

Everything has been done with the exception of one thing; and that is the admission of members from the eleven States that went into the rebellion. And after having accepted the terms of the government, having abolished slavery, having repudiated their debt, and sent loyal representatives, everything has been done excepting the admission of representatives which all the States are constitutionally entitled to. [Cheers.]

When you turn and examine the constitution of the United States you will find that you cannot even amend that constitution so as to deprive any State of its equal suffrage in the Senate. [A voice: "They have never been out."] It is said before me: "They have never been out." I say so too, and they cannot go out. [Cheers.]

That being the fact, under the constitution they are entitled to equal suffrage in the Senate of the United States, and no power has the right to deprive them of it without violating the constitution. [Cheers.] And the same argument applies to the House of Representatives.

How, then, does the matter stand? It used to be one of the arguments, that if the States withdrew their representatives and senators that that was secession—a peaceable breaking up of the government. Now, the radical power in this government turn around and assume that the States are out of the Union, that they are not entitled to representation in Congress. [Cheers.]

That is to say, they are dissolutionists, and their position now is to perpetuate a disruption of the government; and that, too, while they are denying the States the right of representation they impose taxation upon them, a principle upon which, in the Revolution, you resisted the power of Great Britain. We deny the right of taxation without representa-

tion. That is one of our great principles. Let the government be restored. I have labored for it. Now I deny this doctrine of secession, come from what quarter it may, whether from the North or from the South. I am opposed to it. I am for the union of the States. [Voices: "That's right," and cheers.] I am for thirty-six States remaining where they are, under the constitution as your fathers made it and handed it down to you. And if it is altered or amended, let it be done in the mode and manner pointed by that instrument itself and in no other. [Cheers.]

I am for the restoration of peace. Let me ask this people here to-night if we have not shed enough blood. Let me ask: Are you prepared to go into another civil war? Let me ask this people here to-night are they prepared to set man upon man, and in the name of God, lift his hand against the throat of his fellow. [Voice: "Never!"] Are you prepared to see our fields laid waste again, our business and commerce suspended, and all trade stopped? Are you prepared to see this land again drenched in our brothers' blood? Heaven avert it, is my prayer. [Cheers.]

I am one of those who believe that man does sin, and, having sinned, I believe he must repent. And, sometimes, having sinned and having repented makes him a better man than he was before. [Cheers.] I know it has been said that I have exercised the pardoning power. Y-a-s, I have. [Cheers and "What about Drake's constitution?"] Y-a-s, I have, and don't you think it is to prevail? I reckon I have pardoned more men, turned more men loose and set them at liberty that were imprisoned, I imagine, than any other man on God's habitable globe. [Voice: "Bully for you!" and cheers.]

Yes, I turned forty-seven thousand of our men who en-

gaged in this struggle, with the arms they captured with them, and who were then in prison, I turned them loose. [Voice: "Bully for you, old fellow!" and laughter.]

Large numbers have applied for pardon and I have granted them pardon. Yet there are some who condemn and hold me responsible for so doing wrong. Yes, there are some who stayed at home, who did not go into the field on the other side, that can talk about others being traitors and being treacherous. There are some who can talk about blood and vengeance and crime and everything to "make treason odious," and all that, who never smelt gunpowder on either side. [Cheers.]

Yes, they can condemn others and recommend hanging and torture, and all that. If I have erred I have erred on the side of mercy. Some of these croakers have dared to assume that they are better than was the Saviour of men himself,—a kind of over-righteousness,—better than everybody else and always wanting to do Deity's work, thinking he cannot do it as well as they can. [Laughter and cheers.]

Yes, the Saviour of men came on the earth and found the human race condemned and sentenced under the law, but when they repented and believed he said: "Let them live." Instead of executing and putting the world to death he went upon the cross and there was painfully nailed by these unbelievers that I have spoken of here to-night, and there shed his blood that you and I might live. [Cheers.] Think of it! To execute and hang and put to death eight millions of people. [Voices: "Never!"]

It is an absurdity; and such a thing is impracticable even if it were right. But it is the violation of all law, human and divine. [A voice: "Hang Jeff. Davis!"] You call on Judge Chase to hang Jeff. Davis, will you? [Great cheer-

ing.] I am not the court, I am not the jury, nor the judge. [Voice: "Nor the Moses!"] Before the case comes to me, and all other cases, it would have to come on application as a case for pardon. That is the only way the case can get to me. Why don't Judge Chase—Judge Chase, the chief justice of the United States, in whose district he is—why don't he try him? [Loud cheers.]

But perhaps I could answer the question; as sometimes persons want to be facetious and indulge in repartee, I might ask you a question: Why don't you hang Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips? [Great cheering.] A traitor at one end of the line is as bad as a traitor at the other.

I know that there are some who have got their little pieces and sayings to repeat on public occasions, like parrots, that have been placed in their mouths by their superiors, who have not the courage and the manhood to come forward and tell them themselves, but have their understrappers to do their work for them. [Cheers.] I know there are some who talk about this universal elective franchise upon which they wanted to overturn the government of Louisiana and institute another; who contended that we must send men there to control, govern, and manage their slave population because they are incompetent to do it themselves. And yet they turn round when they get there and say they are competent to go to Congress and manage the affairs of State. [Cheers.]

Before you commence throwing your stones you ought to be sure you don't live in a glass house. Then why all this clamor! Don't you see, my countrymen, it is a question of power, and being in power as they are, their object is to perpetuate their power? Hence, when you talk about turning any of them out of office, oh, they talk about "bread and butter." [Laughter.]

Yes these men are the most perfect and complete "bread-and-butter party" that has ever appeared in this government. [Great cheering.] When you make an effort or struggle to take the nipple out of their mouths how they clamor! They have stayed at home here five or six years, held the offices, grown fat, and enjoyed all the emoluments of position; and now when you talk about turning one of them out, "Oh, it is proscription"; and hence they come forward and propose in Congress to do what? To pass laws to prevent the Executive from turning anybody out. [Voice: "Put 'em out!"] Hence, don't you see what the policy was to be? I believe in the good old doctrine advocated by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, of rotation in office.

These people who have been enjoying these offices seem to have lost sight of this doctrine. I believe that when one set of men have enjoyed the emoluments of office long enough they should let another portion of the people have a chance. [Cheers.] How are these men to be got out [Voice: "Kick 'em out!" Cheers and laughter], unless your Executive can put them out, unless you can reach them through the President?

Congress says he shall not turn them out, and they are trying to pass laws to prevent it being done. Well, let me say to you, if you will stand by me in this action [Cheers], if you will stand by me in trying to give the people a fair chance, soldiers and citizens, to participate in those offices, God being willing, I will "kick them out" just as fast as I can. [Great cheering.]

Let me say to you in concluding what I have said, and I intended to say but little, but was provoked into this, rather than otherwise, I care not for the menaces, the taunts, and jeers; I care not for the threats; I do not intend to be bullied

by my enemies nor overawed by my friends [cheers], but, God willing, with your help I will veto their measures whenever they come to me. [Cheers.]

I place myself upon the ramparts of the constitution, and when I see the enemy approaching, so long as I have eyes to see or ears to hear, or a tongue to sound the alarm, so help me God, I will do it and call upon the people to be my judges. [Cheers.] I tell you here to-night that the constitution of the country is being encroached upon. I tell you here to-night that the citadel of liberty is being endangered. [A voice: "Go it, Andy!"]

I say to you then, go to work; take the constitution as your palladium of civil and religious liberty; take it as your chief ark of safety. Just let me ask you here to-night to cling to the constitution in this great struggle for freedom, and for its preservation, as the shipwrecked mariner clings to the mast when the midnight tempest closes around him. [Cheers.]

So far as my public life has been advanced, the people of Missouri as well as of other States know that my efforts have been devoted in that direction which would ameliorate and elevate the interests of the great mass of the people. [Voice: "That's so."]

Why, where's the speech, where's the vote to be got of mine, but what has always had a tendency to elevate the great working classes of the people? [Cheers.] When they talk about tyranny and despotism, where's one act of Andrew Johnson that ever encroached upon the rights of a freeman in this land? But because I have stood as a faithful sentinel upon the watch tower of freedom to sound the alarm, hence all this traduction and detraction that has been heaped upon me. ["Bully for Andy Johnson!"]

I now, then, in conclusion, my countrymen, hand over to

you the flag of your country with thirty-six stars upon it. I hand over to you your constitution with the charge and responsibility of preserving it intact. I hand over to you tonight the Union of these States, the great magic circle which embraces them all. I hand them all over to you, the people in whom I have always trusted in all great emergencies,—questions which are of such vital interest,—I hand them over to you as men who can rise above party, who can stand around the altar of a common country with their faces upturned to heaven, swearing by him that lives for ever and ever that the altar and all shall sink in the dust, but that the constitution and the Union shall be preserved. Let us stand by the Union of these States, let us fight enemies of the government, come from what quarter they may. My stand has been taken.

You understand what my position is, and in parting with you now I leave the government in your hands with the confidence I have always had that the people will ultimately redress all wrongs and set the government right. Then, gentlemen, in conclusion, I thank you for the cordial welcome you have given me in this great city of the northwest, whose destiny no one can foretell. Now [Voice: "Three cheers for Johnson!"] then, in bidding you good-night, I leave all in your charge, and thank you for the cordial welcome you have given me in this spontaneous outpouring of the people of your city.