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THE UNION UNBROKEN.

SPEECH

HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN, ON THE LINCOLN-JOHNSON POLICY OF RESTORATION.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 17, 1866.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. No. 11) in relation to the organization of provisional governments within the States whose people were lately in rebellion against the United States...

Mr. Doan. I ask that the resolution be read at the desk.

The Secretary read it, as follows:

Whereas the people of Virginia, of North Carolina, of South Carolina, of Georgia, of Florida, of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee have heretofore declared their independence of the Government of the United States...

Mr. Doan. Mr. President, how many States constitute that great Republic which the world calls the United States of America?

The President and those who think with him say thirty-six. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] and my colleague say twenty-five. Where is the error? Where is the mistake? Is it in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, and Texas?

These eleven great States, with ten million people which produce, annually, four or five million bales of cotton and four or five million dollars of gold...

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

Table with 2 columns: Area in square miles, and Population. Rows include Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, and Texas.

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Two radical ideas—radically false, however—brought on this civil war, which has cost this nation more than half a million lives and untold millions of treasure.

First, that States had a right to secede; and

second, that slavery is a blessing.

The surrender of these two ideas by the South is now the basis of permanent peace.

Sir, this question, whether those States are still States in this Union under the Constitution, or not, is no vain abstraction, no idea without immediate, practical, and most grave consequences.

Is it of no practical consequence whether, to adopt an amendment to the Constitution, it requires the ratification of twenty-seven or only of twenty-one States?

Is it of no practical importance whether eleven States, with their ten million people, shall be taxed and governed without representation?

Is it of no practical importance whether these eleven States and ten million people shall govern themselves under a republican form of State government, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, or whether they shall be held as subject vessels, to be governed for an indefinite period by the unlimited will of Congress, or by the word of man?

Is it of no practical importance whether the flag of our country, for which half a million have laid down their lives, and which bears thirty-six stars as an emblem of a Union of thirty-six States, speaks a nation's truth, or is a monstrous falsehood?

These are many like questions are involved in this discussion, and depend upon the answer to the first.

It is, therefore, in my judgment, a question of the first magnitude; a question which must be met; a question which neither men nor parties can avoid or put aside. It demands and will have an answer. It is a question, too, upon which there is and there can be no compromise and no neutrality.

Are we States in the Union under the Constitution, or are they not? We must affirm the one or the other. We must stand upon one side, supporting the Lincoln and Johnson policy, maintaining the Union of the States under the Constitution as it is, or we must take our stand with the Senator from Massachusetts upon the other, and maintain that the Union is broken; that secession is a success and not a failure, so far at least as to withdraw eleven States from the Union or reduce eleven States to the territorial condition.

The National Republican

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1866. NO. 125.

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THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

First, I call to mind the language of President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8, 1863. In that he said:

The do further proclaim, declare, and make known, however, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the voters in each State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession...

The policy thus announced was entered upon at once in the States of Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas. It received the unanimous support of every member of his Cabinet. While that great man was always open to conviction, he became more and more settled and firm in his convictions as to the wisdom of that policy from the date of that proclamation down to the very day of his death.

The President pro tempore. The morning of our having expired, he becomes the duty of the chair, to sign the bill (S. No. 60) to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Mr. Johnson. I move that the bill be postponed until to-morrow, in order to allow the Senator from Wisconsin to pre-empt with his remarks.

Mr. Doan. Sir, on the 11th of April last he spoke to the people of Washington. It was on the occasion of the illumination, but three days before his assassination. He had himself visited Richmond, where from the very house occupied by Jefferson Davis he had, from time to time, telegraphed the glad tidings of victory upon victory to a rejoicing people. He had returned from the chief seat of the rebellion, to the capital of the Union, bringing with him, as the spoils of victory, not gold, nor crowns, nor jewels, but the broken chains of four million slaves.

That hour of triumph, in that moment of supreme exultation, he could not refrain, when invited from appearing before the people to add to the general joy. Among other things he said:

“We meet this evening, not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal positions in the rebel army, are now accomplished. It is a day of triumph, and we are here to witness a day of gladness. He from whom all blessings good must not be forgotten. A man for a national thanksgiving being proclaimed by the President. He from whom all blessings good must not be forgotten. A man for a national thanksgiving being proclaimed by the President. He from whom all blessings good must not be forgotten. A man for a national thanksgiving being proclaimed by the President.”

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Mr. Johnson could not abandon it without reversing the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration. That policy was advised by every member of his Cabinet, including, as I have stated, among other names, Mr. Lincoln, President, and made Mr. Johnson Vice President, had endorsed it and sustained it triumphantly at the election.

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THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

The rebellion, wrenched the sword from the hand of revolution, and then, in the last tribune known to mankind, in an appeal to the God of battles, by the *ultima ratio regum*, decided, and in a way as to leave no doubt in any man's mind, North or South, that no State can go out of this Union by the way of peaceful secession, nor by the way of successful revolution. They neither have the right nor the power to do so.

It remains to consider the other way, the third way, which, for brevity, I will call, with no disrespect to my honorable friend from Massachusetts, the SENATOR WAY FROM SECESSION, or the way of the Union, namely, by act of Congress.

At the general exercises here, upon the death of Judge Collier, he took occasion to announce his theory of disunion, awarding, in great measure, honor, if honor it be, to the deceased, of separating the rebel States from the Union.

The great act of July 18, 1861, which gave to the war for the suppression of the rebellion its first congressional sanction, and invested the President with new powers, was drawn by him. It was that act which gave to the rebellion, by which the rebel States were shut out from the communion of the Union. This is a landmark in our history, and it might properly be known by the name of the act of July 18, 1861.

Upon such funeral occasions it belongs to each Senator to judge for himself what he shall say. It is a matter of taste. But one thing seems to me certain; whatever may be said at a funeral, it is no proper time to make a reply, and thus bring on debate. I, therefore, remained silent. I yield to no man in the solemn respect for the memory and character of that noble and heroic man, Judge Collier, and I intend now to do what my heart prompts me to do then, but which a sense of the proprieties of the occasion compelled me to forego, namely, to defend the statute which he drew, and the Congress which enacted it, the President who approved it, as well as his successor, the President who has since called it into question, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired, that as soon as the objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

This, I repeat, was after the passage of the Collier statute, and within two weeks after. It is the later, the more solemn, and the more explicit declaration of the intention of Congress in carrying on the war.

“That this war is not prosecuted upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supreme authority of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired, that as soon as the objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.”

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Mr. Sumner. My friend will allow me just there— The Presiding Officer, (Mr. Hendricks in the chair) Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield the floor to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. Doan. With all my courtesy to my honorable friend, I prefer to go on with my remarks without interruption.

Mr. Sumner. I should like to remind the Senator—

Mr. Doan. With all courtesy to my honorable friend I must decline to give way, because I desire not to have the argument which I am making broken in upon.

The Senator from Wisconsin is entitled to the floor, and cannot be interrupted without his consent.

Mr. Sumner. I only want to say that my language was “shut out from the communion of the Union” not, “from the Union;” they could not be shut out from that.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Wisconsin is entitled to the floor, and will proceed.

Mr. Doan. But, sir, I do not recollect that statute was passed on the 13th of July, 1861,