



M  
H321.80

# ORATION

OF THE

HON. RICHARD A. HARRISON,

DELIVERED AT

PLEASANT VALLEY, MADISON COUNTY, OHIO,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY, A. D. 1863.

[Published by the Citizens before Whom it was Delivered.]

LONDON, O.  
MADISON COUNTY UNION PRINT.  
1863.



# ORATION.

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Fellow Citizens:*

For eighty four years the people of the United States, through the whole length and breadth of the land, assembled themselves together, on each succeeding fourth of July, to celebrate the Anniversary of the great event which transpired this day eighty seven years ago.

During these eighty four years the American People were united, prosperous, contented, happy, and free. Their happiness, and prosperity, and freedom were greater than any other nation had ever been favored with, by the Giver of all Good. And our entire population met, on this Anniversary, in every town and hamlet of our vast country, to manifest and express their admiration and reverence for their Heroic Ancestry, and to do homage to their memories—to recount the illustrious deeds, the severe trials, the hard-fought conflicts, and the glorious and enduring triumphs of these Heroes—to felicitate each other upon the peaceful and complete enjoyment of the priceless blessings of civil and religious liberty—and to thank the God of our Fathers for having vouchsafed to us, as a people, unnumbered inestimable blessings. Our whole People rejoiced that their lots had been cast in a great country, and under a glorious Government, and the cup of their happiness was full. Their ways were ways of pleasantness, and all their paths were paths of peace.

With deep sorrow in our hearts, we are constrained to confess that this Anniversary is not celebrated to-day as it was during the first fourscore years of our National existence. One third of the Republic is in armed rebellion against the General Government, and will have no part or lot in this great National Anniversary Festival. They have spurned and repudiated the lessons and principles of the Heroes and Patriots and Statesmen who laid, broad and deep, the foundations of our Free Institutions. They have discarded the glorious Memories of the Past. They have madly rejected the sublime Promises of the Future of our youthful America. They seek fatally bent on self-destruction, and the total overthrow of the grand fabric of Republican Liberty framed and transmitted to them and us by the Fathers of the Republic.— They are striving to strike down and exterminate a Government which, during three quarters of a century, was felt in no other manner than by its blessings. Instead of remaining members of

the free and happy family of our loving American Republic, they are traitorously and murderously battling to become her alien enemies.

We in the States wherein the great body of the people remain loyal and true to their obligations as citizens of the United States—we who are endeavoring to walk in the paths our Fathers trod—meet to celebrate this Anniversary with mingled emotions of joy and sadness. While the recent glad tidings of victory to our National Arms has sent a thrill of delight through the heart of every Patriot, a feeling of deep grief sinks into his soul in consequence of the many noble, patriotic, self-sacrificing, and brave men who have fallen, and may yet fall, in the mighty contest. There are very few in this large assembly who do not mourn a father, a son, a brother, or a neighbor, slain, or disabled, or absent in the war commenced by rebels against the Government of the United States in the year eighteen hundred and sixty one.

Oh, that the bleeding, and distracted, and mournful condition of our beloved country may deeply impress every mind and heart with the gravity and importance of the issue of the conflict, and with a deep sense of the duties and responsibilities which now devolve upon every loyal American citizen. I trust we feel grateful for the peace and harmony, the prosperity and happiness, the unity and freedom, with which, as a nation, we were blessed until armed treason raised its parricidal hand against the beneficent Government which was the main source, under Providence, from whence these blessings sprung. Oh, that each and all of us may be saved from the deep damnation of imitating, or sympathizing with, or apologizing for, either in thought, word or deed, the base and unfathomable ingratitude of the armed parricides in the rebellious States, who, having received in the highest degree the blessings of our good Government, have turned upon her, without cause, and are now striking to take her life.

MY FRIENDS, my object on this occasion is to try to be useful. I would instruct to-day, if I could, rather than attempt to please. My desire is to submit to you some plain, practical thoughts—appropriate, I think, to the day we celebrate when viewed in connection with the present condition of our country. I hope I shall be able to make at least a few suggestions which will tend to guide and strengthen us in the true and safe path in the novel and troubled state of our domestic affairs as a Nation. The American People are now being most sorely tried. We are in the Valley of Affliction. We should, therefore, take prudent, candid, and deliberate counsel of each other. In the perilous times in which we are called to act, we ought to be extremely careful that nothing we, or any of us, may do or say, shall ever hereafter be justly brought up in judgment against us, nor furnish cause for reproach or shame to our children; and our consciences should feel clear that we are doing whatever our duty requires of us in this great Na-

tional emergency. The Day and the Times demand self-examination.

Accordingly, as a suitable theme for consideration to-day, I propose this inquiry: *What are the duties of those who, in this eventful, trying, and perilous period of our Nation's history, aspire to be good citizens of the United States?*

The relations, duties, and responsibilities of a member of civil society, upon whatever principles or system the Government may be organized, are numerous and important. But under our government, where every man is entitled to an equal voice in choosing those by whom it is administered, they are extremely extensive and momentous. For, under such a Government, the action and influence of each and every citizen are direct and allcontrolling. By the establishment of our Government, the political power of the country was transferred from the Few to the Many. In order to rightly comprehend the nature and extent of his relations and duties, the American citizen must bear in mind these general facts.

The first duty of a good citizen of this country, and in such a crisis as the present, his *chief* duty, is to support the Government, by rendering obedience to the constitution and the laws of the Union, and sustaining the constituted authorities in the execution of them.

By the very structure of our Government, the People are the source of all political and civil power. The Preamble of the Constitution is as follows:

"We THE PEOPLE of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

The same instrument vests the legislative powers of the Government in a Congress, one branch of which is elected by the people every two years, and the other branch is chosen by the Legislatures of the several States, the Members of which are elected by the people either annually or biennially. And the Executive Power of the Government is vested in a President, who is elected every four years by the People. The Constitution and Laws of this country are, therefore, the workmanship of the People, and those who administer them are their temporary Agents. Hence no citizen can have even an excuse, much less a justification, for disobeying the Constitution or the Laws, or resisting the execution of either. If unwise or unjust acts are passed, those upon whom they operate can very soon elect Members of Congress who will amend or repeal them. One of the main objects which the framers of our Government had in view when they established it, was to so organize it as that the People would have a peaceful and effectual remedy at the ballot-box for the evils of bad laws or of an unfaith-

ful administration of them. They succeeded most admirably in accomplishing their object.

The cardinal principles upon which they founded our Government are the following: (1.) That every man shall have an equal voice in the administration of it, by being invested with the right to vote for those who exercise its authority. (2.) That the voice of the majority of the People, expressed in the mode prescribed in the Constitution, shall be the supreme law of the land. (3.) And that whatever evils or hardships may result from mal-administration can and must be remedied by frequent elections of those who for the time being administer it. Had these fundamental principles been adhered to, we should this day have been what we were three short years since—the most prosperous, happy, and free People on the globe—instead of suffering the woes of a great and prolonged civil war.

*Again:* Our Government is justly entitled to our allegiance, not only because under it we have a peaceful and effectual remedy for every grievance which may arise in its administration, but also because it is the only Government for us as a Nation—the only bond of peace and beneficent relation by which our Nation can be held together, and can hold its place among the nations of the earth.

Our Government was designed by its founders to be perpetual; and if the American People are faithful to their most binding obligations and true to their highest interests it will be so. When I state this proposition, I am not ignorant of the fact, that of late years a dogma has been proclaimed by a certain school of politicians, which, if it had any sanction in the Constitution, would make the Government of the United States liable, at any moment, to dissolution and death. The dogma to which allusion is made is, that by the mere arbitrary act of a single State, or of several of the States, the Union of the States may be dissolved and the Republic destroyed at any time. Let no one say the doctrine of Secession is not thus fairly stated: for, if one State can of its own motion withdraw itself from the operation of the Constitution and the jurisdiction of the Government of the United States, eleven States may; if eleven may secede, thirty-three may; and in that mode the Nation may be utterly annihilated. If the Gulf States have the right to secede from the other States of the Union, (as they claim to have done,) the Middle States may secede from the Northern—the Pacific from the Atlantic—the Western from the South-Western. Nay, further: The ground upon which the advocates of Secession attempt to uphold it, would justify the City of Cincinnati in asserting her independence of the State of Ohio. In fact, their reasoning would justify the highway robber, if he but asserts his independence of the Government within whose jurisdiction he has resided, and sets *himself* up as a Government. Having declared his independence by an "Ordinance of Secession," and

proclaimed himself a Government, why might he not, according to the theory, as well as the practices, of Secession, proceed to levy war on all such as will not assent to whatever he may claim? If Secession is a right, you can no more rightfully "coerce" the highway robber, than you can the State of South Carolina, where each gravely adopts an "Ordinance of Secession."

When the people of the United States adopted the Constitution, they mutually covenanted that they, and their posterity forever, would be bound by it and maintain it. That sacred compact has remained, and will ever remain, obligatory upon all the people of the United States. When two persons enter into a private contract, neither can withdraw from it without the consent of the other. If there are more than two parties to it, the consent of all must be obtained, in order to entitle or authorize one or more of them to withdraw from it. So, FELLOW CITIZENS, in regard to our compact of Government. Whether it is a compact between the People of the United States, as some assert and as I believe, or a compact between the several States, as others declare, no single party, nor any number of them, can withdraw from it without the consent of all.

The false, delusive, and fatal dogma of Secession has involved this whole Nation in a terrible contest for National Life: For, attempt as any man may to disguise or evade the fact, the impending and mighty issue before the country is an issue of life and death. To be or not to be—that is the question. Shall we have a Government or shall we have none? Shall order or anarchy reign? Shall we have union or chaos? Shall we have a united, peaceful, renowned Nation, or shall we have numerous, belligerent, contemptible States?

These are the issues which Secession has forced upon us—issues which the Government could not avoid. That these would become the issues whenever an attempt was made to practically carry out this monstrous heresy, every discerning mind clearly foresaw. The dogma itself is a gross and outrageous impeachment of the wisdom of the founders of the Republic. *They were* wise men. Oh, rise some other such! These wise men knew that no Government could stand, that was based solely upon moral suasion; that it would not do to endeavor to build a Union of States from which any State might voluntarily withdraw whenever its whim, or fancy, or resentment dictated; that it would be folly in the extreme to provide that the constitution, and the laws made in pursuance of it, should be the supreme law of the land only when it suited the pleasure or convenience of all the People and of all the States. They knew very well that such a Union would be as unstable as the baseless fabric of a vision. Therefore, they wisely and expressly ordained in the fundamental law, that this constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land—the supreme law of the land through all time, equally binding and fully operative upon all the people of each and every State of the

Union—immutable, except by amendments made in conformity with the Constitution itself.

MY FRIENDS, we shall never have permanent peace or security as a Nation, until the monstrous heresy of Secession receives its final quietus. Either the Union or Secession must perish. Our hearts' desire and fervent prayer to God should be that the monster Secession, and not our loving America, may be sent to endless misery. Amongst the most important consequences which will result from the thorough and effectual suppression of the Rebellion will be the expulsion, from the body politic, of the *virus* which, for so many years, has been diligently infused into it by the Mad-Dogs of Secessia.

*Thirdly*: The Government of the United States not only deserves our allegiance because it is the only Government possible for us as one People; but it has demands upon our loyalty for reasons of even greater weight: It is the wisest and best Government ever devised by the wisdom of man.

No one admires and loves the American Government with more fervor than he who has studied and learned its excellencies by contrasting it with other Governments. Unlike most other Governments, it is organized upon such principles that every citizen is allowed to enjoy all the freedom he can consistently with the security and general welfare of the whole People. It is so arranged as to possess all the strength and power necessary to protect each and every citizen in the enjoyment of his rights, without having the power to oppress the humblest within its jurisdiction. This is as near perfection in human Government as has ever been, or as ever will be attained:—the requisite power to secure all, all, their undoubted rights—to maintain its own lawful authority against all resistance—and yet not the power to oppress a single human being. Feebleness in a Government operates as oppressively upon the subject, by its inability to afford him adequate protection, as does the possession of too much strength, by inducing the Rulers to exercise it without as much regard to the protection of the subject as the gratification of the love of power. The chief defect, therefore, of other Governments is, that they are either too strong or too weak. Ours is neither.

The Government of the United States was the creature of the necessities and perils which environed the generation in which it was established. It was probably the only means by which Republican Liberty was saved from impending anarchy and ruin.—The fact is well established, that the formation of some General Government of greater strength, and power, and efficiency, than any which had existed in the States subsequently to the declaration of their independence, had become absolutely necessary.—Unless such a Government had been formed, unnumbered wars between the several States would have been inevitable. For at the end of the Revolutionary War, and until the formation of our

present constitution, the thirteen States were, or called themselves, *independent* and *sovereign* States—as much so as other Nations of the earth—and frequent and numerous causes of jealousies, rivalries, and quarrels arose between them, so that it was very soon found necessary that each of these sovereign States should yield up certain portions of its sovereignty, and thus form a *new* Government under the name of the *United States*. This Constitution was to be binding as soon as any *nine* of the *thirteen* States should adopt it—that is, it was to be binding on the States adopting it. *Eleven* States at once gave their assent: and the first Congress that sat under it proceeded to put it into operation by establishing Post Roads, Custom Houses, Courts of Justice, etc., etc.,—saying nothing in all their acts in respect to the two States that did not come in. They merely left them out of doors. But *they* soon found it necessary to come in and they came—and so from time to time ever since new States have been admitted till they have reached more than three times the original number—thirty-four.

All this was accomplished in less than three quarters of a century. From the beginning and during the whole time, the practical workings of the Constitution have produced the most wonderful and salutary effects. Its first great and sublime effect was to constitute the American People *one People*—one Nation of men. This gave them a name and position among the Nations of the earth.—Under the confederation they had neither. Until our present Constitution was ordained, hardly any nation would condescend to treat with them. But so soon as that great instrument had given National Unity to the American People they began to obtain a place among the Nations, and in less than seventy five years the American Republic became one of the leading Powers in the whole earth. No other People ever attained, in so short a time, an eminence so proud.

Let us pause here a moment to make an inquiry pertinent to the issues now before the country: Why did not the Confederation answer the purposes of a National Government? The answer is as apparent as the question is plain: Because, and simply because, *it had no coercive power*. It did not operate at all upon individuals directly, and it could only recommend the States to comply with its requests. It did not unite the States by an obligatory bond. The Union which it provided was a mere League. It was, therefore, an imperfect, almost worthless, Union. It had not the power to suppress an insurrection in any State, nor to levy taxes for National purposes. It did not possess the legislative power requisite to enable it to blend and harmonize the commercial interests of the several States—nor to protect those interests from Foreign Aggression. A conflict soon raged between the several States. They inflicted upon each other the enormous and innumerable evils of rival and hostile legislation.

But the Constitution was so framed as to remedy the defects of



the Confederation. It invested the National Government which it established with *coercive power*. That Government was so organized as to operate, through its entire jurisdiction, directly upon every citizen and every inhabitant of the country, independently of State lines, and without—nay, even against—the consent of any of the States. One of its Articles ordains, expressly, that “this Constitution and all laws made in pursuance of it, shall be the supreme law of the land, *any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*” It vested in the General Government the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States—to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States—to promote the progress of science and useful arts—to declare war—to raise and support armies and a navy—to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions—and to punish Treason and other high crimes against the United States. It also provided that the citizens of each State should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. Further: it *prohibited*, expressly and pointedly, any State of the Union from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation—and from granting any letters of marque and reprisal—and from emitting any bills of credit—and from laying any imposts or duties without the consent of Congress—and from laying any duty of tonnage—and from keeping troops or ships of war in time of peace—and from entering into any agreement or compact with any other State, or with a foreign power—and from engaging in war unless actually invaded by a foreign foe or another State.

Here, then, we have a Government, established by the People of the United States, and invested by them with all the attributes and authority of sovereign power. While this Government did not wholly obliterate State lines, nor abolish State Governments, it *did* create a National Sovereignty superior to and above and beyond the control of the States as such, and it expressly prohibited the States from exercising any powers inconsistent with the supreme authority of the National Government. Let it be always remembered, that that sovereign, supreme authority, was conferred upon our Government by the People of the whole United States; and that they, (the People,) in the Preamble which I have already quoted, solemnly declared that the Constitution so ordained by them was the *Constitution for the United States of America*, ordained to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty—not a Constitution for nor of such States as might *voluntarily* remain in the Union formed by it, nor of all the States *separately*. The Union was not intended to be and is not a mere league or compact between the States. It is a Union of all the People within the limits of the United States of America, established for the mutual protection and common defense of all against foreign aggressions and internal dissensions. In short, it is a Union

for all the great and beneficent purposes to be accomplished by a powerful, free, ever-enduring Nation. All this is clearly shown by the brief history of the failure of the Confederation, and the establishment, and the reasons for the establishment, of the Constitution, which I have stated, as well as from the declared intent and plain provisions of the instrument itself.

From these considerations, it follows that we not only owe allegiance to the National Government, but that the primary and *paramount* allegiance of every citizen of the United States is to that Government. Whatever allegiance a citizen of a State may owe to it, is, and from the very nature of our Federal system must be, secondary and inferior to the allegiance he owes to the Nation at large. I trust I love and cherish with ardent devotion, our own great, growing and beautiful State: But I confess I love the thirty-four States, united under one Constitution, thirty-four times more than I love Ohio.

MY FRIENDS, when we reflect upon the vast and manifold blessings which the National Government has conferred upon all the People of the United States, it is difficult to actually realize the fact that hundreds of thousands of the very men who have received, most bountifully, its benefits and blessings, and have had most to do with its administration during the last thirty years, are now, and have been the last two years, in arms for the avowed and express purpose of destroying it. This fact can hardly be explained upon any other hypothesis than that whole sections of People, like single individuals, are sometimes suddenly seized with insanity—madness. For, the leaders of this treasonable revolt, when almost in the very act of consummating their treason, were constrained to pronounce our Government, (in the language of Alexander H. Stephens, now the Vice-President of the so-called Confederate States,) “One of the “most beneficent the world has ever known.”

But I must hasten on. It is the duty of every American citizen to love and cherish, with constancy, ardor, and devotion, the Union of these States, and to do all that within him lies to uphold, preserve, and perpetuate it.

I will not repeat what has been said as to what it has already accomplished. I shall only add a few words. From thirteen feeble States on our eastern coast, without influence or standing in the world, crippling each other's prosperity by hostile legislation, the American People, under the aegis of the Union, have become a Republic almost boundless in extent—laying a hand on both the Oceans—with all their vast, varied, ever-increasing commercial and mercantile relations and interests mingled, adjusted and protected by a single Government—the Government of the Union. All the arts and pursuits of peace have grown, prospered, and extended, as they have never done among any other People. Our progress has been unexampled in the history of mankind.

The primary object of the establishment of the Government of

the United States was "to form a more perfect Union"—a Union which should protect all within its jurisdiction and be in its nature indissoluble. Our National Life is dependent upon the Union. It is the Rock of our Salvation. The moment it is broken we shall become, through weakness and dissensions, subservient to Foreign Intrigue, Dictation, and Dominion, and the prey of Internal Factions and Anarchy. If the People of the United States should consent to separation—agree to the dissolution of the glorious Union of their Fathers—*where can the line be drawn?* Do you reply, draw it betwixt the Gulf States and the rest? But do you not know that the leaders of the Rebellion will not even consent that the line shall be drawn there? They demand the Border States as well as the Gulf States. But the Border States protest—indignantly and justly protest, as well they may—to being attached to the Imperial Despotism which Davis and his co-conspirators against the liberties of the American People are endeavoring to establish. Will you, then, force them into the loathed connection? Will you drive them, if you can, from the Union of your Fathers and of their Fathers?

The Almighty Hand who fashioned this Western World, designed it for one People—one Nation. Nature did not provide any boundary line between the North and the South. There is nowhere between them a mountain-chain like the Alleghanies or the Rocky Mountains—nor an ocean—not even a great river. We have the Mississippi. But that does not run its mighty course from the West to the Atlantic; on the contrary, it flows from the East to the West, and thence to the Gulf of Mexico—carrying on its bosom as Nature designed it should, the abundant, and munificent, and varied products of the beautiful valleys which it fertilizes, and carrying back in their place the sugar, rice, and cotton, of our Southern borders as well as imports from foreign climes.

Consent to a *single* division of the Union, and the dreadful and destructive work of separation and disintegration will go on, and on, and on, until the thirty-four States will become thirty four Mexicos. We even now hear, in our very midst, and while the Government is fighting for existence, significant hints about leaving New England "out in the cold!" Should the Union be separated into several independent and Sovereign States, no man of ordinary intelligence can for a moment believe they can live peaceably. If there were great natural barriers separating them, possibly friendly relations might be maintained between them. But there are no such barriers. Thomas Jefferson wisely said, "we have seldom seen *neighborhood* produce affection among Nations. The reverse is almost the universal truth." Another high authority has truly remarked, that "*neighboring* Nations are *naturally enemies* of each other, unless their common weakness forces them to league in a Confederate Republic, and their Constitution prevents the differences which neighborhood occasions, extinguishing that secret jealousy which disposes

all States to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors." Some of our most serious causes of trouble and disquiet heretofore have grown out of frontier enmities and quarrels. Every one must see that by the subdivision of our territory, we should be afflicted with the unnumbered evils arising from exposed frontiers.—What a fruitful source of litigation between individuals, and of wars between nations, are questions of boundary! Both will quarrel about them, however trifling the matter in dispute. Call to mind the fierce border wars between the Welsh and English during the Plantagenet reigns, and the bloody raids that made the frontiers of England and Scotland desolate for centuries. Its history is not merely a sound and vision of the Past, it establishes the important truth, that in the *union of boundaries*, more even than in the union of hearts, lies the safety of every People. If we should divide our territory into two or more separate and independent Nations, such separation would immediately create a necessity for strong border fortifications, and for immense standing armies, ever prepared to repel invasion. These armies would be continually tempted by their very strength to make incursions upon the soil of their neighbors. Each Nation would attempt to check the progress and prosperity of the other by every kind of hostile legislation. As a last resort from these enormous evils, and the weakness, exhaustion, decline and wretchedness, which they would occasion, we should finally transfer our territory to Foreign Powers, and would become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreign Princes and Potentates. Oh, that God, in his mercy, may deliver the American People from the fatal catastrophe of National Dissolution and Death. May there be implanted, in all hearts, an ardent and unquenchable love and devotion to the Union of our Fathers. May there be awakened and kept alive, in every soul, a generous and active feeling of American Nationality. May all our hearts and minds be steadily and constantly inclined to the Rock of our Salvation—The National Union.

A few suggestions as to the duty of Obedience to Law, and I shall have done with this branch of my subject.

In this country Law is our only Sovereign. She ought to be the only Sovereign in the world. She is a Sovereign who is justly entitled to our willing, cheerful obedience, and our faithful service—and to such obedience and such service not only when it suits our personal convenience, but ever. It is easy to obey the laws of our country when to do so does not disturb our ease, and the Laws are exactly what we conceive they should be. We are disposed, without a murmur, to support constituted authorities of our own choice. But he who will not obey the Laws except when to do so is convenient, or only when they correspond with his own notions, or he who will not support the Government unless it is administered by men for whom he casts his vote, has not, I apprehend, a valid claim to be considered or to be treated as a good citizen. Under our Gov-

ernment, however obnoxious to us, or any of us, an act of Congress may be, no man can forcibly resist its execution without violating his first duty as a good citizen and committing a high crime. The existence of that Government within whose jurisdiction the Laws are only obeyed, and the constituted authorities only supported, when such obedience and support are agreeable and convenient and the laws command the approbation of all the citizens, must necessarily be of short duration. The present distressed condition of our beloved country was caused by armed resistance to the Constitution and Laws of the Union. If on this very day every man within the rightful jurisdiction of the Government would yield obedience to the Constitution and the Laws, peace and unity would again prevail and reign within all our borders. And if the wisest citizen of the Republic were now requested to prescribe a remedy for all our ills as a people, I doubt whether he could give a prescription better calculated, if adopted, to work an effectual and lasting cure, than that given by one of the wise men of the ancient Republic of Athens to her citizens when she was beset, as our Nation now is, with treason and sedition. This was his prescription: Mark it! "*Let the People obey the Laws—not the Demagogues.*"

There is another duty which the crisis demands shall be at least briefly noticed. I allude to the duty of every citizen, on all lawful occasions, of exercising the Elective Franchise, and of doing so intelligently, honestly, and in the spirit of enlightened and generous Patriotism. Our Government in form is a Representative Democracy. The people govern by proxy; hence the right to vote. This principle of elective Representation underlies our whole Republican System. Abolish it, and the grand, distinctive feature of the American Government is destroyed. This right is highly prized by all who understand its nature and appreciate its power for good, when properly exercised. Its possession confers dignity upon the citizen, and places in his power the means of personal security.—How, then, can it be preserved and made an instrumentality for the promotion of the public welfare and of personal prosperity? By wisely using it. But what is a wise use of this great privilege? It consists, I think, in the citizen divesting his mind of narrow views, and of mere partizan, sectional, local, personal, and class prejudices and considerations, and deciding for whom he will vote solely upon the ground as to whose election will best promote the general welfare. Our inquiries should be, How will the election of the candidate who claims our suffrages affect the interests, the welfare, the peace, and liberties, of the country? What principles and policy will he sustain, if elected? What is his personal character? What are his qualifications? Is he honest? Is he capable? Will he be faithful in the discharge of his public duties? Does he place fealty to country above fealty to party? Has he the moral courage to act on his conscientious convictions, or will he abandon these and act according to the bidding of corrupt party tricksters? Would he,

should the issue be presented, rather save his country than please his party or his local constituency? Does he take an interest in public affairs from a sincere desire to aid in securing the best possible administration of the Government, diligently pursuing an honest private avocation as his chief employment, or is he a mere professional politician, making politics a trade and partyism his sole capital? Does he treat his Fellow-Citizens with truthfulness, sincerity, and candor, or does he play the Demagogue in his intercourse with them? Does he, when he assumes the responsibility of publicly addressing them, speak the words of truth, soberness and wisdom, appealing to their patriotism, urging the duty of justice to every class in community and every section of the country, showing the interest of each in the progress, prosperity, happiness, and peace of all, or does he rather endeavor to madden and inflame them by appeals to their personal, partizan, sectional, or class prejudices, passions, and interests, arraying class against class, section against section, and every man against his neighbor whose condition or circumstances in life may be different from his? Does he seek to stir up the bitter waters of strife, discord, and anarchy, striving to array "the poor" against "the rich," in order that he may rise amid the noise and din of the jarring and evil passions he thus engenders or arouses? Does he value the Union of these States above all price, and is he unwilling to advise or consent to its dismemberment upon any terms or conditions, or for the attainment of any purpose, or is he willing to advise or consent to its dissolution whenever he thinks he can thereby gain a partizan, or sectional, or personal object or triumph?

In exercising the Elective Franchise, we should be governed by *the principle* upon which is founded the following admirable maxim, recorded in the Koran—"A ruler who appoints any man to office, when there is in his dominions another better qualified for it, sins against God and against the State."

No citizen has a right to vote at any election without having acquired all the information within his reach relative to the character, capacity, and principles,—in a word, the qualifications,—of the candidates. An elector has no more right to cast his ballot in ignorance of the facts necessary to enable him to vote intelligently and judiciously, than he has to sell his vote for a gill of whisky. For, the Elective Franchise is not a personal possession of no value except to the owner. On the contrary, it is a most sacred and important Trust, which every man is morally and legally bound to execute, not for his own gain, but for the benefit of the whole community. He is not alone prejudiced by its misuse, but all his Fellow-Citizens are thereby affected injuriously. No man can, therefore, barter away his vote, or cast it without due consideration, or for the attainment of mere personal objects or mere party ends, without committing a gross and criminal violation of his highest and most sacred obligations as a citizen.

Moreover, unless we are ever watchful, and diligent, and thorough in qualifying ourselves for the discharge of the duties of this great Trust, and circumspect in the performance of them, the Professional Politicians (who have been already described) will surely mislead and entrap us to our individual injury and our country's ruin. Why have unprincipled, reckless Demagogues so often held the reins of our Government? Has it not been chiefly because so many voters have been ready, willing, and eager, to lend a credulous ear to the gilded misrepresentations, the insinuating flattery, and the oily gammon, of the Party Sycophant and Demagogue? All profess to abhor Demagogism; but, alas! what multitudes, with their all-powerful ballots, sustain and keep in power many of its principal Actors! Witness, in proof of this fact, how often the upright, patriotic, capable, morally, courageous man, who has too much respect for his Fellow-Citizens, as well as for himself, to lie to them, or to flatter and cajole them, is cast aside, ostracised; while he who stoops to conquer by every art and device of chicanery and deceit is elevated to and kept in the highest seats of power. It would sometimes really seem that he who has the most brazen impudence,—he who has the least moral principle,—he who can play the Demagogue in the most accomplished style,—he who can and is willing, unblushingly, to tell the people to their faces how “dear” they are, and how “sweet their voices,” and ever and anon eagerly grasps and violently shakes the hand of every man he meets, no matter who, so that and only because he hath a vote,—is generally the most successful in the field of American Politics. When shall we all learn, and recollect, too, that he who thus flatters us does not entertain for us genuine respect nor feel real interest in the public welfare. The truth, MY FRIENDS, is, that we have had, as we still have, too many Professional Politicians in this country; and in consequence of our partyism we have, many of us have, followed too blindly and strictly the leadership of party tricksters. Does not this fact account, in a great measure, for the present distressed condition of the Republic? I appeal to every candid man to know whether the Rebellion was not hatched by means of the intrigues of party leaders? And I beg to suggest, whether the same instrumentality does not, this very day, in the loyal States, strengthen the power of the infamous conspirators who inaugurated the Rebellion. If, during the last thirty years, the people of the United States had discarded every public man who did not recognize and constitutionally act on the conviction that he had a country to serve and save, as well as a party or local constituency to please,—if they had rejected every man who did not “carry the Flag and keep step to the music of the Union,”—I verily believe that we should not now be suffering the agonies of a terrible civil war. And if, now that we are involved in the deplorable calamity, the People would refuse their support to every man who does not manifest more love for his country than for his party,—if they would indignantly discard every

man who does not cheerfully, steadily, and constantly march to the stirring music of the Union,—I as firmly believe this atrocious Rebellion would very soon be subdued. I rejoice that I am able to say with truth, that the first shot fired at Fort Sumter severed my connexion with every mere partisan organization till the close of the War at least.

MY FRIENDS, I have not the time, to-day, to enumerate all the numerous and important duties which the crisis devolves upon us, nor to attempt to point out the various ways and modes in which every man, woman, and child in the country, can now manifest their Loyalty. Thousands upon thousands of our relatives and friends have already hazarded, many of them have lost, their lives in order that the life of the Republic may be saved. These demand such honor as the American People have given, and still give, to the Heroes who established Liberty upon this Continent. The Patriots and Heroes of this War, too, deserve such substantial expressions of gratitude—such “material aid”—as were meted out, in many instances, alas! too late and too sparingly, to the Patriots and Heroes whose memories we this day commemorate. The annals of the conflict in which our country is engaged for the preservation of our National Government and Republican Liberty upon this Continent, will contain hosts of names which will never die upon the lips nor in the hearts of the American People. And in this connexion, let me inquire of you, one and all, Have we not—Oh, I address to you earnestly the inquiry—Have we not in the rich price already paid for the restoration of union and peace to our distracted country, an unanswerable appeal to every feeling and sentiment of Patriotism?

There are in this contest services and duties for all to perform.—Those who are bravely battling in the ranks of the Armies of the Union, as well as their families, are richly entitled to and need sympathy and consideration. Whatever can be done to minister to their encouragement and comfort, should be tendered and bestowed with a willing hand, a warm heart, in a liberal spirit, and in overflowing measure.

Moreover, sound and patriotic sentiments and feelings should be disseminated and cultivated in every mind and heart. The volume of loyal sentiment and feeling should be so increased and stimulated that its influence will be felt,—sensibly, strongly, movingly felt,—every day, every hour, every moment,—through the whole length and breadth of the Loyal States,—at the National Capital,—by every Member of the National Administration,—and vibrate, unceasingly, along every line of the Armies of the Union, and nerve the arm, and gladden the heart, of every soldier and every officer in them. This loyal sentiment, this loyal feeling, should be ever-fervent and all-pervading. To make it so every man, every woman, every child, can contribute—some more than others; some in one way, others in another; but each and all can do something, something.



We must be united, if we would speedily and forever save this Nation. We have the necessary resources and power, but they must be consolidated. If no higher motive can unite us, it would seem that a sense of common and imminent danger should. True, some of us have differed our whole lives upon questions of political policy; some of us have differed since the present deplorable civil war commenced, in regard to the measures best calculated to suppress the Rebellion; some of us, still differ upon those measures; some of us have differed and still differ as to the causes which produced, and the persons who are responsible for, the evils now upon us; in a word, there is a vast difference between us as to non-essentials—non-essentials so far as the issue of this contest is concerned. But there ought to be no difference between us as to the actual condition of the country—as to the nature and magnitude of the contest in which we are engaged—as to the enormous perils and dangers which now threaten us as a People—as to the inestimable value of the rights, interests, and institutions at stake—as to the dreadful, horrible consequences of failure by the Government—nor as to the glorious results which will be secured to us and our posterity forever by the final and complete triumph of the Government. Certainly, all true men,—all men who sincerely love their country,—however they may differ on minor questions, should in this hour of peril, stand shoulder to shoulder—act in unison and concert on every thing at least that concerns the final issue of this mighty and prolonged conflict. We should now strike hands and henceforth remain in friendly union and solid column till our beloved country and our most valued and precious interests are placed beyond danger of total destruction. This we should do, this our duty to our country demands we should do *now*, although we may never have done so before and may never do so again. I know that some of the so-called leaders of the old political parties are still *trying to grind at the old party mills, without any grist*. But I trust the men of sense, the men of character, the patriotic men, of all the old parties, will refuse to further aid them in their folly and wickedness. That man, whatever party he may have acted with prior to the War, who has emerged from the slough of old party affiliations and predilections,—a slough as full of danger and corruption as that which beset “Christian” in his pilgrimage,—has escaped from the quagmire and noxious atmosphere of Partyism, and stands firmly, and breathes freely and deeply, upon the safe, solid, elevated ground and in the pure air of Patriotism.

The Rebellion, MY FRIENDS, gigantic and powerful as it has proved itself, *can* be put down. The country *can* be rescued from her extreme peril. The Rebellion is now on the wane. We possess the superior numbers and population. We have greater aggregate wealth, and that wealth is more available. The maritime wealth of the Nation is almost exclusively ours. Our means of intercourse with the world is uninterrupted—theirs is substantially

destroyed. While we have the mechanics and mechanic arts almost in perfection, they have scarcely any of either. We certainly have as well disciplined Armies, as courageous, as enterprising, as capable of endurance.

As at first, so now, the only real danger of the failure of our country's cause is in a divided North. This danger, if the People will it, can be at once and effectually removed. Let them declare themselves independent of their party leaders, and the glorious work is done. Upon the People, therefore, depends the grand result; upon them rests the great responsibility. They will suffer the woes and endure the ruin of defeat, if such a dreadful catastrophe shall befall us. They will reap the rich harvest of happiness, prosperity, freedom and glory, of success. Will not, then, the People again rise, as they rose at the beginning, to the majestic grandeur of the mighty contest—or will they separate into hostile ranks, aid the common enemy, and be forever fallen?

Unless they are conquered, the leaders of the Revolt will not consent to Peace except upon the condition of a dissolution of the Union of the States and the recognition of their so-called Confederacy as an independent, sovereign Nation. Attempt to disguise the truth as any man may, Peace and Union can only be attained by subduing the Rebellion. I desire to see, as much as any one can, the blissful day when Peace shall spread her healing wings over our whole country. I am to-day, the Advocate of Peace and Union. I long to tread once more the flowery paths of Peace. Take away from Heaven itself, the ideas of Union and Peace, and for me you rob it of its chief attractions. I am for the continued prosecution of this War, because that is the only way by which Peace and Union can be restored to the American People.

The path of duty is very plain. Patriotism, interest, honor, now speak one sentiment—Peace and Union, to be won by force of Arms wielded by the brave defenders of our Liberties.

It is idle, it is weak, it is wicked, to dispute now as to the causes of the war, or as to the parties who are responsible for its existence.

“Let the dead Past bury its dead;  
Act, act, in the living Present—heart within and God o'erhead.”

Let no lover of his country, in such a crisis as this, incline to fault-finding. Let him not give aid and comfort to the enemies of his country, by unmeasured and unceasing denunciation of the constituted authorities, or their acts. Don't criticize too freely or too harshly the officers in command of our gallant Armies. Recollect the difficulties and embarrassments under which all these have labored and still labor. Mistakes have doubtless been made, as mistakes will be always made in such emergencies. Blunders even, in such a juncture, seem to be inevitable.

Keep the impending and true issue before your own minds and

the minds of your neighbors:—Peace and Union or Disunion and never-ending War. Don't, I beseech you, try to dodge this issue. Permit no one to dodge it. Every man should be, every man is, on one side or the other of it. Let no man try to persuade himself that he can evade or get rid of it by howling or wrangling about some immaterial side issue.

There is but one way of putting down the Rebellion. As many of you are aware, this has been my conviction from the beginning of it. Experience has deepened that conviction. The Rebellion can be suppressed in no other way than by the use of superior physical force—by the hard, rapid, oft-repeated, well directed blows of our gallant Armies. Pounding—hard, vigorous pounding—and nothing else, will thresh secession and treason upon rebellious soil. *Plenty of strong POUNDERS* are now the Nation's greatest need. Proclamations won't suppress Armed Treason. Hard words won't do it. Conciliation, coaxing, won't do it. These panaceas have been tried, and have failed. Nothing, nothing, therefore, but superior physical force will do the great and holy work. In the name of justice and humanity, of peace and Union, may that instrumentality, the only one now left us, remove every thing, no matter what, nor how much it may have been heretofore fostered, that really and clearly stands in the way of the final and complete triumph of our National Arms, and the attainment, as speedily as may be, of an honorable, permanent Peace and an enduring Union.

Are we not, are not some of us, disposed to be somewhat intolerant, in consequence of the intensity of the passions engendered by the fierceness of the mighty struggle, the sharpness of the issue, and the magnitude of the interests involved? We should not judge each other harshly. Denounce Treason—hold it up in its actual hideousness and wickedness: But let us cease a mere war of words upon each other—stop bandying harsh epithets. Don't call a man an "Abolitionist" or a "Jacobin," simply because he zealously supports the Administration. Don't call a man a "Copperhead" or a "Butternut" because he does not approve of every measure of the Administration, provided he does not make opposition to the Administration the means of opposing the War, and provided also he steadfastly, sincerely, and earnestly supports every measure calculated to maintain and strengthen the Armies of the Union and to crown with success their efforts to subdue the Rebellion, and thus save the Government. Has there not been, is there not still, too much crimination and recrimination? On minor questions, on questions of mere policy, let us waive controversy, until at least the dead point of danger is passed. Let not a note of discord or disagreement be heard as to the necessity of putting down the Rebellion by force of Arms, and the duty of unity of action on the part of all loyal people for that purpose. Why should we not thus agree and unite? We shall have a common destiny. We are all alike interested in the result of this contest—in the preservation of the

Government. If we would have for ourselves and our children a happy destiny, we must have but one Country—one Constitution. Shall we not, then, all stand by them?

The glad news which has just reached us from the National Armies in the Southwest and in the East, is gratifying and encouraging in the highest degree. This intelligence justifies the hope and belief that on this very day, the most memorable in the Annals of America, the Old Flag of the Union, our Banner of Beauty and Glory, the emblem of our grand Nationality, will again float in triumph and security over the mightiest stronghold of the Rebellion, Vicksburg; that the whole course of the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Gulf will very soon be free from Rebel obstructions; and that the Army of the Potomac, brave and gallant, but hitherto unfortunate, will achieve a Victory that will establish for it an honest and lasting fame, and prepare the way for the legitimate and full exercise of the lawful authority of the National Government over the whole of Virginia. We shall thus, I trust, have clearly in view the beginning of the end of the Great Rebellion.

The Military Situation, then, is highly auspicious. Let us, therefore, still “learn to labor and to wait,” and our glorious Government will yet be maintained and transmitted to future Ages in its pristine integrity and glory.

But, MY FRIENDS, I must finish. May the Lord of Hosts, in His infinite mercy, graciously grant that the baptism of blood through which our loving America is now passing, may purify and elevate us as a people, collectively and individually, and teach us to better understand the nature and appreciate the value of our Free Institutions, and to fully comprehend and faithfully perform the conditions upon which they can, alone, be preserved: And may we be enabled to labor for the expulsion of corruption and extravagance from the Government,—to be ever loyal,—to execrate Treason,—to be faithful to Public Duty,—to live more frugally and uprightly,—to elect, to places of trust and power, honest, patriotic, and able Statesmen for their own merits’ and our own salvations’ sake, instead of elevating dishonest, traitorous, or imbecile Politicians,—to rise above sectional prejudices and animosities, and to be ever devoted to our grand Nationality: our Country, our whole Country, one and indivisible,—to lead our children to the graves of the Heroes and Patriots who have fallen or who may fall in this War, and teach to them the story, and point to them the moral, which the heroic services and the sublime deaths of these self-sacrificing Patriots and Heroes will inculcate to all generations; reverently swearing these our children to defend our precious Constitution and cherished Union as these “our Braves” have done, should they ever be assailed in the days of *their* manhood,—to cultivate, ourselves, and by precept and example to teach our children to cultivate, every good gift of mind and heart, the best sureties of faithful citizenship,—ever being sincerely thankful to the God of

our Fathers for the manifold and inestimable blessings he has vouchsafed to the People of the United States.

Thus, thus only, MY COUNTRYMEN, can be perpetuated, as long as sun and moon and stars shall shine, a united, prosperous, happy, free, renowned, and Christian America!