THURSDAY, MARCH I, 1866.

Terms of the Observer.

tlinks of Fire new Subaribers, After the meeting of the Democratic State Con m, on the 4th of March next, Campaign Sulcorip Name will be received at the rate of One Dollar for the or Fifty Conts for three menths.

BTATE CONTENTIONS.

Before the next issue of the Observe appears, the two great political parties will have held their State Conventions, and placed their nominees in the field for Covernor. Both meet at Harrisburg, and both will hold their sessions in the Hall of the House of Representatives. The Democratic Convention convenes on Monday, the 5th inst.; the Republican on Wednesday following, the 7th.

On the Democratic side the prominent candidates are Heister Clymer, of Berks county, and Gen. Geo. W. Cass, of Alleghony. Mr. Clymer is at present a member of the State Senate, the leader of the Democrate there, and in point of speaking talent undoubtedly the foremost man of that body. His personal appearance and manners are remarkably preposessing. and he has become a general favorite alike with the Legislature and the people of Harrisburg. He was a candidate for Governor in 1863, when the contest between him and Mr. Witte ran so high as to defeat both, and terminated in the selection of Judge Woodward as a compromise nominee. Gen. Case, residing in a red-hot Abolition district, has never, we believe, held an official position, but for many years he has taken an active part in our State politics. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention, where he acted as snokesman of the Pennsylvania members, and received their vote for the Vice Presidential nomination. Gen. Cass is a leading and highly successful railroad man, being at present President of the Pittsburgh, Port Wayne and Chicago line. and a heavy stockholder in several other roads: and has built up, by energy, prudence and shrewdness, a magnificent fortune. The canvass between the supporters of these two gentlemen has gone of drum to best up recruits to fight apprise the people of the temper of those on with considerable vigor, and we deem it quite likely that, as in 1863, neither will be able to secure votes enough to nomiinate, and that some compromise man, like Judge Packer, of Carbon, will be selected. In many respects we think such a result desirable—not because we have The greater portion of Mr. Johnson's rethe slightest personal objection to either of the two eminent gentlemen named, but because from motives both of party and general policy it is better that some person be placed in the field who is known nut to have been an aspirant for the place, and whose identity with public questions may not have been so prominent during the last four years.

The leading Republican candidates are Gen. John W. Geary, of Cumberland; Gen. (paper) J. K Moorhead, of Allegheny; and Hen. W. W. Ketchum, of received the endorsement of one or two counties in the vicinity of his residence. but the Republicans seem to have no more respect for him than his former associates, and his prospects are so exceedingly limspeaking of him as a candidate. We would crave no better sport than to see little John in the field, but our Republican friends do not appear disposed to grant us the favor. Moorhead is a member of Congress, and has committed himself to negro suffrage, which will spoil his chances for nomination, if he ever had any. The contest mainly lies between Geary and Ketchum, with a decided leaning in favor of the former. He is the favorite of Cameron and Forney, (who are now working as harmoniously together as if they had the strong Republican counties, and will in all probability secure the nomination on the first ballot. He is a man of very limited talent, notwithstanding the garious official positions his ambition and overweening self-conceit have secured for him. and his military record is all that gives him any strength as a candidate.

THE PERSIDENT'S SPEECH.

We publish in this issue a complete re port of the speech delivered by President Johnson, on the 22d inst., in response to the calls of the citizens of the District, who endorsed his veto of the "Freedmens' Bureau," and Negre Boarding House and Ice Craim Selcon bill. The version telegraphed by the Associated Press, and published in most of the papers. was full of inscouracies, and those who have not had the opportunity of seeing the revised speech, will find it of interest to perpas the copy we present. Nothing which has occurred since the close of the war has given rice to so many varied opinions, and so much wide-spread excitement as this plain and bold expression of the President's views. The Democrats, to a man. heartily endorse it, while the Radicals. forgetting their past declarations of the necessity of standing by the "Government" under all circumstances, are nearly as unanimous in denouncing it. There was never exactly such a speech as this made by a President, and this is because there was never just such a man in the President's chair as Mr. Johnson. In singling out the names of leading revolutionists and denouncing them as traitors, he provokes their indignation and exposes his breast to their deadliest shafts. Their first cry is, that it is not dignified in a President thus to address the people.-Perhaps this is true. But when they heard the homely sayings and stories of his predecessor, they never regarded them as considered if they had been uttered by on Davis, and Toombs, and Slide'i, and Southern rebels. We have not heard of

ern rebels. The sting is in the fact that hese men have been denouncing him as a traitor, have been flinging their incendiary speeches broadcast among the people, and they never dreamed that they had in the White House a man ready to use their own weapons, and that, too, with a nation to back him. A few weeks ago, Thaddeus Stevens, the most influential member of Congress, arraigned him for remarks made in a private conversation with Senator not: 5 Dixon, and was insolent enough to suggest that the President deserved behead ing for expressing his opinions. " When the leader of the House of Representatives, speaking in his official capacity.

thus denies to the President the most ordinary rights of a citizen, he is justified in practically asserting his rights in a pretty strong form. It is a duty which Mr. Johnon owed to the Union cause, to disabuse the country of a deception industriously and we do not well see how he could have done it effectually in any other way. For the last six months that party has been using his name and prestige to enable did Phillips mean? them to carry the elections, and then presuming on the result of these elections to overswe him into submission to their policy. Their arrogance in Congress rests on the fact that they have carried all the over the head of the President as a proof mean? of endorsement by the people; when, in truth, without the aid of the President's name, the Northern majorities would have been against them. It is necessary that this dishonest game of playing the President's popular influence against his official influence should be stopped. All the fall elections were carried by this strategem, and as soon as Congress met these elections were floated in the President's face as a proof that the Republican party is too strong for him to cope with. The same game was attempted, the other day, by the Republican Convention in Connecticut. It was repeated by the Republican Convention of Indiana. Those

conventions affect to endorse both the

President and Congress, They mean to

lay stress on the former while the election

is pending, and to point to the latter after

it is over, as the true interpretation of the

result; thus using the President as a sort

against him. It is not necessary to recapitulate a speech that every one will read, nor to change it. call attention to the danger of assassination with which the President is threatened by his and his country's enemies. marks is directed to urging the idea that obedience to the Constitution is all that is essential to the national salvation. The Radicals will understand by these declarations that the President has opened an aggressive war upon them, and it will be in so vociferous a manner that the Chair persisted in till the Northern end of the rebellion is as badly whipped as its counterpart. He stands to-day in the attitude of a patriot, exerting himself to stem the the country. And the people, as a people, proceeding to remove the applauding Luserne. John Cessna, the puny and appreciate his efforts, and are rallying to contemptible Bedford renegade, has been his assistance. Petty party cries and tricks who evidently thought by so doing they between the President and a whole Union and the Redicals and a broken Unionbetween the President struggling to uphold the Constitution, and the Radicals who would overturn the Constitutionited that we hardly feel warranted in and it is not difficult to prognosticate where will rest the victory.

THE following are the Senators who voted to sustain the President's veto .--They number eighteen in all, eight of whom are Bepublicans. All the Democrats sustained the veto, and all the Republicans opposed it except the few here named. It is related that when the President's message was delivered. Senator Johnson, of Maryland, was in Baltimore. He was telegraphed to, and at once started for Washington on a locomotive: rode never abused one another like two pick. forty miles in forty-one minutes; reached pockets,) has been endorsed by most of the Senate Chamber and cast his vote to sustain the veto:

Buckalew, Dem., Pa.; Cowan, Rep., Pa. Davis, Dem., Ky.; Dixon, Rep., Conn. Doolittle, Rep., Wis; Guthrie, Dem., Ky. Hendricks, Dem., Ind; Johnson, Dem., Md.; McDougall, Dem., Cal; Morgan, Rep., N. Y.; Nesmith, Dem., Oregon; Norton, Bep., Minn.; Eiddle, Dem., Del.; Saulsbury, Dem., Del.; Stewart, Rep., Nevada; Stockton, Dem., N. J.; Van Winkle, Rep., W. Va.; Willey, Rep., W.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, referring to this vote, sees in it an instance of deserved political retribution. The disunion Radicals, two or three years since, in order to gratify their malevolence and hate against | the same fate befel the ad socates of negro Virginia, divided it, against the consent suffrage. Tyrone, Blair county, gives a of the State, and in plain violation of the Democratic majority of 33, and the shoddy Constitution, which requires such consent majority at the local election in Johnsbefore it authorizes a division. On Tues- town, Cambria county, last week, was reday, the Senators from this bogus State. Messrs. VanWinkle and Willey, created by the Radicals, were in their seats, and | cratic victories in Lancaster and Reading. helped to sustain the President's veto.-Without them the Senate at the time would have consisted of but forty-eight epidemic will become general throughout members, and the Radical vote of thirty- the State. two would have carried the bill over the veto. Thus an outrageous act returned the commencement of a Democratic reto plague the perpetrators. Other similar vival among the rural veters. In Cheretributions are in store.

Among the signs of the times may be noticed the fact that Henry Ward Beecher endorses the President's policy, including the veto of the Freedmens' Bureau bill. He stated in his address, in Brooklyn, last week, that for thirty years he had sgitated for the destruction of slavery, but, that By fall these little springs of public senhaving been accomplished, he was now for the complete restoration of the Union. It is manifest that if men like Beecher leave the Republican party, Stevens will not have a corporal's guard at his back in the House of Representatives which succeeds the present one.

Tun President is reported by the Tribuse undismified; nor would these words be so to have declared to a party who applied for an official appointment that he could Mr. Lincoln. It startles us all to hear not have it without the condition of givsuch personalities in a Presidential speech. ing in his adherence to his policy in all. But we remember that he looks on the sits parts, and that this requirement will men he denounces precisely as he looks be made in all future cases of appointment to office under his administration. the others whom he names among the Good. Let him not only insist that those securing official position bereafter shall any one who thinks it undignified for him be of the right faith, but that all now in to say as he does: "I opposed the Davisos, office are put to the same test. The day and Toembees, and Slidells, and a long of equivocation has gone by. Those who list of others," and from his point of view are not for Mr. Johnson are against him, it probably seems quite proper to couple and have no right to be pensioners on his ses of Morthern rebels with South- bounty,

ASSASSINATION OF THE PERSIDENT. The Radicals express intense indignation over the intimation of the President that he had been threatened with assas winstion if he stood in the way of their measures. They deny the truth of such a threat, and ridicule the President's fears. Let the people read the following, and judge for themselves whether the President has good ground for his belief o

Dr. Cheever, in the prayer he delivered before his usual political harangue last Sunday evening, besought God Almighty that, in case our rulers (meaning the President and his supporters) "should persist in their present career of wickedness, and refuse to do unto others as they should be done by, He (God) would take them out of the way." What did Cheever mean ?

Wendell Phillips, who made a speech practiced upon it by the Republican party; in Brooklyn recently, to prove the Presi dent a rebel and a traitor, in the same address spoke significantly of Mr. John son as "an obstacle to be removed." What

Thad. Stevens, in open Congress, Jan 31st, declared the President had made known his opinions "in such a way that centuries ago, had it been made to parliament by a British King, it would have Northern State elections, which they hold cost him his head." What did Stevens

> Col. W.S. Hillyer, formerly of General Grant's staff, in a speech recently delivered before a meeting of military men,

Washington to depose the President. The argument was that Tennessee was not a oyal State, and that Andrew Johnson, being a Tennessean, was not eligible to the office. A joint resolution would pass Congress, declaring him a usurper, and all he horrors of the French Revolution would follow. We must oppose this conspiracy and defeat it, thereby showing the enemies of the Union both in and out of Congress, that those who fought for its preservation still recognize the stars upon its banner.

What does all this mean, if not that some desperate ends are proposed to get the President out of the way? The man who deliberately propose to assassinate States, and to deprive the country of the results of the war, will not hesitate to assassinate men. The President did well to who oppose his policy, and to say to them that their covert and open threats will not

THE PRIVILEGED RACE. The manner in which the President's veto message was received in Congress is thus described by the correspondent of

the New York Herald: Throughout the reading of the Executive document the utmost quiet and interest prevailed, which was only broken at the conclusion of the reading, when the ordered the galleries to be cleared. Among those who demonstrated their satisfaction most emphatically was a considerable squad of suldiers, who were not at all measured in their reprobation of the order torrent of Radicalism which threatens to stifling their outhusiasm over the message sweep over and ruin the best interests of of the President. While the Chair was element, faint hisses emanated from the rear of the gallery from a few individuals ate and retain their seats. The order to vacate was carried into effect, however, save in the sections occupied by ladies and those allotted to negroes.

The reputation of the Herald for vera city is not the best in the world, and we felt somewhat inclined to doubt its statement relative to the partiality shown to the negroes, until we found it corroborated by the Philadelphia Age, a paper the sesertions of which we have nearly always found reliable. The Washington correspondent of the latter paper, writing under date of February 19th, gives the following version of the story:

The President's message to the Senate to-day vetoing the Freedmens' Bureau bill fell like a bombahell in the radical camp. As soon as it became known that it was in the Senate, crowds of members of the House of both parties hurried over to hear it read. Shortly after three o'clock it was called up and read from the Clerk's desk, and was listened to with profound attention. When it was concluded the white people in the galleries cheered loudly and the negroes indulged in a torrent of husses. The presiding officer (Foster) ordered the white gallery to be cleared, but the darkies were not molested

THE CRY IS STILL THEY COME!" Borough and township elections have recently been held in several portions of our State, and have resulted in signal triumphs for the Democracy. In Elk county they made a clean sweep, except in one election district, where there was a split in the party; and in Hollidayaburg duced from 250 to an average of 70 votes. We have already chronicled the Demoand, judging from the tone of many letters received, we have no doubt that the

The town elections in New York show mung county we have gained two supervisors, and in the township of Morseheads the whole Democratic ticket, with one exception, was elected. This is the first instance of the kind in three years. There are not many actual changes in the returns so far received from other counties : but there are handsome gains everywhere. timent will have become a terrent, which will sweep away the disunion majority in the House of Representatives

DRIFTING TOWARD THE UNION .- The Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Chase alone dissenting, has decided to resume the consideration of cases from the lately insurgent States, which, during the rebellion, it was impracticable to hear. This decision is in effect a legal endorsement by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, that the Southern States now occupy their former position in the Union. In spile of all the efforts of the revolutionary faction of the North, we are drifting slowly but surely back to the old Union. In the language of the President. the Northern end of the Southern rebellion "must get out of the way." Public sentiment is rapidly assuming a more

tion of the Union.

THE NEW YORK PROSS AND THE PRESIDENTS While the petty Republicate journals

are nearly all backing vociferously at the Prosident's beels, the great leading organs of public opinion, published in New both of his voto and speech. The Tribune is alone in outspoken denunciation, while the World, Herald, News, Express and Post enthusiastically endorse his position. Even the Times, which has never hereto fore qualled in its support of any mess ure demanded by the radicals, comes up boldly to his defence. We recommend to those Republicans in this vicinity who were so much scared by the pointedness of Mr. Johnson's speech, the following editorial from the latter paper of Satur-

The birthday of Washington was fittingly chosen for popular demonstrations in favor of the Union. That in this city was triumphant. That in Washington equally enthusiastic, was even more significant, for there the President himself uttered "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." That great effort of wisdom and patriotism will secure for him the gratitude of his own country and the approbation of the world. When this wonderful speech has been attentively read and thornughly digested by the American people, President Johnson will be as firmly established in their confidence and affections as the most popular of his pre-

There is not a point touched in the speech that does not find response in Union-loving hearts. Its rebuke of traitors and demagogues is alike stern and deserved. The denunciation of Slidell and Toomba for attempting to destroy the Union by rebellion, and of Stevens, Sumner and Phillips, for resisting the work of reconstruction is as great as severe. The injustice and cruelty of Congress to Tenclear that 'all who run may read." inconsistency and absurdity of declaring as we did, that States were not out of the Union, and could not be taken out, and fter expending thousands of millions of dollars and deep rivers of blood to establish that fact, to turn round and say that States are out of the Union, and shall not ome in, is made as clear as the sun that brightened this morning. The lesson of duty towards offending brethren w o acknowledge their offense and promise amendment, is eloquently and reverently impressed. The interview with President Lincoln, showing what were the views of the late President on the subject of Constitutional amendments is full of instruc-

The assurance found in every sentiment and sentence of this enlightened speech that President Johnson adheres inflexibly to all the principles avowed during the rebellion: that he reiterates his solemn conviction that "treason is crime," and that official traitors should be punished, and that the enemies of the Government are his enemies, and its friends his friends. is full of encouragement, and will unite and invigorate a people upon whose judgment and patriotism be so confidently re poses. His faith will save him and the country. Indeed, from the 22d day of February, 1866, the Union, with all the stripes and stars by which it is emblasoned, is a fixed fact.

Tur Radicals, in their rage at the boldness of the President's speech, have revived the old stories of his intemperance, and attribute the utterances made by him to the effects of liquor. This assertion, at the hands of the Washington correspondent; of the Tribune, who writes to that

Some of the President's friends are today endeavoring to palliate the President's performance yesterday on the ground that he was under the influence fliquor; this. however, is without fount dation. The President, according to the accounts given by the most trustworthy witnesses, was entirely sober when he deivered his speech. The apology is not available in this instance.

We have only to say that if the Presi dent was intoxicated, he is the most sensible drunken man we have ever heard of His speech contains more genuine patriotism and pratical good sense than the Radical leaders, all put together, have uttered in their soberest moments.

The Republicans now remind us of candidate for constable when on an electioneering tramp. He agrees with everybody he meets, and is in favor of whatever the man he meets is in favor of. Thus the Republican Convention of Connecticut passed, in substance, these two resolutions:

1. Resolved. That we heartily indorse President Johnson in his efforts to bring the Southern States into the Union. 2. Reso'ved. That we heartily indorse the fforts of the majority in Congress to keep them out.

The resolutions of which these are the pith, were the sort adopted previous to the President's speech. We fear that since that effort the President will not have the honor of receiving any more endorsements.

Mr. Bownes, editor of the Springfield Republican, (Radical) writes from Wash. ington that "in the first struggle over the veto message Seward, Welles, Dennison and McCullough were very active in its favor-in fact, I think we owe the veto to them. They might have pursuaded the and Dennison naturally stand by their bread and butter, as they have always Speed were opposed to the veto, but Speed was mild in opposition. Harlan and Stanton were outspoken, and now the question mooted is-will they leave the Cabinet?" Not unless they are kicked before another week passes by,

Norice.-The Democratic voters of Mill the Town Hall. MANY DEHOCRATS.

Literary.

The March number of the Atlantic Monthly contains a highly interesting article entitled "An Amesonian Pio Nic." It is the first of a series, and is written by Mrs. Agassis, who secompanied Prof. Agassis on his scientific expedition to Brazil, and is in full sympathy with his enthusiastic nature. Chas. Reade's story, "Griffith Gaunt," possesses a vigor and vivacity that rank it among the very best serials of the day. The striving passages troying the government and separating the from Hawthorne's liote Books; the story of Union in order to preserve elavery, and the ture and charming grace of style; and Mrs. Stowe's suggestive Chimney Corner Discourses are continued. " Mrs. Child gives in "Peer Chlos" a sad picture of the inevitable wors of slavery, as it used to be in Massachusetts. The Tribune Association, New York sity.

have issued a list of the Union soldiers buried at Andersonville, copied from the official record in the Surgeon's office. To persons who lest friends or relations in the South, it will be an invaluable document. The price is twenty

Peterson's Magazine for March has been ceived. It contains a large amount of exhealthy tone, and the people will triumph as always. We regard this magazine as little, over all factions that oppose the restorations of the same class.

Speech of President Johnson. HE GIVES A PLAIN DECLARATION OF

MRM CONSTITUTIONAL GROUND. York city, are almost a unit in support THE RADICALS AS AUGH TRAITORS AS HIE DISUSIONISTS. An immense mass meeting to sustain the

Resident's policy was held in Grover's theatre, Washington City, on the 22d, at which the bredigent speakers were Montgomery Blair, (a. member of Linealn's Cabinet:) S. S. Cox. (Dem.;) Green Clay Smith, (a Kentucky Be. publican :) A. J. Rogers, of New Jersey, (Dem.;) Senator Hendricks, of Indiana, (Dem ;) and Benstor Willey, of West Virginia, (Rep.) At the class of the meeting a procession was formed, and proceeded to the open space in front of the North pertico of the Executive Massion, where thousands of people had congregated. The committee appointed for the purpose entered the White House and delivered to the President the resolutions adopted by the meeting. Meanwhile there was music from the band outside, One of the Marshals appeared on the rail near the carriage-way, and announced that the President would soon address the assemblage. Shout after shout went up from thousands of throats. The President suon thereafter made his appearance, and met with an enthusiastic reception, amid huzzas and the waving of hats. There were calls of "order," and quiet having been partially restored, the President spoke av follows: Patrow Citizana : - For I presume I have

fight to address you as such, I come to tento you my sincere thanks for the approbation expressed by your committee in their personal address, and in the resolutions sabmitted by them, as having been adopted by the meeting which has been held in this city. to day. These resolutions, as I understand them, are complimentary to the policy which which has been steadily pursued since I came into power. I am free to say to you on this me to know that so large a portion of my fel- the penalty was death. Was I to yield to the low citizens approve and endorse the policy which has been adopted, and which it is my intention shall be carried out. [Great ap-plause] That policy is one which is intended to restore all the States to their original relatiens to the Federal Government of the United States. "[Renewed appleuss.] This seems to ma a day peculiarly appropriate for such a to that man who, more perhaps than any other, founded this government. It is the day that gave birth to the Father of our Country. It is the day that gave birth to him that presided over that body which framed the Constitution under which all the States entered, and to this elorious Confederacy such a day is peculiarly appropriate for th pelicy whose object is the restoration of the Union of the States as it was designed by the Father of his Country [Applause] Washington, whose name this city bears, is embalmed in the hearts of all who love free government. Washington, in the language of his eulogist, was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen. No people can caim him, no nation can appropriate bim. His reputation is commensurate with the civilized world, and his name is the common property of all those who love free government. To day I had the pleasure of a visit from those persons who have been devoting their efforts to the cometion of the monument which is being treated to his name. I was proud to mee ibem, and, so far as I could, to give them my influence and countenance in aid of the work they have undertaken. That monument which is being created to him whom I may say founded the government, is almost within however, has met with a prompt quietus a stone's throw of the spot from which I ad dress you. Let it be completed. [Applause.] Let these various blocks which the States and love for this Union be preserved, and let the work be accomplished. In this con-nection let me refer to the block from my own State, God bless her! [Applause] which has struggled for the preservation of this Union, in the field and in the conscile of the nation. and which is now struggling to renew her re lations with this government that were interrupted by a fearful rebellion. She is now struggling to renew these relations, and to take her stand where she had ever stood since 1796 until this rebellion broke out. [Great applause 1 Let me reneat the sentiment that that State has inscribed upon the stone which she has deposited in that monument of freedom which is being raised in commemoration of Washington. She is struggling to get back into the Union, and to stand by the sentiment which is thereon inscribed, and she is

willing to sustain it.

whose statue s'and i before me and whose por trait is behind me, in the Executive Mansion and whose armtiment is thus preserved in that monument in your vicinity, to be called forth from the grave; or if it were possible to com-municate with the spirit of the illustrious dead, and make him understand the progress of faction and of rebellion and treason of faction and of rebellion and treason, he would turn over in his coffin, and shaking off the habiliments of the tomb, would again stand erect, and reiterate that sentiment originally expressed by him on a memorable occasion, "The Federal Union—it must be preserved," [Great applause.] We have witnessed what has transpired since his day. In 1838; when treason, and treachery, and infidelity to the Government and Constitution of the United States stalked forth in the land, it was his power and influence that crushed the serpent in its incipience. The movement same spirit of disaffection continued. There were men disaffected to the Government both in the North and in the South. There was in portion of the Union a peculiar institution of which some complained, and to which others were attached. One portion of our countrymen in the South sustained that institution. while another pertien in the North opposed it. The result was the formation of President to let it become a law. Welles extreme parties, one especially in the South which reached a point at which it was propared to dissolve the Union of the States, for bread and butter, as they have always the purpose, as was said, of recuring and done in the past. Stanton, Harlan and preserving that peculiar institution. There was another partion of our countrymen wha were opposed to it, and who went to such an extreme that they were willing to break up the government in order to get rid of that insilitation which was peculiar to the South. may these things because I desire to talk plainly and in familiar phraseology. I assume out, we suspect, which it is hoped will be nothing here to day beyond the position of a citizen-one who has been pleading for his enntry and the preservation of the Constitution. [Immense cheering] These two por-Creek township will meet in caucus for the some arrayed against each other, and I momination of local officers, on Saturday, March 10th, 1860, at two o'cleck P. M., at I stood in the Senate of the United States for the Union in 1860 and 1861. I met there those who were making war upon the Constitution-those who wanted to break and destroy the government-and I denounced them in my place, then and there, and exposed their true character. I said that these men who were engaged in the work of breaking up the government were traitors. I have never sessed on all proper occasions to repeat that sentiment, and, as far as my efforts could go. I have endeavored to carry it out . [Great applause. I have just remarked that there other for breaking up the government is order to destroy a avery. True, the objects which they sought to accomplish were different, so far as elevery was concerned, but they agreed in the desire to break up the governent, the thing to which I have always been Opposed, and whether disunionists come from I did then; windicating the Union of the States and the Constitution of my country. [Tromendous applause.] . When rebellion or trea son manifested itself in the South, I stood by the government. I said then that I was for the Union with slavery, or I was for the Union without slavery. In either alternative I was for my government and its Constitution has stretched forth its strong erm and with its physical power has put down treases in the field. The section of country

which then arrayed itself against the National to the fundamental principles of the men, and who are laboring to design which then strayed itself against the National
Government has been put down by this trong
Voices—Name them—who are they

When the Desident Voices—Name they arm. What did we say when this treason or iginated? "No compromise." You yourrelves in the South can estile this question in eight one; I say, anadorus mercus, or remaying and forty hours. I said again and again, and other, and Wendell Phillips is another.

South, acknowledge the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States, acknowledge continued applause,] Voices-Give it to Perney. The President—In reply to that I was a say I do not waste my amauting a forest laughter and the said of the said o the day of obedience to the laws, and the whole question is rettled. [Great applause] What has been done since their armies have been disbanded, and they come now in a proper spirit and say-"We are mistaken; we made an effort to carry out the doctrine of secession and to dissolve this Union, and we have failed. We have carried this doctrire to its logical results, and we find that we are country, and are willing to obey the Const'tation and to yield to the supremacy of the [Great applauce.] Coming in that spirit. I say to them ... "When you have complied with the requirements of the Constituion, when you have yielded to the law, when you have acknowledged blicerance to the Canstitution. I will, so far as I can, open the door strayed from the fold of their fathers for a [Great applause.] Who has suffered more by the rebellion than I have? I shall not repeat the story of the wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon me; but the spirit of reenge is not the spirit in which to deal with a whole people. I know there has been a great happened to be a Senator. I said that deal said about the exercise of the pardoning amendments to the Constitution oughts power. So far as your Executive is concerned there is no one who has labored with more arnestness than myself to have the principal, intelligent and conscious traitors brought to justice, the law vindicated, and the great fact judicially established that treason is a crime. [Applause.] But while auxious that leading and intelligent traitors should be punished, should whole communities, and States, and people be made to submit to the penalty of head in a certain period of English in the penalty of the same section. [Great laughter.] From the same section. intelligent and conscious traitors brought to asperity and as much resentment in my nature as men ought to have; but we must reason in is. We must conform our actions and our conduct to the example of Him who founded our holy religion. Not that I would make such a comparison on this occasion in any personal aspect. I came into this place under the Constitution of the country and by the approbation of the people, and what did Tround eight millions of people who were in fact condemned under the law, and spirit of revenge and resentment, and declare that they all should be annihilated and destroyed? How different wou'd this have been from the example set by the holy founder of our religion, the extreme points of whose diwine arch rests upon the horizon, and whose span embraces the universe : he who founded found man condemned under the law, and his sentence was death What was his example: nation to death, He died upon the Cross, at testing by His wounds and His blood that He

died that mankind might live. Let those who

have crred repent—let them acknowledge their

allegiance-let them become loyal, willing

supporter; and defenders of our glorious star

and stripes, and of the Constitution of our

ligent traitors, be nunished and subjected to the penalties of the law; [Applause.] but to he great mas, who have been forced into this reballion, in many instances, and in ency, kindners, trust and confidence. [Great applause.] My countrymen, when I look applause.] My countrymen, when ok over the history of the rebellion, I trust I am not vain when I ask you if I have not given as much evidence of my devotion to the foion, as some who creak a great deal about ik. When I look back over the battle fields of in whose company I was. I cannot but recolcentest was most difficult and the result most doubtful. But almost before the smoke had passed away, almost before the blood that has passed away, almost before the blood that has United States, and I am now in the pubes shed has sunk into the earth—before the which I occupy before you, and dring bodies of the slain had passed to their native this time where is the man and where it is the man and wher dust—what do we now find? The rebellion portion of the people who can my has been put down by the strong arm of the drew Johnson ever made a pledge. government in the field but is that the only did not redeem, or that he ever way in which you can have rebellion? One is, which he violated. Noner None the Union; but almost before the smoke of the battle field has passed away-before our brave men have all returned to their homes and renewed the ties of affection and love to their wives and their children, we find almost another rebellion inaugurated. We put down the former rebellion in order to prevent the separation of the States, to prevent them from flying off, and thereby changing the character of our government and weakening its power. But when that struggle on our part has been successful, and that attempt has been put dewn, we find now an effort to concentrate al head, and thereby bring about a consolidation of the government, which is equally objectionable with a separation. [Vooiferous applause] We find that powers are assumed empted to be exercised of a most extraordinary character. It seems that govern What is it? It is the sentiment which was ments may be revolutionized—governments at enunciated by her distinguished son, the imleast may be changed without going through the strife of battle. I believe it a fact attented in history that sometimes revolutions most dismortal, the illustrious Jackson. "The Federal Union-it must be preserved." [Great applause.] If it were possible for that old man strous to a people are effected without the shedding of blood. The substance of your government may be taken away while the form and shadow remain to you. What is now being proposed? We find that in point of fact nearly all the powers of the government are secured by an irresponsible central directory. which does not even consult the legislative or executive departments of the government. By resolutions reported from a committee in whom it seems that practically the legislative power of the government is vested that great rinciple of the Constitution which authorizes and empowers each branch of the legislative department, the Senate and the House of Representatives, to judge for itself of the e'ections, returns and qualification of its own members, has been virtually taken away from the two bray ches of the legislative department of the government, and conferred upon a joint committee, who must report before either House can act under the Constitution as to accepting the members who are to take their scats as component parts of the respective hodies.— By this rule it is assumed that there must be laws rassed recognizing a State as being in the Union, or its practical relations to the Union as restored, before the respective Houses under the Constitution can judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of their own members. What a pesition is that? You lion. You denied at the beginning of the struggle that any State could go out of the Union. You said that it had neither the right nor the power to do so. The issue was made and it has been settled that the States had neither the right nor the power to go out of the Union. With what consistency, after it has been settled by the military arm of the government and by the public judgment that the States had no right to go out of the Union, can any one now turn round and assume the they are out, and that they shall not come in I am free to say to you as your Executive that [Great applause] I said in the Senate in the very inception of this rebellion that the States had no right to go out; I asserted, too, that they had no power to go out. That question has been settled, and is being settled; I cannot turn around now and give the lie direct to all that I have professed, and all I have done for the last five years. [Applause]. those who rebelled comply with the Constitution, when they give sufficient evidence of loyalty, when they show that they can be trusted, when they vield obedience to the law that you and I acknowledge, I say extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and let peace and union be restored. [Fremendous applause] I fought traitors and treason in the South. I opposed the Davises, the Toombses, the Slidells, and a long list of others, which you can readily fill without my repeating the names. Now, when I turn round and at the other end of the line find men-I care not by what name you call them -who still stand opposed to the restoration of the Union of these States, I am free to say to you that I am still in the field. [Great ap plaure.] I am still for the preservation of he Union. I am still in favor of this great Government of ours going on and filing out its destiny. [Great applause.] Voices-Give us three of these names at the

other end. The President-I am called upon to name three at the other end of the line. I am talk-ing to my friends and fellow citis us who are interested with a state of the line. I am talk-ing to my friends and fellow citis us who are interested with me in this government, and I we send our tax-getherers into

The President - You ask me who they are 18 say, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvan

p'y say i do not wante my animalsie we dend ducks. [Great laughter and applied I stand for my country, I stand for the man I have always along I stand for my country, a manager the stitution. There I have always placed by from my advent into public life. There was stander, they have may stander, they have from my suvent may slander, they my traduce, they may slander, they my my traduce, they may slander, they my my traduced they may be said the best state of the said they are they may be said they may be said to the said they are they may be said to the said they are they may be said to the said they are the are they are the are they are the are they ar influence upon me. [Great applain]
me say further, that I do not inter overswed by real or pretended friends mendous applause.] Honest coaring mendous applause.] Honest coaring may courage. The Constitution is my know, my countrymen, that it has sinuated, it has been said directly is places, that if such a usurpation of per am charged with had been exercise two hundred years age, in a parties it would have cost an individual his Great laughter.] Of what usurpe Andrew Johnson been guilty? None, Is it a usurpation to stand between in a conversation with a fellow citi be so frequent; that if it was comin tampered with it would lose its presing dignity, and the old instrument would sight of altogether in a short time, may [Great laughter.] exciamation has gone forth that the va the midst of earthquakes, that they a the midst of earthquakes, that they be trembling and could not yield. [Lasting Yes, fellow citizens, there is an earthquaker, fellow citizens, there is an earthquaker coming; there is a grand swelling of judgment and indignation. [Great appliant The American people will speak, and by instinct, if not otherwise, they will know are their friends and who are their terms are their friends and who are their terms. I have endeavored to be true to the perparall the positions which I have occupied, there is hardly a position in this given which I have not at some time filed I may say that I have been it will be said that this is vally; [laster;] but I may say that I have been if them, and I have been in both braze

A Voice-You commenced a tailor The President—A gentleman behind says that I began a tailor. Yes, I did a tailor (applause), and that suggesting not disturb me in the least, for when I tailor, I had the reputation of being one, and making close fits. Laughter was always punctual to my custon did good work. [Applause.]
Voices—We will patch up the Union

The President-No. I do not went atchwork about it. I want the original cle restored. [Great applause,] But ea of this railery. I know it may be said a are President, and you must not talk in these things; but, my fellow citizen fine to talk the truth, and when principle in volved, when the existence of min in peril, I hold it to be my duty is what I think and what I feel, as I have the done on former occasions. [Great applied I have said it has been declared electrical that I was guilty of usurpation which had and in our have cost a king his head, and in and place I have been denouced for whiten ing." When and where did I whitestall thing or anybody? I have been an Alica of a town; I have been in both branches Legislature of my State; I have been in Houses of the National Congress; I have at the head of the Executive Department of State; I nave been Vice President bortion of the people who can my the Johnson ever acted with infidelity to the mass of the people. [Great applause] may talk about beheading and about to tion, but when I am beheaded, I su! American people to be the witness. It want it done by invendoes and indired marks in high places, to be suggested as who have assassination bro bosoms. Others have exclaimed that presidential obstacle must be getter the way. What is that but (I make me strong word) inciting to assassination the opponents of the Government ast at issued? Are those who want to desire institutions, and to change the change our Government, not yet satisfied vil quantity of blood that has been sted! hey not satisfied with one martyr it place? Does not the blood of Lines. pease their vengeance and their wall their thirst still unsatiated? Do the want more blood? Have they not hear courage enough to seek to obtain the said erwise than by the hand of the assum am not afraid of an assassin attacks where one brave and courageous nu attack another. I only dread him what guised and where his footstep is not If they want blood, let them have the on to strike like men. I know they are "si to wound, yet afraid to strike." If my is to be shed because I vindicate the and insist on the preservation of this feet ment in its original purity, let it be me let an altar to the Union be first erecte then, if necessary, take me and lay it, and the blood that now warms as mates my existence shall be poured on last libation as a tribute to the Unian States. [Great applause.] But let the nents of this Government remember the it is found out that the blood of the me "the seed of the church," this will grow, and it will continue to ing strength and power, though it may be ted and cleansed in blood. I have spoken to you longer than I intended came out. ["Go on."] I merely in to make my acknowledgments for the you have done me; but, before I class, me to say a word in regard to the quamendments to the Constitution of the States Shortly after I reached Walter for the purpose of being inaugurated a President of the United States, I balt versation with Mr. Lincoln in regula condition of affairs. We talked paris in reference to matters in my ova Ba told him that we called a convention; had amended the Censtitution; this abolished slavery in that State, which included in his emancipation precipation All these things met his approbation gave me words of encouragement. Well then about affairs generally, and particle of amendments to the Constitute United States. He said to me: "I amendment of the Constitution not is adopted by three-fourths of the am pretty near done, or, indeed, quite in favor of amending the Constitut was one more adopted." I asked in is that, Mr President?" He sale is labored to preserve this Union. It during the four years I have been to calumny and misrepresentairs. to calumny and misrepresentaties. and sole desire has been to proceed States intact under the Constitute were before." I asked him still President, what amendment is that ? would propose?" "Wby," said be, that there shou'd be an amendment that there shou'd be an amendment the Constitution which would ess States to send their Senators and tatives to the Congress of the United [Great applause] The idea was is is that as a part of the doctrine of one of the means to break up this ment was that the States, if they might withdraw their Senators and Bernard tatives, or refuse to elect them. tional amendment compelling the Sus

without its consent, shall be deprit suffrage, and it also provides that shall have at least one Representati House of Representatives; lat jet presume I am free to mention to you the names and portion of the States. The of these whom I look upon as being opposed subjects of government for the

send Senators and Representative

gress. But what do we now find!

stitution of the United States, event tion of it which allows amendment it

sanic law, expressly provides that the