



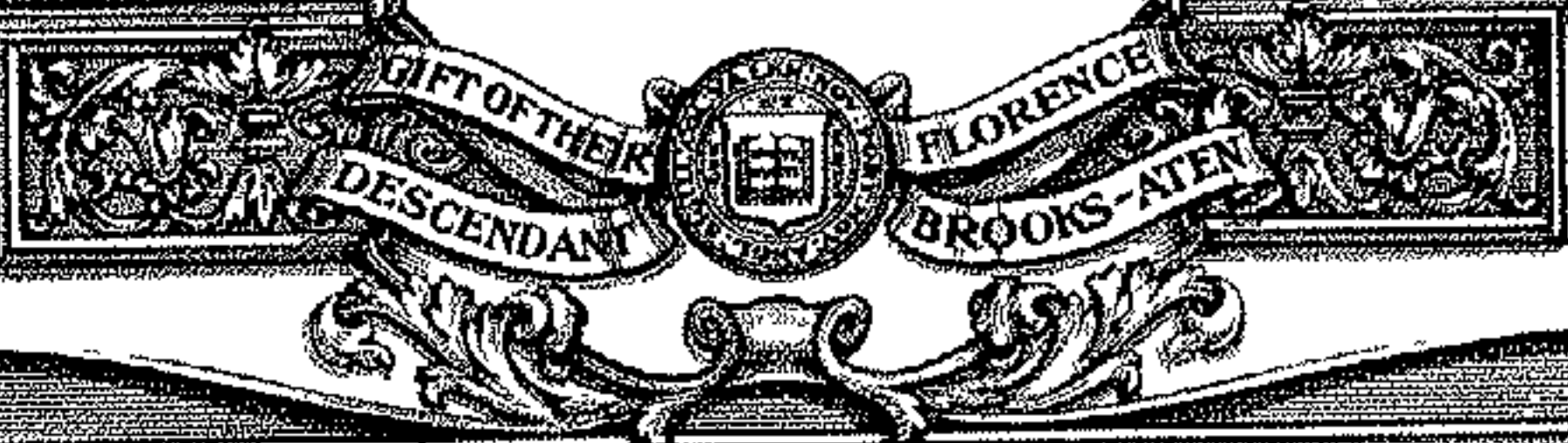
YALE  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
DAVID  
BROOKS

M.A.

*A Graduate of Yale 1768  
who fought with Washington*

AND OF HIS SON  
*Major General*

MICAH  
BROOKS  
*who fought in the  
War of 1812*





AN ORATION

DELIVERED BY

HON. O. H. BROWNING,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF OUR

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE,

QUINCY, ILL., JULY 4, 1863.

*Hon Geo: P. Weale  
with Respects of  
O. H. Browning*

Quincy, Illinois:

WHIG & REPUBLICAN STEAM PRESS, 38 FOURTH STREET.

1863.



[PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.]

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Branks, Alan

# ORATION.

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We have assembled to-day, under circumstances of peculiar and unusual interest, again to commemorate the Anniversary of our National Independence. As with other blessings, so with this—threatened danger quickens the perception, and appreciation of its value, and awakens new and unwonted emotions of attachment.

On the morning of this day eighty-seven years ago, the United States of America were Colonies of a foreign power, and our citizens the subjects of a foreign government. Ere the setting of the day's sun, the ligaments which bound us to the mother country were severed, never to re-unite; a great kingdom was shorn of the brightest jewel in its crown; and a new nation was born whose history was destined to be the most remarkable of any in the annals of the human family.

About a century and a half preceding that memorable day, a few feeble, but heroic Colonies fled from the despotisms of the Old World, to seek refuge in the New, from the oppressions and persecutions which they could no longer bear. They disembarked upon the Atlantic coast, where their humble settlements made scarcely perceptible specks along its margin. They were but a few hundreds, and now, wonderful to relate, they have grown into more millions than they were hundreds then.

They fled to the wilderness from political oppression and religious persecution, bringing with them the simple, earnest, and unaffected devotion to the principles of civil and religious liberty which sustained them in their self-expatriation, cheered them under the hardships of a perilous voyage, and strengthened them for conflict with the greater dangers, and sufferings which awaited them on a desert shore.

They came in humble and reverential dependence upon God for guidance, and protection—took possession of the land in His name—conformed their laws and institutions to what they believed to be His will—habitually invoked His paternal care, and rendered grateful acknowledgment for all the blessings bestowed upon them.

Any tolerable comprehension of the philosophy of human affairs, and of God's economy of the world, would warrant the expectation of a successful and prosperous career to Colonies thus founded.

They did grow and prosper as no people had done before, till the few weak and scattered neighborhoods, thus planted upon our shores, had expanded into thirteen well populated, systematized, flourishing, and happy States.

But their happiness was not without alloy.

Whilst they enjoyed a measure of religious liberty, and an exemption from religious persecution, beyond that of any other people, they were not so fortunate in their political relations. The mother country, jealous of their amazing growth, and rapidly increasing strength, stretched out the hand of political power, and laid it heavily upon them.

Proud of the name of Englishmen—loving the kindred they had left behind, and loving England, as children love a mother, and with neither wish to separate, nor intention of separating from her, they remonstrated against the illegal and unconstitutional measures which were adopted towards them, and entreated, as children would entreat a venerated parent, that their oppressions might cease. A deaf ear was turned to their remonstrances, and their entreaties were addressed to a hard and unsympathizing heart. Implicit, unconditional, and unquestioning obedience to all the edicts of the parent government, was demanded. Their free hearts, and manly spirits could not yield this slavish submission. Still, they sought, by every honorable means, to avoid the extremity of an open rupture; and it was not till after years of patient suffering, and the most humble and respectful supplication of the throne for a voluntary, and peaceful redress of grievances,



that they assembled in Convention, at Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, and “appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World, for the rectitude of their intentions,” published the majestic and eloquent Declaration of Wrongs, and of their determination to be free, which has just been so eloquently and impressively read in your hearing; and, to its maintenance, pledged their “lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.” They were impelled to this course by no political heresy of an inherent right of secession—by no factious and turbulent spirit of resistance to authority—by no unholy lust of power—by no unsanctified ambition; but by years of sufferings which had become intolerable—by a determination to redress, for themselves, grievous, and afflicting wrongs which the government unjustly and tyrannously refused to redress for them, and to establish for themselves, and their posterity, in all time to come, a right to the enjoyment of that priceless liberty which they claimed to be the heritage of all God’s creatures.

They had but two alternatives, tame and pusillanimous submission, with perpetual political slavery, for themselves and their children, or a resort to the ultimate right of revolution, which abides in all people, and which may be rightfully asserted whenever grievances become intolerable, and voluntary, peaceful redress is denied.

They heroically chose the latter. This involved the arbitrament of the sword. The conflict began, and for seven years the struggling Colonies were the theatre of one of the most remarkable wars that ever was waged. The history of that war, full of romance, and of suffering and sacrifice, and heroism, and chivalrous daring, and deeds of “high enterprise,” is familiar to you all.

Suffice it now to say that after many alternations of hope and fear; of success and disaster; of victory and defeat; our holy cause triumphed, and our efforts were rewarded with the most brilliant and gratifying success. The army of Cornwallis surrendered to the illustrious Chief of the American Patriots, and the war ceased. The sword was returned to its

scabbard, and the Independence of the Colonies, to achieve which it had been drawn, was acknowledged and proclaimed. America was free, and at once took her place, as a bright, particular star, in the galaxy of earth's nations.

It remained only to secure the fruits of their victory by embodying the principles upon which it had been won, in such an organization as would give them vital energy and permanence, and secure their benefits forever, in equal measure of enjoyment, to all the citizens of the new Republic.

This was not a less arduous and difficult task than the one they had just accomplished. But "the age of virtuous politics" had not then passed; and the good, great, wise and pure men of that day were equal to the demands of the new and extraordinary occasion.

They consolidated the results of their patriotic sacrifices, and heroic labors in our present Constitution, which may justly be regarded as the most perfect and wonderful political production of human wisdom.

It seemed, in theory, complete. Nothing appeared wanting to its perfection. It remained only to put it in motion, and test its capacity for the practical accomplishment of what it promised in theory. Its architects were not without painful and anxious forebodings. They watched the experiment with an intensity of feeling, which, at this distance of time, and with our actual experience of its complete adaptation to the great purposes of its creation, it is difficult for us to appreciate. The government was launched under the new Constitution amid the prayers of the heroes and patriots who had fought for it, and the sages who had constructed it, freighted with the hopes of the young nation; and, I may say to their surprise, as well as joy, it moved off, on its career of prosperity and glory, with an ease, harmony and beauty, seldom if ever attained by other nations even after ages of practical working and improvement. Every department moved in its appropriate orbit without conflict, and every tribunal fulfilled its functions with gratifying precision.

Under the benign influence and operation of this constitu-



tion our progress, growth and prosperity, in all that can contribute to, and advance, the temporal welfare and happiness of man, has been without parallel in the history of the world. The annals of past ages, empires and nations, furnish nothing to compare with it. We were then confined, mainly, to the Atlantic slope. That became too narrow, and could no longer contain its teeming populations. They broke over the Alleghanies, rolled down into the valley of the Mississippi, and filled it with busy life from the lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico. The tide swept on, surmounted the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and stayed its waves only on the golden shores of the Pacific. Throughout this vast domain a prosperous and happy people dwelt, and peace and security reigned. The miner in the gorges of the mountain—the trapper on the margin of river and lake—the hunter in the depths of the wilderness, and the pioneer in his cabin, on the outer verges of civilization, all reposed under the panoply of the constitution, as fully assured of its protection, as confident of its guardianship, as the denizens of the most favored and populous districts. Every branch of industry was encouraged and developed; and agriculture, manufactures, and commerce yielded such rich rewards as to keep our blessed land a stranger to the want and misery which not unfrequently press so heavily upon the pinched and stunted populations of the old world. Burdens of government there were none. It touched us so gently, dealt with us so kindly, that we knew of its existence only, through its benefits. All reposed under its shadow secure of protection, and willing to yield obedience; for it made no demands that were not reasonable and just. Of all its millions of citizens, in all their varied conditions and circumstances of life and business; and amid all the vicissitudes of shifting fortune, not one could truthfully allege that the government had ever oppressed him, or that he ever invoked its paternal protection in vain. The United States had become a power among the nations. Her name was honored and respected everywhere. Her commerce covered the seas, and sought its rewards in all the



marts of the world; and wherever her glorious banner was unfurled, it became the inspiration and the hope of the earth's oppressed. Our tree of liberty grew and flourished, and expanded as such tree had never grown, and flourished and expanded before; and we all, high and low, rich and poor, strong and weak, reposed in its pleasant shade, whilst the weary, and down-trodden, and persecuted of all lands came flocking to its branches, and it gave shelter and protection to all.

Shall it continue to shelter and protect, or shall its trunk be hewn asunder, and its branches wither and die?

Why should it not live forever? Why should not our constitution endure forever, as a perpetual band of Union between the States, and of fraternity among their people? What has it left us to hope, or even to wish for in the form, substance or benefits of government. What more is there to be desired? What more can human wisdom, genius and patriotism achieve? What possible change can give an added benefit? Why, under so wise, perfect, and benign a form of government have not peace, harmony and prosperity been our continual and uninterrupted lot? Had all been content to abide by the constitution; to reverence it; to keep inviolate all its provisions; making it the rule of their own political action, and teaching it to their children as their political catechism, strife, dissension, war and bloodshed never could have come upon us. We must, of necessity, have remained as one great family of brothers, each secure in the enjoyment of his own rights, and content to leave every other in the enjoyment of his.

But the constitution has not been revered and adhered to. Its wisest provisions have been spurned. Its strongest barriers have been broken over; and now, as a consequence, fierce, relentless, internal strife and civil war are raging, and threaten the destruction of the entire fabric of government, and to give our unhappy land a prey to the confusion and horrors of anarchy. Rebellion against this best and most beneficent government that ever blessed the human fam-



ily, has culminated in a civil war more stupendous, and more momentous, than any in the tide of time. The question arises, and a question of tremendous import, what are we to do?

It was the glory of a past age to achieve independence amid the throes of revolution to give birth to a new nation, to bless it with a constitution and form of government which recognized and asserted all the inalienable rights of man, and placed civil and religious liberty upon a foundation which it was fondly, and not unreasonably hoped, was immovable. Let it not be the shame of this generation to permit the rich inheritance to be torn from its possession and enjoyment, and the sun of constitutional liberty to go down in one long, dark, cheerless night of anarchy and despotism.

If ever a government was worth fighting for this government is. If ever a country was worth bleeding and dying for that country is ours.

But the question recurs, what are we to do? What ought we to do? What do we desire to do? What we should do, and what I assume it is the earnest desire of every loyal and good heart to see accomplished, is, to restore the country to peace and unity. If this cannot be done we are without hope for the future, and all the glory of our ~~future~~ history is chronicled in the past. Peace and unity are the indispensable conditions of future prosperity and happiness.

But how are these to be secured?

I desire to impress upon you all my own solemn conviction, of the truth of which I cannot entertain a doubt, that without unity there can be no peace. It seems to me self-evident that no settlement of existing difficulties, based upon a separation of the States, can bring us peace. Our country is one, and our fortunes and destiny must be one. The inexorable and unyielding laws of nature have so decreed, and what God hath joined together man cannot put asunder. We may separate, but we cannot live apart in peace. All natural causes, and all commercial, political and social reasons are against it. Separation instead of ending would but intensify and prolong the war, and sooner or later our neces-



sities and mutual interests, would bring us again together. It is a delusion to suppose that two nations with thousands of miles of coterminous territory, with no natural barriers between them, but separated by imaginary lines only; with diverse institutions and diverse interests; with a system of slave labor on one side of the line, and a system of free labor on the other; with free trade with all nations on the one side, and a system of home industry on the other, to be protected and developed by proper commercial restrictions; with the greatest natural channel of commerce on the globe flowing for one half its length through the territories of the one and one half through the territories of the other; I say it is a delusion to suppose that two nations, thus situated, could live together upon terms of good neighborhood, or otherwise than in a state of perpetual war.

But this, great as it is, is far from being the chief evil of separation. Adjustment on the basis of separation involves a recognition of the right of secession—the right of segregation—the right of any fraction of the people of a nation to overthrow the government of that nation, in any given portion of its territory, and to substitute another in its stead. This, to use a popular form of expression, would be to demoralize constitutional governments on this continent, and deprive them forever of the attribute of permanence.

But this is not all. It is vain to suppose that, when once begun, segregation is to end here. Both North and South would be laid open as theaters for the fantastic tricks of designing demagogues—bad and vicious men, who would foment discontent, encourage insubordination, and form new governments from fragments of the old, in which they might hold and wield the supreme power. Be assured that when the right of secession is once admitted, and separation once begins, it will not cease till the last vestige of the constitution has disappeared, and this once glorious and majestic Republic is rent asunder, and dwarfed into some ten or a dozen vulgar little despotisms, of which any American citizen would be ashamed to own himself a subject.



Be assured that this deplorable and humiliating doom can be averted only by suppressing the causeless, wicked, and atrocious rebellion now waging war upon the government; restoring the Union to its integrity; and re-establishing in all their vigor, the authority of the constitution and laws.

Can we do this? Can we suppress the rebellion? Beyond all question we can, if we will wisely and vigorously use for that purpose the vast means at our command.

We have the power if we will only earnestly exert it. There can be no peace till the rebellion is crushed; and we can crush it if we will. The war has raged now for more than two years and our resources are yet hardly touched. The force that the rebels can bring against us is as nothing in comparison with that we can hurl upon them if we will. We can, if we choose to do so, and every consideration of humanity, mercy and economy demands that we shall concentrate an army of sufficient strength to overpower the rebellion at all points at the same time, to crush it effectually, and make an end of it at once. This is practicable now. It may not continue so long. The auspicious moment may pass to return no more. Our day of grace may be sinned away. Let us be up and doing, and save this glorious day from being blotted from the calendar of great epochs. Delays are dangerous. Growing dissensions among ourselves, and the interference of foreign powers, may make the task too gigantic for our strength. We are in no danger from the unaided efforts of the rebels. It depends entirely upon ourselves whether the old Ship of State shall outride the storm that now rages around her, or whether she shall go down amid the waves that heave and dash upon her, a wreck to rise no more.

We are environed by perils on every hand, but far the greatest dangers which threaten us are in our own midst. If we can save the country from being ruined by our own madness and folly, we can save it from all the machinations and assaults of treason. To enable us to deal successfully with rebellion we must be united and harmonious among ourselves



—having but one aim and object, one heart and hope. Strife and dissention at home, may, and in all human probability will, prove fatal to our sacred cause, and result in blotting from the constellation of nations, this bright republican star, so long the cynosure of political hope to earth's groaning millions.

Let me impress upon you the truth of a fact, which I fear is not fully and sufficiently appreciated, that we cannot fight each other, and successfully fight the rebellion at the same time.

No people on earth ever had more staked upon the issue of a contest. All the noble and inspiring memories of the past; all the blessings of the present; all our temporal hopes of the future are involved. If the rebellion triumphs we will have little left worth preserving. If it is quelled, and our once glorious Union restored, a brighter, a more resplendent future opens before us than ever nation realized on earth. Let us imitate the bright example of our revolutionary sires, and, in a heroic effort to save from destruction that which their valor won, and their blood cemented, forget all party divisions and distinctions, bury all party animosities, ignore, for the time being, even party names and designations; unite as a band of patriot brothers, having equal blessings to preserve, equal dangers to repel, equal calamities to avert; devote ourselves anew upon our country's altar, and consecrate ourselves, and all we have of mental, physical, and material power to the thrice holy cause of the Union and the Constitution.

Do this and we must and will triumph.

And this it is the high and imperative duty of every loyal American heart, native born or adopted to do. Let all other things for the present go. Push the creed of political fraternity no further than the Union and the Constitution. He who is true to these cannot be false to his country; and he who demands more than these, demands more than the safety of the country requires. Let all other things take their chances, and whether they are lost or saved will matter but



little if we triumph upon the great platform of the Union and the Constitution. And if it shall be our wretched fate to fail in sustaining these, it will matter absolutely nothing what may become of other interests; for social and political chaos, poignant and dismal, will overspread the entire land.

I repeat that, in the present crisis, we have more to dread from internal than external foes—more to fear from bitterness and animosity towards each other, which is beginning to be alarmingly developed, than from war with the rebellion. This tendency must be checked and repressed, or our cause is lost. If it grows, and strengthens, and expands into full life and vigor, just as surely as effect follows cause, we will rush into the confusion of anarchy, from which there will be no deliverance till the country has been drenched in blood, and blackened with fire, and we will emerge then only to seek shelter, protection and repose, under the iron rule of a despotism. From this fate, more terrible than any other that can possibly come upon us, let us most reverently invoke the Almighty Ruler of Nations, and Disposer of events, mercifully to deliver us.

The danger is imminent. We may not escape it. We will not, unless the great majority of our people shall determine to take counsel from reason instead of passion; to give to their *country* the full, undivided, and devoted loyalty of their hearts—to stand by the Government in this hour of storm and peril; and firmly to maintain the Constitution and Laws against all assaults, come from where they may. This is the reasonable service of us all, and if we perform it we can have no strife with each other.

On this illustrious day, upon this occasion of its annual commemoration, and amid events so solemnly interesting and affecting as are transpiring around us, it cannot be inappropriate in me to recall your attention to the earnest and pathetic appeal of the immortal Washington, the founder, and father of the Republic. Indeed my task would be but poorly performed should I fail to do so. Upon the last and most solemn occasion of his ever addressing his countrymen, in



tones which should now appeal to us from the very gloom of the grave, and fill our hearts with awe, he said :

“ The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is now also dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. \* \* \* \* \*

It is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness ; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. \* \* \*

The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. \* \* \* These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. \* \* \*

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute ; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances, in all times, have experienced.

Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and support.

Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acqui-



escence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. \* \* \*

The Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary power; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community. \* \* \*

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp, for themselves, the reins of government, destroying, afterwards, the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. \* \* \*

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of the love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced



by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can, at any time, yield."

Such are the words of profound wisdom, almost prophetic in their warnings, in which the pure, great, good man, who had devoted his life to his country, and worn out his powers in her service, admonished, yea, implored us, to guard from all danger, the rich heritage which he entrusted to our keeping.

Let us heed, reverence and keep inviolate, the councils of him

"Who, to life's noblest end,  
Gave up life's noblest powers,  
And bade the legacy descend  
Down, down to us and ours."

Let us on this eventful day, this annual return of the birth day of the nation, whilst the most solemn and wonderful scenes are being enacted, and the very foundations of the government are heaving beneath our feet, and its majestic columns tottering, apparently to their fall, heed and ponder in awe, these extraordinary warnings that call to us from the tomb.

The troubles which he foresaw have come, and he is not here to lead us through them.

He has been gathered to the bosom of his mother earth, and successor after successor has filled the chair he occupied, administered the government he founded and administered, and followed him to the grave; and still the country has gone on growing in growth, and strengthening in strength, and developing in wealth and power, and brightening in glory, till we were giddy with our own prosperity, and came to believe that it was impossible for the storms, tempests and com-



motions that rock and rend other nations, to touch or disturb us here.

But they have come, and we are reeling beneath the shock, instead of gathering all our strength to meet and repel it. The power that should be concentrated for the overthrow of a common foe, has been too much wasted in vain contests with each other. But let us hope for the dawning of a brighter and a better day. This glorious temple of liberty must not be overthrown. We can and we will save it; but we can do it only by a Union of hearts and of hands—by burying all minor differences—by giving undivided loyalty and support to the government, and rallying to the Union and the Constitution. There is no other banner under which we can, or ought to conquer.

No ruler of this nation ever had such complicated and extraordinary difficulties, at home and abroad, to contend with as our excellent, honest hearted and patriotic President.

New and untried situations, and unimagined embarrassments, beset him on every hand, and crowd into every day. They have to be met, grappled with, and provided for on the instant. With no precedents to guide, and no time for calm investigation and deliberation, it surely ought not to be matter of astonishment if mistakes were sometimes made, and an occasional exercise of power indulged apparently arbitrary and extra constitutional. If such occur they should not be criticised with undue severity, nor made the occasion of unjust and injurious assaults upon the administration.

It is unreasonable to expect that, in all things, our own views of policy shall prevail, and our own wishes be gratified. It is absolutely impossible that this shall be so; for our own opinions of what, under given circumstances, is most wise, just and expedient, are almost as various as our features.

We know that the President is honest, sincere, patriotic; in purpose, loyal to the Constitution; in action, devoted heart and soul, to the cause of his bleeding country, and determined at whatever self-sacrifice, at whatever personal peril, to



rescue her from the hands of the conspirators, and restore her, with her past glories undimmed, to her proud eminence among the nations of the earth. We know that he is incapable of recreancy to the sacred trusts which have been committed to his hands, and equally incapable of usurping an ungranted power and wielding it to the detriment of that public liberty of which he is, for the time being, the chosen sworn and consecrated guardian.

We know that the army is composed of our brethren, friends, and neighbors who, not as mercenaries, but as patriots, peril their all upon the battle-field to maintain that public liberty, and uphold that government, which is their birth-right, as it is ours, and which is as dear to them, and as vital to their well being, as it can possibly be to us. Earth never resounded to the tread of an army gathered in a holier cause, or inspired by purer or nobler motives. No desire of revenge, no lust of gold, no ambition for conquest, but an exalted and intelligent comprehension of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and entire devotion to the government, under whose protection we have so long and so well enjoyed these priceless blessings, called them to arms, and rallied them to the support of the flag, radiant with the glories, and cannonized in their hearts by the memories of the past. The patience, and fortitude with which they have borne the privations and hardships of the tent and the march, are hardly less sublime than the heroism with which they have devoted themselves to death in the storm and tempest of war. Amid the clash of sabre and bayonet, the roar of cannon, and the fiercest shock of battle, their hearts still turn, yearning to the loved ones they have left behind, and pant for the hour of return to the enchantments of home. It is for the security of these, the protection and perpetuity of these, they are giving themselves willing sacrifices upon their country's altar.

Such an army cannot be made the instrument of a despot—such a President can never become a usurper.

Let us exercise a generous trust and confidence in the Pres-



ident and the army. They are part and parcel of us, and cannot separate their fortunes from ours.

We have all embarked in the same cause, and adventured upon the same sea, bearing with us all that can be dear and precious to us on earth; and we must sink or swim, survive or perish together. Let us hold up their hands, strengthen their arms and encourage their hearts. Let us stand by them at home, as they stand by us in the cabinet and field; and though we cannot now penetrate the gloom that envelopes us, nor catch one ray of light beyond; and though the clouds that overhang us are threatening and portentous, all shall yet be well.

The storm of battle that now rages shall culminate in glorious victory, and the bow of peace shall gild with its splendors our shrouded horizon.

As I have said on a former occasion, "If we rise to this great occasion, grapple successfully with the momentous events that are upon us, save the life of the nation, re-unite it, and re-assert its authority, and come from the conflict, bringing the Constitution unharmed with us, perfect in its strength, and in the harmony and majesty of its proportions, the page that bears the record of the achievement will be gilded with a brighter glory, will glow with a purer ray, than any in the annals of our race."

Then again with the lofty, dignified pride of American freemen, we may lift our eyes to the loved old banner as it proudly unfolds above us, radiant with new glories, and inviting new stars to its azure field, and exclaim, as in days of old—

"Flag of the free heart's hope and home!  
By angel hands to valor given;  
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,  
And all thy hues were born in Heaven.  
Forever float that standard sheet!  
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,  
With freedom's soil beneath our feet,  
And freedom's banner streaming o'er us."