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The Bulletin.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

ORATION OF

JNO. H. OBERLY

At Murphysboro, Illinois,

ON THE

Fifth Day of July, 1875

On the occasion of the celebration of American Independence, at Murphysboro, Illinois, on Monday last (the Fourth occurring on Sunday), Mr. John H. Oberly, the "orator of the day," spoke as follows:

THE DECLARATION.

Fellow Citizens: In "Note G" to his Memoirs, Jefferson says: "I have sometimes asked myself, whether my country is the better for my having lived at all." With the apparent intention of justifying himself in giving an affirmative reply to his own question, he says: "I have been the instrument of doing the following things;" and, in the enumeration, names the Declaration of Independence. And not without reason did he, in this connection, mention that Great Paper, for, though he is entitled to remembrance for many other services, the fact that his pen wrote it has immortalized his name, made it a household word among his countrymen, and sacred to struggling humanity in every land on which yet falls the shadow of a crown.

KNOWN, NOT NEW TRUTHS.

It was once cavilled, that the Declaration contains known not new truths; and, at a later period, it was denounced as a mass of glittering generalities. To assert, not discover, truths, was the purpose of the men who promulged the Declaration; and therefore, as has been said, it contains no new truths; and the old ones it contains were inert until Jefferson had penned them, and by the vote of the Congress of the American colonies they had become the utterance of the American people. As the breath of the prophet clothed the dry bones of the valley with flesh, and informed them with life, so that vote vitalized, gave life and power to, the truths of the Declaration, which, a century ago, [illegible] to independence and empire, and so lately through a most bloody conflict to freedom and the equality of all men before the law. Still vital, they glitter in the van of the advancing column of political progress.

WHY DECLARATION AND NOT CONSTITUTION DAY?

Annually we celebrate the day upon which the Declaration became the act of the colonies. It gave to us no government; it did not establish the Union; it did not secure to any citizen his liberty, or him in person or property, as did the Constitution of 1789. Why then do we pass by the day on which the Constitution went into operation, when the foundations of the Union were laid broad and deep, and the United States became a nation, to celebrate the day on which the colonies uttered the trite truths and threw into the face of the world the glittering generalities of Jefferson? For the best of reasons. Because, more than the Constitution—more than any of the other words, written or spoken, of the Fathers of the Republic—the Declaration of Independence has influenced the destinies of this people.

AN ITEM IN A LONG LIST.

He who will review the events of our history cannot doubt this; and much evidence might I educe in proof, but let one item in the long list suffice.

In the original draught of the Constitution was the following clause:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who have never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now inciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

This, we are informed by Jefferson, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia; and he adds: "Our Northern brethren, also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures: for, though their people had very few slaves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

THIS COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY

was continued in the Constitution down through all the eventful years of our history to the Rebellion; but in all that time, ringing in the ears of the people and constantly confronting Slavery, were those other words of the Declaration:

"All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain Inalienable Rights; among these are Life Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

THE COTTON GIN.

Four years after the adoption of the Constitution, a Massachusetts man, Eli Whitney, invented the Cotton Gin, and the snowy staple of the South was crowned King. This great invention not only redistributed population in England, and built up in that country great manufacturing cities, but also gave to slavery vast influence in America. It created a revolution in industry, but did not, powerful as it was, break the force of the words of Jefferson; and, at last, these stripped the votaries of Slavery of power and left them poor indeed.

WHO QUOTES THIS?

"It was," says Draper, "the effects of the machinery of the North that told with such fearful effect upon her antagonist, and strangled the Slave Power by maintaining a blockade along three thousand miles of coast." In one sense this is true; but who believes, that if, when the Continental Congress struck from the original draught of the Declaration the clause denouncing the African slave trade, it had also struck out the clause declaring Liberty to be one of the inalienable rights of man, there would ever have been any occasion to use the machinery of the North against the Slave Power? It was the purpose of the leaders of the Confederate movement to consolidate that power by erecting a government upon the idea of the inequality of man—of the superiority and inferiority of races and classes—upon the idea of caste. "The stone rejected by the first builders," said the Vice President of the Confederacy, discussing this subject, "is become the chief stone in the corner of the new edifice." But the attempt was unsuccessful; and what defeated it? Not the machinery of the North, but

"Words, words, words"—

the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence. These were, indeed, the fountain, from which flowed the rill of anti-slavery, that grew as it ran through the years until it became a great torrent and swept from the soil of the Republic the disgrace of human bondage.

A GENERAL BLESSING.

But not upon the slave alone did the Declaration confer blessings. Its words became ideas whose subtle irresistible power has defeated every attempt to engraft upon our political institutions any monarchial or aristocratic features. These ideas have exalted the people into the seat of sovereignty, and adherence to them will not fail to secure to us, and to our posterity, to the latest generation, the inestimable blessings of Liberty. The words penned by the great Democrat of America, in 1776, have become as powerful as an army with banners—stronger even than the

"Words wise Bacon and brave Raleigh spoke."

THE GAUNTLET TAKEN UP; THE RESULT.

The Declaration was the gauntlet thrown down before Great Britain. She took it up, and the struggle that ensued resulted in the independence of the Colonies and the establishment of the government of the United States, "the most important event," as Lord Brougham has truthfully said, "in the history of our species." Forcibly and truthfully he adds:

"Its effects were not confined to America. It animated freemen all over the world to resist oppression. It gave an example of a great people not only emancipating themselves, but governing themselves without either a Monarchy or an Aristocracy to restrain them; and it demonstrated, for the first time in the history of the world contrary to all the predictions of statesmen and the theories and speculative inquiries, that a great nation, when duly prepared for the task, is capable of self-government; in other words, that a purely Republican form of government can be founded and maintained in a country of vast extent, peopled by millions of inhabitants."

BRILLIANT VILLIFICATION.

But not favorable is the opinion of all men concerning our political institutions. There are even among ourselves those who believe that the predictions of the statesman, and the theories of the speculative inquirers referred to by Brougham, will yet be verified in the downfall of the Republic. To this sentiment, Thomas Carlyle, the great genius of Snarl and estimable blackguard of English literature, who scolds like a fishwoman in prose as musical as it is rugged, gave expression, a quarter of a century ago, in brilliant villification of our institutions. In his Latter-Day Pamphlets, replying to the inquiry: "Why should not all nations subsist and flourish on Democracy as America has?" he says:

"Sure enough, America is great, in many respects a hopeful phenomenon. Sure enough these harsly millions of Anglo-Saxon men prove themselves worthy of their genealogy; and with ax and plow and hammer, if not yet with any much finer implements, are triumphantly clearing out wide spaces, seedfields for the sustenance and refuge of mankind, arenas for the future history of the world, doing in their day and generation a creditable and cheering thing under the sun. But as a Model Republic, as a model anything, the wise among themselves know there is nothing to be said. Nay, the title hitherto to be a Commonwealth or Nation at all, is, strictly considered, still a thing they are striving for, and indeed have not yet done much toward attaining. * * * What new elements of national polity or nationhood, what noble new phases of human arrangement, or social device worthy of Prometheus or of Epimetheus, yet comes to light in America? Cotton crops and Indian corn and dollars come to light; and half a world of unfillable land, where population that respects the constable can live, for the present, without government: this comes to light; and the profound sorrow of all nobler hearts, here uttering itself as silent patient unutterable ennui, there coming out as vague elegiac wailings that there is next to nothing more. * * * Cease to brag to me of America and its model institutions and constitution's. To men in their sleep there is nothing granted in this world: nothing, even as good as nothing, to men that sit idly caucusing and ballot-boxing on the graves of their heroic ancestors, saying: 'It is well, it is well.' * * * My friend, brag not yet of our American cousins! Their quantity of cotton, dollars, industry and resources I believe to be almost unspeakable; but I can by no means worship the like of these. What great human soul, what great thought, what great noble thing that one could worship, or loyally admire, has yet been produced there? None: the American cousins have yet done none of these things."

WITH AX AND PLOW AND HAMMER.

The Great Snarler might not falsify in the very face of the sun, else would he have denied to our soil even fertility; but, with the fact in the eye of the whole world, he has been compelled to admit that our resources are unspeakable; that there is mud enough, and fierce sun enough, in the Mississippi valley alone to grow Indian corn for all the extant posterity of Adam; that we are clearing out seedfields to be a refuge and provide sustenance for all mankind—to be arenas for the future history of the world. But all this we are doing, says our traducer, with with implements no finer, as yet, than the ax and plow and hammer. The facts run counter to this assertion. They tell another and a more flattering tale. They say that up to 1848, two thousand and forty-three patents for agricultural implements had been taken out in America, and that three times that many have been patented since. In 1833 the harvesting of grain by improved machinery was first effected in this country: and in 1851, the year after Thomas Carlyle wrote as I have quoted, at a great exhibition at London—under Carlyle's very nose—American reapers carried off the palm. Wherever American agricultural machines have come into direct competition with those of British or European construction, the American machines have been proved to be superior. The value, in 1870, of the agricultural implements and machinery of this country amounted to about $300,000,000, and in this estimate is not included the ax and plow and hammer, nor cotton gins, scythes, hoes, shovels, spades, forks, wagons, carts or wheelbarrows. "With ax and hammer and plow, if not yet with much finer kind of implements," says Carlyle. The snarling author of the Latter-Day Pamphlets must permit the facts of 1870 to correct his falsehoods of 1850!

WIDE SPACES—SEEDFIELDS—ARENAS.

Wide spaces—seedfields for the sustenance of mankind—arenas for the future history of the world! These we are preparing in America. Let us thank, for these words, this Shylock of literature, who would take from nearest our national heart the pound of flesh. What greater praise could be bestowed upon us? There, in the East, is Europe: in the West, Asia. In Europe, the old phases of tyrannical violence and crushing despotism stand in bold relief in the light of the present time; and in Asia, national apathy and personal degradation. In the West is seen the ennui of human stagnation: and in the East is heard not vague elegiac wailings, but loud lamentations over the condition of mankind. From the East and the West, from all the "effete despotisms of the world," a host is flocking to the wide spaces, the seedfields of America, the arenas of future history. From Great Britain has come, since 1820, about three millions of souls, and from other countries of Europe a great host: not to complain in silent patient unutterable ennui, or in vain elegiac wailings, that in America no new elements of polity or nationhood, no noble new phases of human arrangement or social device worthy of Prometheus or Epimetheus have come to light, but to throw off the Old, to hush the moan of discontent, and, with a whole continent for a theater, to awaken to a new sense of the dignity of man and learn to sing the cheerful songs of prosperity and liberty; to be participants, equal with us, in noble new phases of human arrangement and social device, *worthy altogether of Prometheus*, more beneficial to us than the fire with which the god armed man: worthy, too, of Epimetheus, the Epimetheus of the old civilization, with power potent enough to destroy all the political plagues that have escaped from the jar of the god, opened long ago by the Pandora of kingly might.

THE WORK OF THE IDLE CAUCUSERS AND BALLOT-BOXERS.

These come to us, and do not find us men sitting idly caucusing and ballot-boxing on the graves of our heroic ancestors, saying, lazily, "It is well, it is well," but men active in the affairs of life, acting

"in the living present
Heart within and God o'erhead."

Little do we of America indulge in the pleasures of indolence; and, contemplating the results of the valor and wisdom of our heroic ancestors, we say, "It is well, it is well," not in the tone of the Lotus Eaters, singing wearily:

"Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
To war with evil? Is there any peace
In ever climbing up the climbing wave?"

but proudly, in the voice of men who, even through sore trial and great travail, are unalterably determined to maintain what was secured to them in the gloomy hours of the nation's birth; of men who, with busy minds and industrious hands, are making the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

Is this doubted? Then look around you. Here, in the wilderness of America, has arisen, within how brief a period, a grand empire, embracing within its borders three millions two hundred and fifty thousand square miles, an empire larger than all Europe, inhabited by more than forty millions human beings. These have occupied and are cultivating millions of acres: have builded cities as magnificent as those of the nations boasting thousands of years of existence; have girdironed the Republic with railroads: have swarmed the rivers, the greatest in the world, with steamboats; have swung across thousands of miles the electric telegraph wire; have opened a gold bearing region stretching through nearly eighteen degrees of latitude and more than twenty degrees of longitude, forming an area of more than a million square miles; have opened mines of silver and iron and lead and coal; have given to the world thousands of wonderful inventions; have made labor not only honorable but grand: and, with weapons in hand, in huge battle and wrestle, have vindicated the work done by the battle-fighters and constitution-makers of our revolutionary era. The work this of the idlers of Carlyle, of his caucusers and ballot-boxers, sitting on the graves of their heroic ancestors, saying: "It is well, it is well!" The scene is bewildering upon which to-day the star-quenching angel of the dawn looks down as he travels with broad slow wing from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific. The story of American development sounds like a tale told by Scheherazade.

A GREAT THOUGHT.

Who is it that says this wonderful people have produced no great thought? A great thought is an event. Few have startled the world. The great thinkers come only at rare intervals. But here in America was born the great thought that charters of power should be granted by liberty. From time immemorial, charters of liberty had been granted by power. The victorious soldiers, fresh from won battle-fields, crowned and sceptered, had said to the people: "You may." At Runnymede, the bold barons, to King John, said: "You must permit us." Liberty thus came by either the favor or the fear of power. But our wise ancestors thought another thought, a great thought, indeed. "America," says Madison, "has set the example of charters of power granted by liberty. This revolution in the practice of the world may, with an honest praise, be pronounced the most triumphant epoch of its history, and the most consoling presage of its happiness. We look back already, with astonishment, at the daring outrages committed by despotism on the reason and the rights of man: we look forward with joy to the period when it shall be despoiled of its usurpations, and bound forever in the chains with which it has loaded its miserable victims." The people of America were the first to say to power: "You may;" and not in vain, for the people of other countries, the people, the only earthly source of authority, have commenced to think this great thought of our's, which, in time, will topple all thrones, and sweep them, with resistless force, over Niagara, shattering them.

A GREAT HUMAN SOUL.

Who is it that says this Republic, born of political and moral revolution, has produced no great human soul? He has not seen what all the word has, the imposing form of Washington, standing before the marked men of the world, in the elements of human nobleness, the greatest of them all. The champion of the liberties of the people, Washington compelled the admiration of the advocates of despotism: and, at this day, even monarchs on their thrones name him but to praise. The people everywhere reverence his memory. In defeat, he did not despair; in victory, he was modest. Having achieved the independence of his country, at the head of a victorious army elated by success and proud of its general, he stood the guardian of the liberties of the people. Thrice, upon the Lupercal, was Cæsar offered a kingly crown, which he did thrice refuse; but to Washington a crown was offered but once. He did not put it back with a hesitating hand, but firmly and decisively cast it down, humiliating, by a *lofty* rebuke, those who had thought to honor *him with the* bauble. "I am at *loss* to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischief that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable." These were his words. With them he dashed the offered crown to the earth. In civil office he was as much a blessing to his country as he had been at the head of the army. He was modest, wise and firm; and, in the language of Fox, "derived honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind." No greater human soul ever existed. He was even worthy of the words that Erskine penned, when, addressing him, he wrote:

"SIR: I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a sentence which will be found in the book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted of men; but you are the only being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence."

August and immortal, indeed, is the name of this great human soul, for whose memory mankind will feel an awful reverence till the last syllable of recorded time.

"He kept
The whiteness of his soul, and so men o'er him wept."

HAVE WE A GOVERNMENT?

But, though it be admitted that we have a quantity of cotton, corn, dollars, resources unspeakable; that with finest implements we are clearing the arenas of future history, and even that we may boast of great thoughts *and* great human souls, yet, it is said, we have no right to be called a Nation—that we are running on without a government strictly considered. This is the criticism of a monarchist who believes there must be a scepter to make government; but it has no foundation in fact. We have a government that has been equal to every emergency of peace and war. It is true that, at the time of its organization, its success was problematical, but "under the guidance of some of the most virtuous statesmen ever called to administer national affairs," it was put into operation, and experience has proved it to be better than its most sanguine admirers believed it would be. It has successfully maintained its authority and has never failed to vindicate its honor.

PATRICK HENRY'S FEARS.

It is also true that at its organization seeds of dissension were sown in the failure to abolish slavery, and in the use of the words: "We, the People." This expression was denounced by men like Patrick Henry, who recognized in it the hideous features of consolidation. "Should this Constitution go into force," exclaimed Henry, "what will the States have to do? Take care of the poor, repair and make highways, erect bridges, and so on and so on. Abolish the State legislatures at once! For what purpose should they be retained?"

HAMILTON'S OPINION.

A government such as Henry feared, Hamilton desired, but he did not believe it would be obtained by the adoption of the constitution. It would not be, he did not hesitate to say, a great enough departure from the Confederation. He feared it would not have power sufficient to unite the different members together and direct the common forces to the interest and happiness of the whole.

JEFFERSON AND MADISON

had confidence in the merits of the Constitution, and believed the government established by it, to be what it has since been described by Cooley, who says:

"In contradistinction to those governments where power is concentrated in one man, or one or more bodies of men, whose supervision and active control extend to all the objects of government, within the territorial limits of the State, the American system is one of complete decentralization, the primary and vital idea of which is, that local affairs shall be managed by local authorities, and general affairs only by the central government."

THE NULLIFIERS AND SECESSIONISTS.

The identity of the legislative power of the States with, or rather the substitution of it for the sovereignty of the people, between which there is all the difference that exists between the creature and creator, was asserted by the Nullifiers; and the Secessionists held that our political system was a mere league, in which the members had delegated, but had not surrendered, certain attributes of sovereignty to a common agent, and that each had retained the right to resume the delegated attributes of sovereignty when it wished.

THE WAR OF SECESSION.

The parliamentary battles upon these questions were hotly contested; and slavery, alarmed at the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, was easily induced to fall in with the idea that such State had a right to resume, at any time, the delegated powers. Upon the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the Union, the slave States acted upon this idea and the War of Secession resulted.

This was the crisis of the Republic. All the Carlyles of the world shook their wise heads and said: "The rope of sand has been separated. The days of the Model Republic are numbered." But they were false prophets. Events proved that the government had the ability to maintain itself against most tremendous forces. For a time it hesitated, but at last it drew the sword and advanced upon the enemies of the Union.

The story of the dreadful war that ensued I will not tell over. During its progress the very foundations of American society were disturbed by the measured tread of millions of armed men; thousands *of citizens fell in the fratricidal* conflict; taxation was alarmingly increased and a great debt thrown upon the shoulders of the nation. But Secession was defeated, the revolted States were compelled to lay down their arms; slavery disappeared, and evidence the most indubitable was furnished that the Republic is a power a government possessed of ability to maintain its authority within its own borders and compel, if need be, the respect of the most powerful nations of the world. "We, the People," triumphed over "We, the States," and all the snarling Carlyles were abashed.

Over the battle fields of the war for the Union you may walk to-day, and see no evidences of the conflict. Where the fiery squadrons charged—where the blue and gray avalanches of valor met with dreadful shock—where the battle horse trampled the bloody ground—where the torch was busy—where Patriotism made a holocaust of human lives, to-day all is peace. There stands the shocked wheat, and the farmer whistles as he works. Upon the calm beauty of the scene—upon cities rebuilt that were destroyed—upon cottages lifting their roofs above encompassing orchards—upon flocks chopping quietly the herbage—upon verdant fields—upon trees, in which the singing bird is heard pouring from its musical throat a song of joy, and among the leaves of which the breeze is running with nimble feet whispering as it goes—upon all this, the all-beholding sun looks down to-day and sees no evidences of the conflict between the North and South. Nature has forgotten it, and we of the North *and South should imitate her* example.

CENTRALIZATION—IS THERE DANGER?

We have passed through this momentous conflict, and the consolidation feared by Henry has not resulted; but still a warning voice cries: "Beware of consolidation; the process is going on." And is there really any danger? Where then does it lurk? Not, fellow-citizens, where we are wont to look for it—in Congress and the ambition or corruption of the Executive, but where we have been taught to believe our security abides—in the courts of the country.

POWER OF THE COURTS.

Under our system the courts are all-powerful; and neither the Constitution nor the statute law is *the law*, unless it chimes with the opinion of the Judges and the bar. In the language of Lord Brougham:

"The States' Courts, and the Supreme Courts especially, have the right, and it is their bounden duty, to declare any given Law which may have been made with all the appointed forms of legislature, unconstitutional, as against the fundamental principles of the Federal Union, or as against the laws of any given State, and to refuse it all operation and effect. Thus a law, a solemn Act by the supreme legislative power in one State, or by Congress itself—a Statute clothed with all the legal solemnities—a law, for example, to which the two Houses of Congress and the President of the Union have given their distinct assent—is declared illegal, is pronounced to be no law, is adjudged not to be binding, is treated as a mere nullity, because contrary to the Constitution; and this is done by Judges appointed to execute the Law and administer justice under it."

JUDGE-MADE LAW.

Under this great power the United States courts—always, as all courts are, grasping for greater jurisdiction—has become dangerous. The Constitutions are what the judges say they are—the laws are what the judges say they are; and, it is a fact, that for every law made by the legislative branch of the government, there is a volume of laws made by the Judges—rules established, as Austin expresses it, *ex propria arbitrio*; i. e., according to their own notions of what ought to be law.

In this our courts are but following in the footsteps of those of England, where such men as Bentham have denounced judge-made law. Our whole chancery system—the entire body of equity jurisprudence—is the work of the Chancellors or Judges. The whole system has been built up since the jurisdiction of the Aula Reges—the Supreme Court of Judicature of England—was parcelled out and distributed between the King's Bench Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Exchequer. In the days of Brocton, Glanville, Britton and Fleta, ancient writers of the Common Law, nothing was known of equity as a distinct branch of the law. The truth is, it was made by the courts; and the law-making mill of the judges is still grinding on—grinding on in England, grinding on with particular industry in America. The grist that has been furnished to us by the United States courts is not to our liking.

THE LAW OF VESTED RIGHTS.

Under the provisions of the Constitution, forbidding the States from passing any law imparing the obligation of contracts, the Judges have enacted the law of vested rights, behind which all the grasping monopolies of the country are hiding themselves while they rob the people. Says Cooley, in a note to his Constitutional Limitations:

"It is under the protection of the decision in the Dartmouth College case that the most enormous and threatening powers in this country have been created; some of the great and wealthy corporations actually having greater influence in the country at large and upon the legislation of the country than the State to which they owe their corporate existence. Every privilege granted is right conferred—no matter by what means or under what pretence—being made inviolable by the Constitution, the government is frequently found stripped of its authority in very important particulars, by unwise, careless or corrupt legislation: and a clause in the Federal Constitution whose purpose was to preclude the repudiation of debts and just contracts, protects and perpetuates the evil."

It is not this clause of the Constitution that protects and perpetrates the evil, and it is not true, as has been said, that these improvident grants are beyond the reach of the people. The evil was created not by the Constitution but by judiciary law, and must be repealed by public opinion, which, it has been truly said, sets bounds to every government, and is the real sovereign in every free one.

JUDGE-MADE LAW EFFECTING CONSOLIDATION.

Judge-made law stretched the words "citizens of a State" to cover the corporations of the State, and we have seen here in Illinois the United States courts appoint receivers of railroad companies, and authorize them to utterly disregard injunctions of the State courts, *the statutes* of the General Assembly and the ordinances of cities. These courts, within our knowledge, have been used by European railroad mortgage bondholders, in collusion with the contractors to build the road, to swindle citizens of the State out of just debts; and we have seen them command the arrest of tax-collectors, acting under the advice of the Attorney General and guilty only of an attempt to collect taxes due from a railroad company to the State that created it. And all this has been done under the provisions of judge-made law, which has thus broken down the ordinances of our cities, the Constitution and statutes of our State and the processes of our courts! It is now being suggested that Congress shall be evoked to give to the States authority to collect taxes from corporations in the hands of receivers appointed by United States courts, and enforce upon them the statutes of the State that are daily being enforced upon the citizen. This fact speaks volumes. It proves that the cry of Centralization is not a wolf cry. Heretofore it has been the States that have surrendered power to the general government; but now Congress is to be asked—the judges being willing!—to give to the States authority to resist the usurpations of the monopoly-protecting United States courts.

CONCLUSION.

But these are clouds. Let us not look upon them longer on a day like this. In the present, with all its *shadows*, we *have much for which* we should be thankful and the future is certainly secure. The same guardian spirit that has led us thus far in prosperity, warding off dangers that threatened our destruction, will not desert us—will, if we are but true to ourselves, walk with us to the end. To no other people have such great interests been intrusted, and the eyes of the people of the whole world are turned upon us in hope. Let us endeavor to not disappoint that hope; for, if we fall in the race, Liberty will perish from the earth. Let us, remembering the sacrifices of our ancestors and their heroic endeavors in the cause of human liberty, admiring the wisdom they displayed in the organization of the government, do all that in us lies to transmit to our posterity this heritage of liberty unimpaired; and, standing in the centennial time of the Republic, about to close the volume of the first century of our existence as a nation, upon the pages of which is written the story of successful endeavor in the cause of humanity and of a greater prosperity than was ever before vouchsafed to any people, let us pledge ourselves to be true to the principles of our government. We are pathmakers for the nations, and must not become weary of our work or be turned aside by the insidious whisperings of the enemies of the people.