President Johnson's Speech.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee :

Language is inadequate to express the emotions and feelings produced by this occasion. Perhaps I could express more by permitting silence to speak and you to infer what I ought to say. I confess that, notwithstanding the experience I have had in public life and the audiences I have ad dressed, this occasion and this assemblage are calculeted to, and do overwhelm me.

As I have said, I have not language to
convey adequately my present feelings and

In listening to the address which your eloquent and distinguished chairman has just delivered, the proceedings of the Convention, as they transpired, recurred to my terms the scene which has just been des-cribed, of South Carolina and Massachusetts, arm in arm, marching into that vast assemblage, and thus giving evidence that the two extremes had come together again, informed that in that vast body of men, distinguished for intellect and wisdom, every eye was suffused with tears on beholding the scene, I could not finish reading the dispatch to one associated with me in my office, for my own feelings overcame me. [Applause.] I think we may justly conclude that we are acting under a proper inspiration, and that we need not be The nation is in peril. We have just

passed through a mighty, a bloody, a momentous ordeal, and yet do not find our-selves free from the difficulties and dangers that at first surrounded us. While our brave soldiers, both officers and men (turning to General Grant, who stood at his right) have by their heroism won laurels imperishable, there are still greater and more important duties to perform; and while we have had their co-operation to civil pursuits we need their support in perpetuate peace. So far as the Executive department is concerned, the effort has to stand by the Constitution of our fathers! been made to restore the Union, to heal which were consequent upon the struggle, and (to speak in common phrase) to pre-pare, as the learned and wise physician would, a plaster, healing in character and co-extensive with the wound. We thought, and we think, that we had partially succeed ed; but as the work progresses, as reconciliation seemed to be taking place, and the a disturbing and marring element opposing us. In alluding to the element I shall go no further than your Convention and the to me the report of its proceedings. I shall make no reference to it that I do not believe the time and the occasion justify.

We have witnessed in one department the United States, while in fact it is a Congress of only part of the States. We have seen this Congress pretend to be for the Union, when its very step and act tended to perpetuate disunion, and make a declarations you have made, that the prin disruption of the States inevitable. Instead of promoting reconciliation and harmony, its legislation has partaken of the venge. This has been the course and the policy of one portion of your Government.

The humble individual who now addresses on which all, without reference to party, under the Constitution of the country, and preservation of the government. being here by virtue of its provisions, he liberties as the great rampart of civil and stitution of my fathers, and to make it my

Government has been despotic and tyrannical. Let me ask this audience of distinguished gentlemen to point to a vote I ever gave, to a speech I ever made, to a single act of my whole public life that has not been against tyranny and despotism. What position have I ever occupied-what ground have I ever assumed where it can be truthfully charged that I failed to advocate the amelioration and elevation of the great masses of my countrymen?

So far as charges of this kind are con cerned, they are only to delude the public mind into the belief that it is not the designing men who make such accusations, but some one else in power, who is usurping and trampling upon the rights and per-verting the principles of the Constitution. It is done by them for the purpose of covering their own acts-and I have felt it amine who has been playing the part of And surely, gentlemen, this should be the tyrant, by whom do we find despotism enough to gratify a reasonable ambition.

Exercised? As to myself, the elements of If I had wanted authority, or if I had my nature, the pursuits of my life, have not made me, either in my feelings or in my practice, oppressive. My nature, on the contrary, is rather defensive in its

character. But having taken my stand upon the broad principles of liberty and the Constitution, there is not power enough on earth to drive me from it! (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Having placed my-self upon that broad platform, I have not been awed or dismayed, or intimidated by cither threats or encroachments; but have stood there, in conjunction with patriotic spirits, sounding the toesin of alarm when I deemed the citadel of Liberty in danger. [Great applause.]

I said on a previous occasion, and repeat now, that all that was necessary in this great contest against tyranny and despotism was that the struggle should be sufficiently audible for the American people to hear and properly understand the issues mind. Seemingly I partook in the inspi-ration that prevailed in the Convention and what the struggle was about, deterit involved. They did hear, and looking when I received a dispatch, sent by two of its distinguished members, conveying in on the side of the Constitution and of prin eiple. [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] I proclaim here to-day, as I have on previous occasions, that my faith is in the great mass of the people. In the darkest moment of this struggle, when the clouds seemed to be most lowering, my faith, inand that for the future they were united, as they had been in the past, for the preservation of the Union. When I was thus their gloom: for, beyond, I saw that all would be well in the end. My country-men, we all know that, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, tyranny and despotism can be exercised and exerted more effectually by the many than the one. We have seen Congress gradually encroach step by step upon constitutional rights, and violate, day after day and month after month, fundamental principles of the Government .mistaken that the finger of an overruling and unerring Providence is in this great [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] We have seen a Congress that seemed to forget that there was a limit to the sphere and scope of legislation. We have seen a Congress in a minority assume to exercise power which, if allowed to be consummated, would result in despotism or monarchy itself. [Enthusiastic applause.] This is truth; and because others, as well as myself, have seen proper to appeal to the patriotism and republican feeling of the country, we have been denounced in the severest terms. Slander upon slander, vituperation in the field, now that they have returned character, has made its way through the upon vituperation, of the most virulent our efforts to restore the Government and press. What, gentlemen, has been your and my sin? What has been the cause of our offending? I will tell you. Daring

the breach, to pour oil into the wounds which were consequent upon the standard ings of this Convention equal to, if not more important than those of any Conven tion that ever assembled in the United States. [Great applause.] When I look upon that collection of citizens, coming to gether voluntarily, and sitting in council, with ideas, with principles and views com mensurate with all the States, and co extensive with the whole people, and concountry was becoming re-united, we found trast it with a Congress whose policy, if persisted in, will destroy the country, I regard it as more important than any Condistinguished gentleman who has delivered to me the report of its proceedings. Take! [Renewed applause.] I think I may also say that the declarations that were there made are equal to those contained in the Declaration of Independence. [Cries of "Glorious," and most enthusiastic and pro of the Government, as it were, a body call longed applause.] Your address and dec ed, or which assumes to be the Congress of larations are nothing more or less than a re affirmation of the Constitution of the United States. [Cries of "Good," and ap-

plause.] Yes, I will go farther and say that the ciples you have enunciated in your address, are a second proclamation of emancipation to the people of the United States. [Recharacter of penalties, retaliation and re- newed applause.] For in proclaiming and you stands as the representative of another | can make common cause, engage in a comdepartment of the Government. The man- mon effort to break the tyranny which the ner in which he was called npon to occupy dominant party in Congress has so relentthat position I shall not allude to on this lessly exercised, and stand united together occasion. Suffice it to say that he is here for the restoration of the States and the

takes his stand upon that charter of our liberties as the creat rampart of civil and liberties as the great rampart of civil and religious liberty. Having been taught in my early life to hold it sacred, and having done so during my whole public career, I shall ever continue to reverge the Continue to the continue to reverge the Continue to the continue shall ever continue to reverence the Con- shackles upon their limbs, and are bound as rigidly by the behests of party leaders in the National Congress as though they permitted to include in the remark) that the Executive Department of the Government has been described as been described as been described by the second proclamation of emancination of emanc the United States, and offers a common ground upon which all patriots can stand. [Applause.]

In this connection, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, let me ask what have I to gain more than the advancement of the public welfare? I am as much opposed to the indulgence of egotism as any one; but here, in a conversational manner, while formally receiving the proceedings of this Convention, I may be permitted again to inquire what have I to gain consulting human ambition more than I have gained, except one thing-the consummation of the great work of restoration? My race is nearly run. I have been placed in the high etrun. I have been placed in the high office which I occupy by the Constitution of the country, and I may say that I have held from lowest to the state of the country. held from lowest to the highest, almost every station to which a man may attain my duty, in vindication of principles, to all the attention of my countrymen to every position, from alderman of a village their proceedings. When we come to ex- to the Presidency of the United States.

If I had wanted authority, or if I had

bill. [Laughter and applause.] With an army which it placed at my discretion, I could have remained at the capital of the nation, and, with fifty or sixty millions of appropriations at my disposal, with the machinery to be unlocked by my own hands, with my satraps and dependents in every town and village, with the civil rights bill following as an auxiliary, [laughter,] and with the patronage and other appliances of the Government, I could have proclaimed myself dictator. ["That's true!" and applause.]

But, gentlemen, my pride and my ambition have been to occupy that position which retains all power in the hands of the people. [Great cheering.] It is upon them I have always relied; it is upon them I rely now. [A voice, and the people will not disappoint you, and I repeat that neither the taunts nor jeers of Congress nor of a subsidized, calumniating press can drive me from my purpose. [Great applause.] I acknowledge no superior except my God, the author of my existence, and the people of the United States. [Proposed and anthysiastic cheering.] longed and enthusiastic cheering.] The commands of the one I try to obey as best I can, compatible with poor humanity. As to the other, in a political and represen tative sense, the high behests of the people have always been and ever will be respected and obeyed by me. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have said more than I intended to say. For the kind allusion to myself, contained in your address, I thank you. In this crisis and at the present period of my public life, I hold above all price and shall ever recur with feelings of profound gratification to the resolution containing the endorsement of a Convention emanating spontaneously from the great mass of the people. With conscientious conviction as my courage, the Constitution as my guide, and my faith in the people, I trust and hope that my future action may be such that you and the Convention you represent may not regret the assurance of confidence you have so generously expressed. ["We are sure of it."]

Before separating, my friends, one and all, please accept my heartfelt thanks for the kind manifestations of respect you have exhibited on this occasion.

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