage and a free dwelling place for Northern principles and Northern capital, as the West has been. What makes the West in the likeness of New York and New England? Because the old and rich States poured out of their abundance on the prairies and made them over in their own likeness, construed them as sister States. That process is the inevitable and indispensable process for the territory south of Mason and Dixon's line. Men tone about the word "Reconstruction" as if it meant Alexander Stephens seated side by side with Charles Sumner, as if it meant Wade Hampton and Judge Kelly under the roof of the House of Representatives. As well send a couple of puppets to play representatives and senators. Reconstruction begins when the South yields up her idea of civilization and allows the North to permeate her channels and make her over. That is the right which victory has given to the better and dominant idea. Now until that process commences reconstruction is not commenced. No jugglery of party, no sounding names, no official representatives makes one hour's step towards reconstruction. It is only rebellion in a new form. It is only the South assuming her old power, undimmayed and unweakened by this effort and the failure of her rebellion. Well now it is as plain as the sun at noonday that the South itself does not accept that situation. From Wade Hampton down to the most silent member of her dominant race there is not one single indication anywhere that the South accepts that situation. On the contrary, by every confession and by every act that come to us from the other side of the line, she repudiates it. She has committed no treason, she has forfeited no rights. The North has acquired nothing but her old constitutional compromises to use against her neighbor.

AGAIN MISSION SEVEN MONTHS.

I said a year ago on this platform that Jeff Davis never intended to leave Washington. He was too wise a man for that. He never intended to rebel. He was too wise a man for that. He intended to remain in Washington, to be the government, to hold in his hand the army and the navy, and to receive the diplomacy of the sisterhood of nations. He and the South were to be the government and we, if we chose, were to be the rebels; and the South has regretted that fatal step ever since. Jeff Davis quitted Washington urged by the haste of his own supporters, by the unslaking enthusiasm and red hot zeal of his own people. He was precipitated into rebellion, but he never meant to be a rebel. In the first ninety or one hundred days every sagacious man in the South saw the mistake, and every effort in arms was a distinct and specific effort to redeem that step. They failed; and soon after the death of Lincoln a new chapter opened in the history of the South. She resumed her old purpose, and failing in outside fight against the flag, she meant to rule beneath it.

THE PRESIDENT THE TOOL OF THE REBELS.

Her plot is just what it was in 1861—to be the government; and in thirty days after the death of Lincoln she had her tool—her willing, conscious, pliable tool—seated in the White House. (Cheers.) They say Johnson has betrayed the republican party. Betrayed it! To whom? To Weed, to Richmond, to Cagger, to the democrats? No! He didn't step long enough even to be counted in that camp. He betrayed both to the actual rebels South of the line. Your children, in my opinion, if my instincts are right, will see the evidence in black and white before the 4th of July, 1867. Andy Johnson was hand in glove not with the democratic party; he didn't linger long enough in that camp to betray it, but hand and glove with the prisoner of Fortress Monroe and his confederates. (Applause.) Yes, the peril through which the republic found its way will appear in fifty years time infinitely more fearful than it does now. History does not show us a single instance of a large majority surrendering its purpose after one unsuccessful effort. And to day the South, under the leadership of Andrew Johnson, renews its purpose, as every great majority has done under similar circumstances. She leapt into the saddle the day Lee's army surrendered, and to-day her object is to take possession of the White House and fight that same fight between oligarchy and freedom ever again inside the line. This battle has to be fought over again by us great nation. I believe that the President of the United States for the last twelve months has been the conscious agent of the leading rebels at the South to continue the war to its new phase—to the phase in which they originally meant to originate it—they to be the government, seated in Washington, recognized by foreign nations, with control of the treasury, of the army and of the navy.

A CABINET PICTURE.

Well, what have we to look to to meet that plot? What have we to protect us from this vile rebellion which the President himself has instituted within the last six months? There is the Cabinet—is that nothing? What are its materials? An Attorney General, selected because he would be a ready tool of the President—because his experience in the dirty practices of his profession have made him fit for the job; a Secretary of the Treasury, so much at one with his master that in the following out of this project he is more likely to be the tempter than the tempted; a Secretary of the Navy, whose incompetency for the work is such that his very holding of the office is a farce, and whose thorough corruption is so notorious that any honest act in his administration must have been an oversight and a mistake—(laughter)—a man who never had any opinions, but who was always ready to surrender himself to the bidding of his master; a Secretary of War whose career is utterly inexplicable, his next act may give us the key that will make it intelligible on the theory of honor, but at present it hangs under a cloud; a Secretary of State whose best friends condone his weakness on the sole ground that age has dimmed the energy of his prime (sensation), is there any force in that Cabinet to withstand its chief?

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

But Congress and the republican party exist, and they can withstand him. Well, the republican party is mighty; the States have spoken—unanimously spoken—but the States which have to speak will speak more unanimously still. (Applause.)

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY.

So far as the mere voice of the masses go, so far as the endorsement of what we suppose to be the spirit of Congress goes, we have strength enough, and our only need is to ask what is the meaning of this republican victory; how much and how great a step is this kind of reconstruction which I have described does republican success as such guarantee to us? Millions upon millions of people vote. What real national strength in this struggle with its undefeated foe will these millions' success ensure to us? Look at it! Congress separates with a plan and calls it an amendment of the constitution, and when Congress separates it tells the world this is but a portion and instalment of its grand reconstruction. It has not swallowed the whole of it; it has no pledge to give to the territories south of the line that they shall be formed into States if so admitted, into the Union. But, no sooner has Congress separated; no sooner have the parties rallied and marshalled for the canvass, than the National Republican Committee, and the great State Committees of that party, and the leading journals that undertake to speak for it, unanimously say to us:—If the people of the South accept these amendments she may count upon instant admission. Republican success in this canvass means the fulfilment of the pledges upon which it has been conducted. That pledge, officially judged by its leading committees and great journals, say that these amendments ratified, the South takes her place in the Senate and House of Representatives. So the republican party offers, and so the spectators interpret, and the New YORK HERALD, a vigilant and astute observer, says to the South:—Accept. Accept now, before the promise is withdrawn. Republican success, therefore, means, if we can interpret it to-day, that the South are States in the first place—that the South of Mason and Dixon's line is South Carolina. I deny it. The territory of South Carolina is there; the territory of Virginia is there, and a certain person outdoing his official functions and usurping Congressional powers has undertaken to set up a pasteboard government, which he calls the State of South Carolina. But the radicalism of the North ignores that. It knows no result of Presidential usurpation. (Great cheers.) The South gains her point by republican committees and journals. Talk of the State of Virginia! There is none. In due time I hope Congress will see fit to initiate measures out of the territory of Virginia to create a State. (Cheers.) But in the meantime south of the line exist only men and land—(applause)—and some old names floating in the atmosphere above them, to whom in due time we may give cohesion and a locality.

WHAT THE REPUBLICANS PROMISE

But the republican part, undertaken to put in states in the canvass that, these amendments accepted, the South will be admitted. But you say to me this is not a fair statement. I allow it needs an addition, for the state of the political canvass is unprecedented. But all I have said is fair when the leading journals and national and State committees hold this language. Go with me to the caucuses addressed by General Wilson, of Massachusetts; Ashley, of Ohio; Judge Kelly, of Philadelphia; by Governor Banks, of my own State, and by Boutwell, of Groton; by any man from Massachusetts to St. Louis, standing face to face with his constitution. What is his language? That he would not admit a single Southern State till the black man has a vote. And while the *Tribune* and Fred and the whole of the national and State committees are pledging to the South this boon, the leading men of the republican party, face to face with their constituents, are declaring that they believe negro suffrage indispensable to any safe reconstruction. Banks has gone farther, and told his constituents in Essex that not only was he himself convinced thoroughly that negro suffrage is the inevitable and indispensable element of any just and safe reconstruction, but that he knows for a fact that the majority of the House of Representatives believe the same thing. (Cheers.) And why did they not vote for it? Go to the people's caucuses and you will there find every man in favor of negro suffrage, and you go up to the House of Representatives and then is there no man for suffrage. You may remember reading that when Charles Lamb was a youngster he was taken to the burying ground and he there read all the tomb stones full of praises of the dead, he turned to his mother and asked, "Mother, where do all the bad folks go?" (Laughter.) So when you have heard these imperial suffrage speeches in caucuses you go to the House of Representatives and ask where suffrage is, and echo answers where? It reminds me of a person who, when a jury brought him in guilty, said "Gentlemen, individually you have my deepest respect; but as a jury my thorough contempt." (Laughter.) So I am forced to say to those individual speakers in Maine and Indiana, and Ohio and Pennsylvania—Gentlemen, you have my unmitigated and unmixed confidence and respect; but in the House of Representatives you have my unmitigated contempt. (Applause and laughter.)

THE CANVASS.

Did you ever see such a canvass? What is the reason? The reason is a pitiful one. The reason is one that shows us where our power comes in. These men do not sit there as representatives; they sit there as delegates. They do not use the independence of representatives. They do not go there to say to each other what is necessary—what is best. What do you think is the wise and safe course to make the country one over again? They show us that as in the past so in the future, what we will, that the House of Representatives will enact; and what we are to say to them this fall is—Go back and enact, not what you suppose your constituency want, but what you have avowed your own convictions to be. (Applause.)

HE PAYS HIS RESPECTS TO SENATOR WILSON.

I take Mr. Wilson, of my own State. Men say I am hard upon him, that I criticise him unduly. Well, I only say, in public and before his face, what all his friends say in private and behind his back. I only say that he comes before the public in September and says, "I know that Andrew Johnson had betrayed the republican party last January, but I thought I would try to conciliate him, so I held on and kept quiet." What do we send a man to the outposts of the senate chamber for? Do a hundred men govern this country, or do the masses? Can the people be trusted with the facts, or are they to be hidden in the bosoms of statesmen? You have one half the republican party leaders undertaking to tell us in the opening summer that they have known, all winter, that Andy Johnson was a traitor. But meanwhile they have let the popular sympathy and confidence and respect others and grow around him until he had strength led into a party, whereas, if they had t ld the truth when they discovered it, if every man who saw his treasonous had deserted him when he saw it, he would not have had, since January last adherents enough to be visible on the surface of public affairs. Now, when I find, in view of the unprecedented state of the canvass, that the treachery of the republican party is in its leaders; that they knew the republican party is in its leaders; that they knew the facts and kept them secret for six months, letting the people wander and crystallize in the wrong direction. I say it is the essence of oligarchy and toryism instead of the open day of republican confidence in the integrity and right intentions of the people.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

This amendment, which we are told by official voices (and those are the only voices to which we can listen) is to be the bridge that is to restore the South to its old place in the government, is—what? In the first place it undertakes to engraft on the constitution of the United States a new feature. The nineteenth century is opening before us. The largest and most progressive minds of the nineteenth century are undertaking to enlarge the political franchise with both sexes. The constitution stands on arms with both sexes. The amendment undertakes to ignore entirely the rights of the negro in the help of the government. To-day we have the right to protect him and the power. The amendment surrenders both into the hands of the dominant race in the Southern Territories. We have to-day the right, gained by battle; we have the power, having the whole government machinery in our hands. We are pledged by our honor and the necessities of five years' war to the exercise both of the right and of the power. The republican party undertakes to give up the right and the power, and trust to the contingency of a possible motive. They call it a compromise. Compromise is a respectable word. It covers a respectable fact. Compromise is when two men differ about a boundary and agree to settle it by mutual arrangement. Compromise is when two men disagree on the amount due on a contract, profits in a business, functions in a profession, and sit down and arrange these mutual claims, honorable, just, equal.

THE CONSTITUTION A SWINDLE.

There never has been a compromise in American political history. We have elevated a swindle into a compromise and dignified it with the name. The white race of the North and the white race of the South came together in 1789, and sacrificed, to their joint advantage the rights of the absent black. A swindle, and they called it a compromise. Prussia and Russia met together and dismembered Poland, separated it into fragments, annexed it to their respective kingdoms, and called it a compromise. A swindle!

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DUTY.

The House of Representatives and the Senate, seated under that dome in safety, because four millions of chattels held their place in the scale while the balance trembled between North and South, with a rebel President, swindled their allies out of their rights and gave it to the country as a compromise.

THE TREACHERY A SUPPORTER OF BANKRUPT SWINDLES.

And the New York *Tribune* bowed to it as it has bowed to every other barefaced swindle for twenty years. (Laughter and applause.) And Mr. Greeley says if I would be only soft spoken and conciliate, if I would only use gentle terms and lead men without their knowing where. Yes, he paints himself driving Jeff Davis into imperial suffrage, while the great rebel thinks he is running to the establishment of the Confederacy; like the Irishman and his pig who thought he was going to Cork while carrying his foe to Dublin. (Laughter.) A suggestive picture, but which is the pig and which the driver? (Roars of laughter.)

THE NEGROES THROWN OVERBOARD.

But it is no matter of merriment, for the republican party do not believe that these constitutional amendments are conducti g them to impartial suffrage. The masses may be deluded for a moment into the idea, but the leaders know and accept the amendments because they k ow that they are conducting to the perpetuity of their own party and possibly to the salvation of the national finances. They know it in their own hearts, and they accept and enforce them because they know that, in order to perpetuate the party and save the finances, they throw overboard the burden of the negro's claims.

GREELEY NOT TO BE TRUSTED.

That very same leader, your great, and even in some respects meritorious journal, eighteen months ago, when I undertook by way of protest to announce that if ever the Congress of the United States accepted the Southern debt I would agitate for its repudiation to my dying day, and then advertised them of it beforehand—that very same journal warned me not to run a tilt against windmills eighteen months. Later, to-day, these same statesmen pass the constitutional amendment to avoid that very conjunction which eighteen months ago they called a windfall. (Laughter and applause.) And these are the political statesmen you are called upon to trust. I don't deny the services of that great editor any more than I do the services of Senator Wilson. I don't ask you not to respect them. I only ask you not to trust them. (Renewed laughter and applause.) The constitutional amendment, as far as the negro is concerned is a swindle. Don't pollute the respectable word compromise by applying it to the constitutional amendment. The negro is sacrificed to political exigencies; he is ground between the upper and nether mill stones of the republican party.

THE ARGUMENT.

If you exclude the negro from voting, how long will it be before the old dominant race at the South assumes its former position at the head of the State? How long on the position of finance will they remain in the minority? How long will it be before they have the same political strength they had before 1861? They have used it for fifty years with unmitigated triumph except in the one matter of Kansas. Why should they fail in time to come? Vice President Hamlin! Hamlin told you the other night if not on this platform, on some other, how he was approached in the Texas demands with bonds offered at five dollars which his vote was to make worth a hundred in twenty-four hours. With millions upon millions of other securities floating in the House of Representatives, with fifty or sixty Southerners wielding them, how soon will not revolutionary enthusiasm chill and the ordinary temperature of political virtue be reached? How soon will the financial question be made a football as every other political question was when the South was dominant of old.

REJECT THE AMENDMENT.

The constitutional amendment is not only a swindle—it would give us back to the same political denomination that ruled this country up to 1860. Put your foot upon it. Send it drifting, and send Congress back to its Hall to admit no Southern territory at present—not, perhaps, till long after the 4th of March, 1869. I don't believe in reconstruction, with streets running down with blood and free speech suicidal. The South is repeating once more her old maxima. They must be rooted up, smothered up and covered over with the rich growth of Northern emigration and brains and money before you can begin to talk about reconstruction.

RESCUE AND CONCILIATION.

Men say we radicals hate the South. There are classes of magnanimous Christians that talk nothing but conciliation, as if they had a patent for it. Conciliation!

THE ABOLITIONISTS THE TRUE FRIENDS OF THE SOUTH.

Who have been the true friends of the South for forty years? The abolitionists. (Cheers.) Who stood upon her borders warning her that she was running a race which could end in nothing but a collision with the spirit of the nineteenth century? For a quarter of a century we urged her to get rid of an institution which could only commit her to something which blieth like an adder and stingeth like a serpent. We stood ready now to repeople her waste places to cover her rivers with steamboats, to set her agriculture in motion and pour out the horn of plentiousness upon her. But the South must come in with the nineteenth century. We exhort her to give up her past political faith, to abandon the creed which teaches that we should take our State prisoners and make them Presidents of our national banks, that you must take the Swartwouts and Fowlers and Kelchums and appoint them Presidents of a dozen banking institutions. Why, I had a man once, a machinist and locksmith, who, tempted by his profession, broke into half a dozen banking institutions and finally went to the State prison. I was one of the sufferers by his ingenuity. When he came out of that wholesome institution he sought me out and begged me to set him up again in the temptation of locksmith and machinist. If I had done so and gone to Plymouth that would be called conciliation.

CONCILIATION.

Conciliation is twin sister to common sense, and that man who has sinned against the nation has to be conciliated just as fast and just as far as may be good for his own sake and your safety, and no faster. (Applause.) Now the radicals will conciliate the South to its own blessing and to the safety of that nation which we have fought so long to preserve. This obstacle is certainly like Lord Holland's infant boy, Charles James Fox, who represents the system of conciliation. Charles once drew his father's watch out of his pocket, a watch worth £100, and said to his father, "I want to break this watch and stamp upon it." The father said, "Do not do that, Charles; that watch is worth a great deal of money." "Oh, but I don't care, I will," said the boy. Then the old man, while applying the motive, said, "If you keep it, you will have a watch." "But I want to break it and stamp upon it," urged the boy. "Oh! then, said the father, if you must you must." So the conciliator will say to the South, do what you will the motive must be in your own breast not to do so—that was the great argument in the olden time when brought under the solemn seal of the compromise of the constitution, and when we could not do better. But that time is changed.

A LEGEND.

You remember the old legend, when the fisherman took the casket out of the sea, he found the seal of Solomon and broke it and rose up a giant, stretching himself till he reached a colossal shape, and raised his right hand to crush the interloper; but by a cunning story he got him back into the bottle and flung him into the sea. We stand just in that position to-day. War broke the solemn seal of the constitution, and the North rose to her legitimate proportions, hovering over her rival till victory placed in her richa hand the wholesome sceptre that would crush the obstacle into a harmonious nation forever. (Applause.) Then come the pulpit and the *Tribune*, and advise us to go back into the bottle. (Laughter and cheers.) For one I shall not go into the bottle again till I have crushed every obstacle that victory gave me the right to annihilate.

NO MORE COMPROMISES.

No more compromises of the constitution—no more surrenders of the omnipotence of the war power till Louisiana and South Carolina are made over in the likeness of New England and run like kindred drops, undistinguishable into one. (Applause.)

THE FIRST TASK TO BE BY CONGRESS—THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE "REBEL IN THE WHITE HOUSE."

In order to this, the very first task I would set to the reassembled Congress before they look at the amendments or utter the word reconstruction is to impeach the rebel in the White House. (Great and prolonged applause.) Let the traitors of Louisiana and South Carolina take care of themselves. We are going to attend to that machine—the government that belongs to us. (Cheers.) The first process to commence, I say, is to impeach the rebel who has usurped the functions of President. (Continued cheers and applause.) Rebel is too dignified an appellation for the mobocrat of the White House. Yes; does he want a mob in New Orleans? he ignores Governor Wells. Does he want a mob in Baltimore? he recognizes Governor Swann. (Cheers.) Law or no law, state or no state, limited authority or omnipotence—no matter what—a mob and the result.

IMPEACH AND SEQUESTER.

Impeach the mobocrat of the White House as the first step, and the second step is—depose him. (Applause.) An impeachment is of no value if, while it drags its slow length through the Senate Chamber, the impeached party wields the power, commands the army and navy and the patronage of the government against the impeaching House and judicial Senate. The moment the Executive of the United States is impeached statesmanship, and the constitution and the security of the hour dictate that his place should be supplied—(applause)—till an acquittal restores him to office or condemnation imposes upon us the duty of choosing a new President and Vice President to supply the place of the dead and the deposed. I know men shriek from this, and say it is an attempt at interfering with the functions of the Executive. But the constitution undertakes to give no power to impeach in such a shape that, ordinarily speaking, it is utterly unpronounceable. There is no chance that in ordinary times the President of the United States shall be ever practically liable to impeachment. Such an emergency as the present, such an uprising of the popular enthusiasm as the civil war, has left us the only concurrence of circumstances that renders it possible, and that same emergency dictates that we should exhaust the arsenal of constitutional weapons to make it efficient. As in the case of the English nation in 1688 making the law of the realm inside the constitutional precedents a force and a sham, it would be a farce and a sham to attempt to try the President while he remains in office. In the nature of the trial, in the concurrence of the constitutional remedy, there is nothing to repudiate the step, while there is everything in the circumstances to dictate it. I say, therefore, impeach the President, and while he is on trial sequester him. What is the advantage? Why, then, we run the machine. (Laughter.) Then you would see an undivided North and a loyal nation, managing its own government, commencing at once, and the moment that rebel hands leave the helm. New Orleans is safe for New York capital and New York men. (Applause.) The moment the Senate of the United States breathes the breath of its own spirit into the government Massachusetts must remodel Louisiana. Not till then. But men say you jeopard the party, you embarrass the present state of affairs. These are good arguments, says the *Tribune*, but you must not attempt it.

STABILITY IN GOVERNMENT A GREAT BLESSING.

Gentlemen, the great defect in our government is that when we once accept a pivotal man we have to keep him for four years. Andrew Jackson when once planted on this government lasted for four years. It is a great defect, perhaps an inevitable one, in the machinery of republican institutions. In England, when the people are weary of Earl John, in an hour they have Earl Derby. In twelve hours, if they weary of him, they may put John Bright at the head of the government. (Cheers.) The Queen governs only in the sense that she reigns. She does not rule. In the true sense of the word she does not govern. She only reigns. The English machinery, therefore, within the limitation of its aristocratic level, obeys at once the re-educated popular impulse. With us, in ordinary times, we must wait four years before the government can right itself.

CANNOT WAIT TILL 1869.

In ordinary times we should be obliged to bear Andy Johnson till the 4th of March, 1869. But his treachery, his collusion with rebels, his resistance to the laws of Congress, the blood of New Orleans on his manacles, his sins against the whole essence and spirit of the law, enable us to remove him—(applause)—and I, for one, am not for waiting two long years to commence the inevitable territorial reconstructing Southern territory. I am not for waiting two years while a rebel in the White House builds up the Southern amendment, gives it strength, cohesion, organization, prosperity and capital. I am not for waiting two years, with the States of the South in the Senate and House, on Hamlin's plan, to manipulate the government into submission.

THE PRESIDENT TO BE IMMEDIATELY DEPOSED.

The right and the power are ours and I would commence to-day by sequestering rebeldom from the government, the control of the governmental machinery by the nation, and that is to be done, not only by the impeachment of Mr. Johnson, but by sequestering him from office while the trial goes forward. Mark you! there is but one problem before us. Johnson and Senators and Representatives are puppets. The nation has but one business. It is to make the idea which conquered in this war dominant down to the Gulf. (Applause.) It is to make free speech, free printing, freedom of commercial energy and enterprize the law of the republic. When that process commences peace commences. When that process commences reconstruction commences—not till then. All that I say to you of parties, all that I say to you of impeachment, has no individual purpose. Johnson is but a weed, to be forgotten, I hope, to-morrow. But remove him in order to begin the great national duty. This is our only object. It seems to me that in talking of men on this question we forget the very essence of our duty; we are chopping logic. We are amusing ourselves with empty words, while we are constantly forgetting that our only and indispensable work is not yet even begun. Not only that, but we have not arranged the machinery by which to begin it; we have not removed the first obstacle to it.

HUMILIATING POSITION OF GENERAL GRANT.

Here is General Grant, the armed hand of the government, and men link his name with epithets of honor. While Andy Johnson is responsible, in a primary sense, for the massacre at New Orleans, in a true sense Ulysses Grant is responsible also. (A dead silence.) The most humiliating position occupied to-day by any United States man on this continent is occupied by Ulysses Grant. (An individual on the platform attempted to endorse this sentiment by clapping his hands, but the audience indulged in a very general reprobation of it by hissing and cries of "No, no.") Mr. Phillips, resuming, said:—Well, you hiss me. Have we conquered New Orleans or have we not? Does it belong to us or to Jeff Davis? (A voice, in a very faint tone, "Davis.") It does. The theory is it belongs to us. If it does, whose business is it to see that the streets of New Orleans are safe for every man who has a right to walk under the flag? (The same weak voice, "Grant's.") The armed hand of the government, wreathed in tobacco smoke and bathed in the soft breezes of the lake, while the national banner was clinging in every Southern city to the flagstaff heavy with Union blood! Imagine Ireland in rebellion. Imagine it subdued. Imagine the news to come to London while the "Iron Duke" held the War Office, that an Englishman cheering for Victoria had been murdered in the streets of Cork. Do you suppose Wellington would have gone on a private jaunt with the Queen to the Isle of Wight or the Highlands? He would have been, in six hours, in the streets of Cork; and if there had been soldiers enough in the British empire it would have been safe for Englishmen to walk those streets. (Applause.) General Grant can anticipate trouble in Maryland. He knows beforehand that there may be bloodshed in the streets of Baltimore, and he can hold long Cabinet council with this man and that to see that there is no riot. Can favor radicalism in Baltimore. Why? He not know of a riot in New Orleans? If he did not know, why did he not hurry to the spot? I claim it of the war and the government that if we have conquered the South it should be safe for a Northern man anywhere where the flag floats. (Applause.) What is it to me that the flag floats in safety on Faneuil Hall, as it has done for sixty years? If General Grant is a general, at the head of the military forces of the United States, he is there to make that flag my protection as much at Memphis as in the streets of Boston.

GRANT AND THE PRESIDENT.

If he has not troops enough to do it why don't he come to Congress and say so? If he has troops enough to do it, why didn't he? Does any man hinder him? If there is any hindrance, it is his duty to tell us about it. (Cheers.) If the head of the national forces is not permitted to make the streets of the nation safe for its citizens, who is it that hinders him? That fact he owes to the nation. Imagine the unanimity of the Northern rebuke and the utter, absolute annihilation of Andy Johnson if Ulysses Grant had said at the time of the New Orleans massacre, "I wanted to prevent it, but was not permitted." What a chain of Northern men, politicians and generals alike, is, that if to their knowledge there is treason in high places they should say so. (Cheers.) I don't ask them to submit to the indignity of office when they are not permitted to discharge its duties. Now, while New Orleans and Memphis are possible, I assert again, and I say that you will agree with me, that the most humiliating position occupied by an American is held by the General of the United States. (Hisses and some applause.)

GRANT AND BEN BUTLER.

I have conquered him to an Englishman. Let me at the risk of some State partiality, speak a better home. Put our Ben Butler in his position. (Loud laughter, cheers and hisses, equally interspersed.) Give him command of the forces of the United States. (More laughter, applause and disapproval.) Do you believe New Orleans would have been possible? (Cries of "no," "yes," and continued merriment.) But if by some unforeseen accident it had taken place, do you suppose that Mayor Monroe would have lived to-day to boast that he had defied the government of the United States and poured out in the streets of New Orleans the blood of its most loyal citizens? Men say Grant stays in his position lest the President should put a worse man in. Do you suppose that Congress would permit this if Grant should resign? Do you suppose the army of the United States could be led by any one against Sherman and Grant with Congress behind them? It is the idiest falsehood in the world.

THE QUESTION OF THE DAY.

We have a set of men in power one half of whom are intentional traitors, and the other half propose to wait until the 4th of March, leaving the government to hitch and stagger on with a traitor at the White House. I want to hear nothing about constitutional amendments. I want to hear nothing about reconstruction. I don't care what becomes of Jeff Davis. He is older than the ark. (Laughter.) The question of his punishment landed on Mount Ararat and goes to pieces there. (Continued laughter.) The question of to-day is whether the President is to be allowed for two years to hold the government over the edge of Niagara, and whether Senators and Lieutenant Generals are to stand from motives of etiquette silent, and journals are to preach conciliation. I say no. The war is not ended. The fight reconsociates in a new shape. If General Grant has surrendered as Sherman did to Johnson—if he like Sherman has surrendered to Johnson let us know it. This people are bound and sure to save the nation. We have got every element upon our side. Coleridge said that governments were made up of three elements:—One, and the first was, obedience to the laws, the power of co-operation, the power to act together; second, allegiance to something, to law or charter, and the third was, loving your national brother better than any other thing in the round. The North had these three elements—the South had not. We were organized; we were law abiding citizens, we worshipped the common law of the constitution. It stood to us in the place of Bucephalus to Frederick or Charles Stuart to a Highlandman. Illinois and Massachusetts, Ohio and New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin were bound to each other closer than any other States on the face of the globe. The elements of nationality were ours, and with the army and navy in our hands we were sure to crush out rebellion, and we are sure to do it again to-day. (Great applause.) But all we want is an honest, plain spoken, intelligent man to our head.

NO TOMB WAS THE PRESIDENT.

I do not fear the President. Fear him? No. I never read one of his speeches. I never heard of one of his acts that I was not reminded of a story I have read of the traveller the Russian peasants on the outermost provinces of Russia take of killing the bear. These peasants are too poor to buy muskets, and the bear's hide is impervious to any arrows they can make, so the hunters practice upon the bear's credulity. The bear loves honey and will do anything to obtain it. So they go to an empty bee's nest and fasten a peg above a note where the bear have built, and from this peg they hang a cannon ball or large stone, and when the bear comes to push his head in for the honey he moves the stone and it comes back upon him with force. Angry at the blow he gives it another toss and it returns on him with stronger force. He raises himself again and in his rage he pushes the moving pendulum with greater strength, but back it comes with additional momentum, when he swings round the whole circle, to use a nate phrase. (Laughter.) Well, now, Vermont was a good blow, but Maine was better. Ohio was appalling but Indiana was terrible and Pennsylvania was a settler. (Great laughter.) When Massachusetts and New York, and Illinois and all the rest of the States swing in the circle we will have no fear of that individual obstacle. (Laughter.)

ANXIOUS THROUGH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

It is not through him my anxiety exists. It is through the republican party, and Congress itself, for the sake of its own expediency impatience, and fearful of each other, and fearful of certain results, are anxious to postpone the battle; as if when Lee and Grant met in their final encounter they had commenced counting their troops, and then postponed the fight for twelve months.

NO POSTPONEMENT OF THE FIGHT.

No postponement of the fight till the 4th day of March, 1869. The fight begins on the 4th day of December, 1866, and from that hour the machine is to be exclusively ours. Do your duty, and in 1869 we shall be in a far different state from this.

TRAITORS IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

We have had traitors before. We had one in the White House. He called himself a public functionary—(great laughter)—and last year he has been writing a book to show the world why his treason did not succeed. We have got his twin brother in the White House to-day—(laughter)—and he calls himself a "humble individual." (Great laughter.) Let us do our duty in December, and long before the 4th of March, 1869, he will be making speeches to explain why his treason did not succeed. (Applause).

Mr. Phillips then retired, and the assemblage dispersed.

TRIAL OF THE SUPPOSED BOWDOINHAM BANK ROBBERS.

BATH, Me., Oct. 25, 1866.

Two of the alleged Bowdoinham Bank robbers, Bartlett and Simmons, were arraigned before Judge Smith, of the Municipal Court, this afternoon. They pleaded not guilty. Seven of the government's witnesses gave in their testimony, which fully identified the personal appearance of the accused, but failed to identify their countenances, save in the case of one witness, who swore to meeting one of the accused on the evening of the robbery of the bank, who was examining the cashier's premises. The court adjourned until to-morrow at nine o'clock A. M.

FAILURE OF A NEW BEDFORD OIL DEALER.

BOSTON, Oct. 25, 1866.

The New Bedford *Evening Standard* of to-day says the failure of George A. Simmons, oil dealer, of Boston, for a quarter of a million of dollars, is reported, and it is stated that his liabilities to parties in this city are $100,000.

VIRGINIA POLITICS.

NORFOLK, Va., Oct. 25, 1866.

A. T. Leonard was elected to fill the place of E. T. Hardy, resigned, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, pending James L. Bolton 161 votes

EUROPE.

News by the Cable to Thursday, October 25.

Napoleon About to Propose a Large French Loan.

The Saxon Army Dissolved and the Treaty with Prussia Ratified.

Short Time in the Manchester Cotton Mills.

BY MAIL TO OCTOBER 14.

Our London, Brussels and Pera Correspondence.

Fenianism---Its Strength and Hopes in Great Britain and Abroad.

Belgium in Dread of Imperial Absorption.

England's Difficulties in Canada and the West Indies.

THE MARKETS AND MARINE REPORT.

&c. &c. &c.

BY THE CABLE TO OCTOBER 25.

FRANCE.

Impending Changes in the Cabinet—The March from Rome.

PARIS, Oct. 25, 1866.

Rumors are current that changes in the French Cabinet are imminent.

The threatened rupture is caused by the Emperor's insisting on the negotiation of a large loan.

It is now said that the French troops will leave Rome in December.

ENGLAND.

"Short Time" in the Cotton Mills.

LIVERPOOL, Oct. 24, 1866.

It has been decided at Manchester to work the mills only on "short time."

THE GERMAN QUESTION.

Ratification of the Prusso-Saxon Treaty.

BERLIN, Oct. 25, 1866.

The treaty between Prussia and Saxony has been fully ratified. Pursuant to its provisions Saxony is to pay ten million florins.

The army of Saxony has already been dissolved.

An Alliance with Prussia Rejected.

The Baden House of Deputies has rejected the proposed alliance with Prussia.

AUSTRIA.

Marshal Benedek Retired.

VIENNA, Oct. 25, 1866.

Field Marshal Benedek, of the Austrian army, has been placed on the retired list.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

The London Money Market.

LONDON, Oct. 24—Evening

Consols closed at 89¼ for money.

AMERICAN SECURITIES.

LONDON, Oct. 24, 1866.

The closing prices of American securities are as follows:—

United States five-twenties