


## ANDREW JOHNSON

NDREW JOHNSON, seventeenth President of the United States, was born at Raleigh, N. C., Dec. 29, 1808, and died in Carter Co., Tenn., July 31, 1875. His father was drowned when young Andrew was only four years of age; he was apprenticed to a tailor, and removing to Greenville, Tenn., in 1826, worked there at his trade. His education had hitherto been of the most meagre description, but he possessed great natural aptitude, and on his marriage, some years later, he studied and read under the direction of his wife, who had been well educated. After holding several local offices he entered the State legislature, in 1835, and six years later was called to the State senate. He sat in Congress in the years 1843-53, and was subsequently governor of Tennessee. Being by nature a political leader, he was returned to Congress as senator in 1857, at this period actively opposing the Pacific Railroad Bill, and as strenuously advocating retrenchment and the Homestead Bill. At the outbreak of the Civil War he strove, often at great personal risk, to keep Tennessee within the Union, and in 1862 was appointed its military governor. He was elected to the Vice-presidency in 1864, and on the assassination of Lincoln succeeded him in the Presidential chair, April 15, 1865. His unyielding attitude on the reconstruction policy, which he favored, soon resulted in his estrangement from the Republican Congress, and its course in opposition was characterized by him, in a notable speech, "a new rebellion." The struggle between Congress and the President continued until Feb. 24, 1868, when the House of Representatives voted to impeach him for "high crimes and misdemeanors," and on the following fifth of March, presented eleven articles of impeachment, based on his resistance to the Congressional acts. The trial opened March 23, and ended May 26, with the President's acquittal, one vote of the two-thirds necessary for conviction being lacking. After the expiration of his Presidential term, Johnson was twice an unsuccessful aspirant to the Senate, but was elected in 1875 and sat in the extra session in March of that year. Johnson was a man of undoubted ability who triumphed over many obstacles in his early career, but was narrow and obstinate in not a few of his opinions. He possessed courage, however, and his honesty was unimpeachable. His life has been written by Savage in 1865, and by Foster in 1866.

### SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS

OFFERED IN EVIDENCE BY THE PROSECUTION AT HIS TRIAL.  
DELIVERED AT ST. LOUIS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1866

FELLOW CITIZENS OF ST. LOUIS,—In being introduced to you to-night, it is not for the purpose of making a speech. It is true I am proud to meet so many of my fellow citizens here on this occasion and under

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the favorable circumstances that I do. [Cry: "How about British subjects?"] We will attend to John Bull after a while, so far as that is concerned. [Laughter and loud cheers.] I have just stated that I am not here for the purpose of making a speech, but, after being introduced, simply to tender my cordial thanks for the welcome you have given me in your midst. [A voice: "Ten thousand welcomes!" hurrahs and cheers.]

Thank you, sir; I wish it were in my power to address you under favorable circumstances upon some of the questions that agitate and distract the public mind at this time. Questions that have grown out of a fiery ordeal we have just passed through and which I think as important as those we have just passed by. The time has come when it seems to me that all ought to be prepared for peace—the rebellion being suppressed, and the shedding of blood being stopped, the sacrifice of life being suspended and stayed, it seems that the time has arrived when we should have peace; when the bleeding arteries should be tied up. [A voice: "New Orleans; go on!"]

Perhaps, if you had a word or two on the subject of New Orleans you might understand more about it than you do. [Laughter and cheers.] And if you will go back—[Cries for Seward]—if you will go back and ascertain the cause of the riot at New Orleans, perhaps you would not be so prompt in calling out New Orleans. If you will take up the riot at New Orleans and trace it back to its source, or to its immediate cause, you will find out who was responsible for the blood that was shed there.

If you will take up the riot at New Orleans and trace it back to the Radical Congress [Great cheering and cries of "Bully!"], you will find that the riot at New Orleans was



substantially planned—if you will take up the proceedings in their caucuses you will understand that they there knew [Cheers] that a convention was to be called which was extinct by its powers having expired; that it was said and the intention was that a new government was to be organized; and in the organization of that government the intention was to enfranchise one portion of the population called the colored population, who had just been emancipated, and at the same time disfranchise white men. [Great cheering.] When you begin to talk about New Orleans [Confusion] you ought to understand what you are talking about.

When you read the speeches that were made or take up the facts,—on Friday and Saturday before that convention sat,—you will there find that speeches were made incendiary in their character, exciting that portion of the population, the black population, to arm themselves and prepare for the shedding of blood. [A voice: “That’s so!” and cheers.] You will also find that that convention did assemble in violation of law, and the intent of that convention was to supersede the recognized authorities in the State government of Louisiana, which had been recognized by the government of the United States, and every man engaged in that rebellion—in that convention, with the intention of superseding and overturning the civil government which had been recognized by the government of the United States—I say that he was a traitor to the constitution of the United States [Cheers], and hence you find that another rebellion was commenced, having its origin in the Radical Congress.

These men were to go there; a government was to be organized, and the one in existence in Louisiana was to be superseded, set aside, and overthrown. You talk to me about New Orleans!

And then the question was to come up, when they had established their government,—a question of political power,—which of the two governments was to be recognized—a new government inaugurated under this defunct convention, set up in violation of law and without the consent of the people. And then when they had established their government, and extended universal or impartial franchise, as they called it, to this colored population, then this Radical Congress was to determine that a government established on negro votes was to be the government of Louisiana. [Voices: “Never,” and cheers and “Hurrah for Andy!”]

So much for the New Orleans riot—and there was the cause and the origin of the blood that was shed, and every drop of blood that was shed is upon their skirts, and they are responsible for it. [Cheers.] I could trace this thing a little closer, but I will not do it here to-night. But when you talk about New Orleans and talk about the causes and consequences that resulted from proceedings of that kind, perhaps, as I have been introduced here, and you have provoked questions of this kind, though it doesn’t provoke me, I will tell you a few wholesome things that have been done by this Radical Congress. [Cheers.]

In connection with New Orleans and the extension of the elective franchise, I know that I have been traduced and abused. I know it has come in advance of me here as it has elsewhere, that I have attempted to exercise an arbitrary power in resisting laws that were intended to be enforced on the government. [Cheers and cries of “Hear!”]

Yes, that I had exercised the veto power [“Bully for you!”], that I had abandoned the power that elected me, and that I was a t-r-a-i-t-o-r [Cheers] because I exercised the veto power in attempting to, and did arrest for a time, a bill.



that was called a Freedman's Bureau Bill. [Cheers.] Yes, that I was a t-r-a-i-t-o-r! And I have been traduced, I have been slandered, I have been maligned, I have been called Judas—Judas Iscariot, and all that. Now, my countrymen here to-night, it is very easy to indulge in epithets, it is very easy to call a man Judas and cry out t-r-a-i-t-o-r, but when he is called upon to give arguments and facts he is very often found wanting.

Judas, Judas Iscariot, Judas! There was a Judas once, one of the twelve apostles. Oh, yes! and these twelve apostles had a Christ. [A voice: "And a Moses, too!" Great laughter.] The twelve apostles had a Christ, and he could not have had a Judas unless he had had twelve apostles. If I had played the Judas, who has been my Christ that I have played the Judas with? Was it Thad. Stevens? Was it Wendell Phillips? Was it Charles Sumner? [Hisses and cheers.] Are these the men that set up and compare themselves with the Saviour of Man, and everybody that differs with them in opinion and tries to stay and arrest their diabolical and nefarious policy is to be denounced as a Judas? ["Hurrah for Andy!" and cheers.]

In the days when there were twelve apostles, and when there was a Christ, while there were Judases, there were unbelievers, too. Y-a-s; while there were Judases there were unbelievers. [Voices: "Hear!" "Three groans for Fletcher."] Yes, oh yes! unbelievers in Christ: men who persecuted and slandered and brought him before Pontius Pilate and preferred charges and condemned and put him to death on the cross to satisfy unbelievers. And this same persecuting, diabolical, and nefarious clan to-day would persecute and shed the blood of innocent men to carry out their purposes. [Cheers.]

But let me tell you, let me give you a few words here to-night—and but a short time since I heard some one say in the crowd that we had a Moses. [Laughter and cheers.] Yes, there was a Moses. And I know sometimes it has been said that I would be the Moses of the colored man. ["Never!" and cheers.]

Why, I have labored as much in the cause of emancipation as any other mortal man living. But while I have strived to emancipate the colored man I have felt and now feel that I have a great many white men that want emancipation. [Laughter and cheers.]

There are a set amongst you that have got shackles on their limbs and are as much under the heel and control of their masters as the colored man that was emancipated. [Cheers.]

I call upon you here to-night as freemen—as men who favor the emancipation of the white man as well as the colored ones. I have been in favor of emancipation, I have done nothing to disguise about that—I have tried to do as much and have done as much, and when they talk about Moses and the colored man being led into the promised Land, where is the land that this clan proposes to lead them? [Cheers.]

When we talk about taking them out from among the white population and sending them to other climes, what is it they propose? Why it is to give us a Freedman's Bureau. And after giving us a Freedman's Bureau what then? Why, here in the South it is not necessary for me to talk to you, where I have lived and you have lived, and understand the whole system, and how it operates; we know how the slaves have been worked heretofore.

Their original owners bought the land and raised the negroes or purchased them, as the case might be; paid all the



expenses of carrying on the farm and in the end, after producing tobacco, cotton, hemp, and flax, and all the various products of the South, bringing them into the market without any profit to them, while these owners put it all into their own pockets. This was their condition before the emancipation. This was their condition before we became their "Moses." [Cheers and laughter.]

Now what is the plan? I ask your attention. Come; as we have got to talking on this subject, give me your attention for a few minutes. I am addressing myself to your brains and not to your prejudices; to your reason and not to your passions. And when reason and argument again resume their empire this mist, this prejudice that has been incrusting upon the public mind must give way and the reason become triumphant. [Cheers.]

Now, my countrymen, let me call your attention to a single fact, the Freedman's Bureau. [Laughter and hisses.]

Yes, slavery was an accursed institution till emancipation took place. It was an accursed institution while one set of men worked them and got the profits. But after emancipation took place they gave us the Freedman's Bureau. They gave us these agents to go into every county, every township, and into every school district throughout the United States, and especially the southern States. They gave us commissioners. They gave us \$12,000,000, and placed the power in the hands of the Executive, who was to work this machinery with the army brought to its aid and to sustain it.

Then let us run it on the \$12,000,000 as a beginning, and in the end receive \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000, as the case may be, and let us work the four millions of slaves. In fine, the Freedman's Bureau was a simple proposition to transfer

four millions of slaves in the United States from their original owners to a new set of taskmasters. [Voice: "Never," and cheers.]

I have been laboring four years to emancipate them; and then I was opposed to seeing them transferred to a new set of taskmasters, to be worked with more rigor than they had been heretofore. [Cheers.]

Yes, under this new system they would work the slaves and call on the government to bear all the expense, and if there were any profits left, why they would pocket them [Laughter and cheers], while you, the people, must pay the expense of running the machine out of your pockets, and they get the profits of it. So much for this question.

I simply intended to-night to tender you my sincere thanks; but as I go along, as we are talking about this Congress and these respected gentlemen, who contend that the President is wrong, because he vetoed the Freedman's Bureau Bill, and all this; because he chose to exercise the veto power he committed a high offence, and therefore ought to be impeached. [Voice: "Never!"]

Y-a-s, y-a-s, they are ready to impeach him. [Voice: "Let them try it!"] And if they were satisfied they had the next Congress by as decided a majority as this, upon some pretext or other—violating the constitution, neglect of duty, or omitting to enforce some act of law, some pretext or other—they would vacate the executive department of the United States. [A voice: "Too bad they don't impeach him."] Wha-t? As we talk about this Congress let me call the soldiers' attention to this immaculate Congress. Let me call your attention. Oh! this Congress, that could make war upon the Executive because he stands upon the constitution



and vindicates the rights of the people, exercising the veto power in their behalf—because he dared to do this they can clamor and talk about impeachment.

And by way of elevating themselves and increasing confidence with the soldiers throughout the country, they talk about impeachment.

So far as the Fenians are concerned. Upon this subject of Fenians, let me ask you very plainly here to-night to go back into my history of legislation, and even when governor of a State, let me ask if there is a man here to-night who, in the dark days of Know-Nothingism, stood and sacrificed more for their rights? [Voice: "Good!" and cheers.]

It has been my peculiar misfortune always to have fierce opposition because I have always struck my blows direct and fought with right and the constitution on my side. [Cheers.] Yes, I will come back to the soldiers again in a moment. Yes, here was a neutrality law. I was sworn to support the constitution and see that that law was faithfully executed.

And because it was executed, then they raised a clamor and tried to make an appeal to the foreigners, and especially the Fenians. And what did they do? They introduced a bill to tickle and play with the fancy, pretending to repeal the law and at the same time making it worse, and then left the law just where it is. [Voice: "That's so!"]

They knew that whenever a law was presented to me proper in its provisions, ameliorating and softening the rigors of the present law, that it would meet my hearty approbation; but, as they were pretty well broken down and losing public confidence, at the heels of the session they found they must do something. And, hence, what did they do? They pretended to do something for the soldiers. Who has done more

for the soldiers than I have? Who has perilled more in this struggle than I have? [Cheers.]

But then, to make them their peculiar friends and favorites of the soldiers, they came forward with a proposition to do what? Why, we will give the soldier fifty dollars bounty—fifty dollars bounty, your attention to this—if he has served two years, and one hundred dollars if he has served three years.

Now, mark you, the colored man that served two years can get his one hundred dollars bounty. But the white man must serve three before he can get his. [Cheers.] But that is not the point. While they were tickling and attempting to please the soldiers by giving them fifty dollars bounty for two years' service, they took it into their heads to vote somebody else a bounty [Laughter], and they voted themselves not fifty dollars for two years' service; your attention—I want to make a lodgment in your minds of the facts, because I want to put the nail in, and having put it in I want to clinch it on the other side. [Cheers.]

The brave boy, the patriotic young man who followed his gallant officers, slept on the tented field, and perilled his life, and shed his blood, and left his limbs behind him, and came home mangled and maimed, can get fifty dollars bounty if he has served two years. But the members of Congress, who never smelt gunpowder, can get four thousand dollars extra pay. [Loud cheering.]

This is a faint picture, my countrymen, of what has transpired. [A voice: "Stick to that question."] Fellow citizens, you are all familiar with the work of restoration. You know since the rebellion collapsed, since the armies were suppressed on the field, that everything that could be done has been done by the executive department of the government for the restoration of the government.