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**SPEECH OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.**

In other columns we publish a full report of the meeting yesterday.

On the procession reaching the executive mansion, where an immense crowd had preceded it, Mr. Fendall, the President of the meeting, presented to the President the resolutions which had passed the meeting, with a brief and pertinent address, in which he informed him that the assembly had adjourned to the presidential mansion to pay their respects to him. The President was then formally conducted to the front portico, from whence—silence having been obtained in the vast assemblage—he addressed them substantially as follows:

After returning his thanks to the committee which had waited upon him and presented him with the resolutions which had been adopted, the President said:

The resolutions, as I understand them, are complimentary to the policy which has been adopted and pursued by the administration since it came into power. I am free to say to you on this occasion that it is extremely gratifying to me to know that so large a portion of our fellow-citizens endorse the policy which has been adopted and which is intended to be carried out [Great applause.]

This policy has been one which was intended to restore the glorious Union—to bring those great States, now the subject of controversy, to their original relations with the government of the United States. And this seems to be a day peculiarly appropriate for such a manifestation as this—the day that gave birth to him who founded the government—that gave birth to the father of our country—that gave birth to him who stood at the portal when all these States entered into this glorious confederacy. I say that the day is peculiarly appropriate to the endorsement of measures for the restoration of the Union that was founded by the father of his country. Washington, whose name this city bears, is embalmed in the hearts of all who love their government. [A voice, "so is Andy Johnson," and applause.] Washington, in the language of his eulogist, was first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. No people can claim him—no nation can appropriate him. His eminence is acknowledged throughout the civilized world by all those who love free government. I have had the pleasure of a visit from the association which has been directing its efforts towards the completion of a monument erected to his name. I was prepared to meet them and give them my humble influence and countenance in aid of the work. Let the monument be erected to him who founded the government, and that almost within the throw of a stone from the spot from which I now address you. Let it be completed. [Applause.]

Let the pledges which all these States and corporations and associations have put in that monument be preserved as an earnest of our faith in and love of this Union, and let the monument be completed. And in connection with Washington, in speaking of the pledges that have been placed in that monument, let me refer to one from my own State—God bless her!—which has struggled for the preservation of this Union in the field and in the councils of the nation. Let me repeat, that she is now struggling in consequence of an innovation that has taken place in regard to her relation with the federal government, growing out of the rebellion—she is now struggling to renew her relations with this government, and take the stand which she had occupied since 1796. Let me repeat the sentiment which that State inscribed upon her stone that is deposited within the monument of freedom and in commemoration of Washington; she is struggling to stand by the sentiment inscribed on that stone, and she is now willing to maintain that sentiment. And what is the sentiment? It is the sentiment which was enunciated by the immortal and illustrious Jackson—"the Federal Union—it must be preserved." [Cheers.] Were it possible for that old man, who in statue is before me and in portrait behind me, to be called forth—were it possible to commu-

nicate with the illustrious dead, and he could be informed of the progress in the work of faction, and rebellion, and treason—that old man would turn over in his coffin, he would rise, shake off the habiliments of the tomb, and again extend that long arm and finger and reiterate the sentiment before enunciated, "the Federal Union—it must be preserved." [Cheers.] But we witness what has transpired since his day. We remember what he said in 1833. When treason and treachery and infidelity to the government and the Constitution of the United States stalked forth, it was his power and influence that went forth and crushed it in its incipency. It was then stopped. But it was only stopped for a time, and the spirit continued. There were men disaffected towards the government in both the North and South. There were peculiar institutions in the country to which some were adverse and others attached. We find that one portion of our countrymen advocated an institution in the South which others opposed in the North. This resulted in two extremes. That in the South reached a point at which the people there were disposed to dissolve the government of the United States, and they sought to preserve their peculiar institutions. (What I say on this occasion I want to be understood.) There was a portion of our countrymen opposed to this, and they went to that extreme that they were willing to break up the government to destroy this peculiar institution of the South.

I assume nothing here to-day but the citizen—one of you—who has been pleading for his country and the preservation of the Constitution. [Cheers.] These two parties have been arrayed against each other, and I stand before you as I did in the Senate of the United States in 1860. I denounced there those who wanted to disrupt the government, and I portrayed their true character. I told them that those who were engaged in the effort to break up the government were traitors. I have not ceased to repeat that, and, as far as endeavor could accomplish it, to carry out the sentiment. [Cheers.] I remarked, though, that there were two parties. One would destroy the government to preserve slavery; the other would break up the government to destroy slavery. [Cheers.] The objects to be accomplished were different, it is true, so far as slavery was concerned, but they agreed in one thing—the destruction of the government, precisely what I was always opposed to; and whether the disunionists come from the South or from the North, I stand now where I did then, vindicating the Union of these States and the Constitution of our country. [Great cheering.] The rebellion manifested itself in the South. I stood by the government. I said I was for the Union with slavery. I said I was for the Union without slavery. In either alternative I was for the government and the Constitution. The government has stretched forth its strong arm, and with its physical power it has put down treason in the field. That is, the section of the country that arrayed itself against the government has been conquered by the force of the government itself. Now, what had we said to those people? We said: "No compromise; we can settle this question with the South in eight and forty hours."

I have said it again and again, and I repeat it now. "Disband your armies, acknowledge the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States, give obedience to the law, and the question is settled." [Cheers.]

What has been done since? Their armies have been disbanded. They come now to meet us in a spirit of magnanimity, and say, "We were mistaken; we made the effort to carry out the doctrine of secession and dissolve this Union, and having traced this thing to its logical and physical results, we now acknowledge the flag of our country, and promise obedience to the Constitution, and the supremacy of the law." [Cheers.]

I say then, when you comply with the Constitution, when you yield to the law, when you acknowledge allegiance to the

government, I say let the door of the Union be opened and the relation be restored to those that had erred and had strayed from the fold of our fathers. [Cheers.]

Who has suffered more than I have? I ask the question. I shall not recount the wrongs and the sufferings inflicted upon me. It is not the course to deal with a whole people in a spirit of revenge. I know there has been a great deal said about the exercise of the pardon power, as regards the executive; and there is no one who has labored harder than I to have the principals, the intelligent and conscious offenders, brought to justice, and have the principle vindicated that "treason is a crime." [Cheers.]

But, while conscious and intelligent traitors are to be punished, should whole communities and States be made to submit to the penalty of death? I have quite as much asperity, and perhaps as much resentment, as a man ought to have; but we must reason regarding man as he is, and must conform our action and our conduct to the example of Him who founded our holy religion.

I came into power under the Constitution of the country, and with the approbation of the people, and what did I find? I found eight millions of people who were convicted, condemned under the law, and the penalty was death; and through revenge and resentment, were they all to be annihilated? Oh! may I not exclaim, how different would this be from the example set by the founder of our holy religion, whose divine arch rests its extremities on the horizon, while its span embraces the universe! Yes, He that founded this great scheme came into the world and saw man condemned under the law, and the sentence was death. What was His example? Instead of putting the world or a nation to death, He went forth on the cross and testified with His wounds that He would die and let the world live. Let them repent; let them acknowledge their rashness; let them become loyal, and let them be supporters of our glorious stripes and stars, and the Constitution of our country. I say let the leaders, the conscious, intelligent traitors, meet the penalties of the law. But as for the great mass who have been forced into the rebellion—mistaken in other instances—let there be clemency and kindness, and a trust and a confidence in them. But, my countrymen, after having passed through this rebellion, and having given as much evidence of enmity to it as some who creak a great deal about the matter—[cheers]—when I look back over the battle-field and see many of those brave men in whose company I was, in localities of the rebellion where the contest was most difficult and doubtful, and who yet were patient; when I look back over these fields, and where the smoke has scarcely passed away; where the blood that has been shed has scarcely been absorbed—before their bodies have passed through the stages of decomposition—what do I find? The rebellion is put down by the strong arm of the government, in the field. But is this the only way in which we can have rebellions? This was a struggle against a change and a revolution of the government, and before we fully get from the battle-field—when our brave men have scarcely returned to their homes and renewed the ties of affection and love to their wives and their children—we are now almost inaugurated into another rebellion. [Cheers.] One rebellion was the effort of States to secede, and the war on the part of the government was to prevent them from accomplishing that, and thereby changing the character of our government and weakening its power. When the government has succeeded, there is an attempt now to concentrate all power in the hands of a few at the federal head, and thereby bring about a consolidation of the republic. [Cheers.] We find a power assumed and attempted to be exercised of a most extraordinary character. We see now that governments can be revolutionized without going into the battle-field; and sometimes the revolutions most distressing to a people are effected without the shedding of blood. This is, the substance of your government may

be taken away while there is held out to you the form and the shadow. And now, what are the attempts, and what is being proposed? We find that by an irresponsible central directory nearly all the powers of Congress are assumed without even consulting the legislative and executive departments of the government. By a resolution reported by a committee upon whom and in whom the legislative power of the government has been lodged, that great principle in the Constitution which authorizes and empowers the legislative department, the Senate and House of Representatives, to be the judges of elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, has been virtually taken away from the two respective branches of the National Legislature, and conferred upon a committee who must report before the body can act on the question of the admission of members to their seats. By this rule they assume a State is out of the Union, and to have its practical relations restored by that rule before the house can judge of the qualifications of its own members. What position is that? You have been struggling for four years to put down a rebellion. You contended at the beginning of that struggle that a State had not a right to go out. You said it had neither the right nor the power; and it has been settled that the States had neither the right nor the power to go out of the Union. And when you determine by the executive, by the military, and by the public judgment, that these States cannot have any right to go out, this committee turns around and assumes that they are out, and that they shall not come in.

I am free to say to you as your executive that I am not prepared to take any such position. [Great cheering.] I said in the Senate, in the very inception of the rebellion, that the States had no right to secede. That question has been settled. Thus determined, I cannot turn round and give the lie direct to all that I profess to have done during the last four years. I say that when the States that attempted to secede comply with the Constitution, and give sufficient evidence of loyalty, I shall extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and let peace and union be restored. I am opposed to the Davises, the Toombses, the Sellses, and the long list of such. But when I perceive on the other men—[A voice, "Call them off!"]—I care not by what name you call them—still opposed to the Union, I am free to say to you that I am still with the people. I am still for the preservation of these States—for the preservation of this Union, and in favor of this great government accomplishing its destiny.

[Here the President was called upon to give the names of three of the members of Congress to whom he had alluded as being opposed to the Union.]

The gentleman calls for three names. I am talking to my friends and fellow-citizens here. [Cheers.] Suppose I should name to you those whom I look upon as being opposed to the fundamental principles of this government, and as now laboring to destroy them. I say Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania; I say Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; I say Wendell Phillips, of Massachusetts. [Great cheering, and a voice, "Forney!"]

I do not waste my fire on dead ducks. [Laughter.] I stand for the country, and though my enemies may traduce, slander and vituperate, I may say, that has no force.

In addition to this, I do not intend to be governed by real or pretended friends, nor do I intend to be bullied by my enemies. [Cheers.] An honest conviction is my sustenance, the Constitution my guide. I know, my countrymen, that it has been insinuated—nay, said directly, in high places—that if such an usurpation of power had been exercised two hundred years ago, in particular reigns, it would have cost an individual his head. What usurpation has Andrew Johnson been guilty of? [Cheers and cries of "none."] My only usurpation has been committed by standing between the people and the encroachments