CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN.

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Cards.

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G. R. & W. BARRETT, ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. January 30, 1878.

ISRAEL TEST, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office in the Court House. [jy11,'67

HENRY BRETH, (OSTEND P. O.) JUSTICE OF THE PEACE FOR BELL TOWNSHIP. May 8, 1878-1y*

WM. M. McCULLOUGH, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. Office in Masonic building, Second street, opposite the Court House. je26,'78 tf.

W. C. ARNOLD, LAW & COLLECTION OFFICE, CURWENSVILLE, Clearfield County, Penn'a. o28 '75y

S. T. BROCKBANK, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. Office in Opera House. ap 25,'77-1y

JAMES MITCHELL, DEALER IN Square Timber & Timber Lands, jel1'73 CLEARFIELD, PA.

S. V. WILSON, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Office one door east of Western Hotel building, opposite Court House. sept.5,'77. CLEARFIELD, PA.

FRANK FIELDING, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Will attend to all business entrusted to him promptly and faithfully. jan1'7

J. F. SNYDER, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. June 26, '78tf.

WILLIAM A. WALLACE. DAVID L. KREBS. HARRY F. WALLACE. JOHN W. WRIGLEY. WALLACE & KREBS, (Successors to Wallace & Fielding,) ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, jan1'77 Clearfield, Pa.

F. G'L. BUCK. A. A. GRAHAM. BUCK & GRAHAM, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. All legal business promptly attended to. Office in Graham's Row—rooms formerly occupied by H. B. Swoope. july24, '78-tf.

THOS. H. MURRAY. CYRUS GORDON. MURRAY & GORDON, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. Office in Pie's Opera House, second floor. 9:30'74

JOSEPH S. M'ENALLY. DANIEL W. M'CURDY. McENALLY & McCURDY ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Legal business attended to promptly with fidelity. Office on Second street, above the First National Bank. jan:1:76

A. G. KRAMER, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, Real Estate and Collection Agent, CLEARFIELD, PA., Will promptly attend to all legal business entrusted to his care. Office in Pie's Opera House. jan1'76.

J. F. McKENRICK, ATTORNEY AT LAW, CLEARFIELD, PA. All legal business entrusted to his care will receive prompt attention. Office opposite Court House, in Masonic Building, second floor. aug14,'78-1y.

JOHN L. CUTTLE, ATTORNEY AT LAW, And Real Estate Agent, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Third street, bet. Cherry & Walnut. Respectfully offers his services in selling and buying lands in Clearfield and adjoining counties; and with an experience of over twenty years as a surveyor, flatters himself that he can render satisfaction. [Feb. 28:63:tf.

DR. E. M. SCHEURER, HOMŒOPATHIC PHYSICIAN, Office in residence on First st. April 24, 1872. Clearfield, Pa.

DR. W. A. MEANS, PHYSICIAN & SURGEON, LUTHERSBURG, PA. Will attend professional calls promptly. aug10'70

DR. T. J. BOYER, PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON, Office on Market Street, Clearfield, Pa. Office hours: 8 to 12 a. m., and 1 to 3 p. m.

DR. J. KAY WRIGLEY, HOMŒOPATHIC PHYSICIAN, Office adjoining the residence of James Wrigley, Esq., on Second St., Clearfield, Pa. july31,'78-tf.

DR. H. B. VAN VALZAH, CLEARFIELD, PENN'A. OFFICE IN MASONIC BUILDING. Office hours—From 12 to 2 P. M. May 12, 1875.

DR. J. P. BURCHFIELD, Late Surgeon of the 83d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, having returned from the Army, offers his professional services to the citizens of Clearfield county. Professional calls promptly attended to. Office on Second street, formerly occupied by Dr. Woods. [apr4,'66-tf

HARRY SNYDER, BARBER AND HAIRDRESSER. Shop on Market St., opposite Court House. A clean towel for every customer. Also manufacturer of All Kinds of Articles in Human Hair. Clearfield, Pa. may 19, '75.

LEGISLATION AND PATRONAGE.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF ROANOKE COLLEGE, VIRGINIA, BY HON. CLARKSON N. POTTER, LL. D.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Literary Societies:

Few Americans could, I think, come here from the North for the first time, by the route I have just passed over, without emotion.

The history of this State has been so distinguished and eventful; she has had such large share in the foundation, the trials, the growths, and the triumphs of the nation, that no citizen can well enter her territory with indifference. Her very name recalls that sovereign whose reign was one of the grandest periods alike of English literature and English power. Every mile of the way hither is rich in the memory of great men and great deeds. The route passes by the home of that wise and august man whose rare fortune it was to go down to history as the the most faultless of heroes—so perfect that we even love to hear that he sometimes yielded to a burst of feeling or an outbreak of temper. It passes Fauquier, the birthplace of that great jurist who had such a large share in settling the nature and powers of our National Government, and whose opinions, whether upon constitutional or other legal questions, have an irresistible logic and power. It goes near Montpelier, where dwelt that wise and pure President, who was one of the ablest and most practical statesmen of his age. It winds round the noble hill where the Sage of Monticello—patriot, philosopher and statesman—dispensed a lavish hospitality, in keeping with his warm heart and liberal ideas.

Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Marshall; names second to none in all our national history.

Then our route goes on to Charlottesville, the scene of some of the great efforts of that wonderful orator, whose fiery patriotism and marvellous eloquence have hung a halo around the name of Patrick Henry. It passes through the grounds of that University where so many learned and distinguished men have been educated, suggesting by contrast the days when Sir William Berkeley thanked "God that there was within Virginia neither free schools, nor newspapers, nor printing." Then it follows down the fair Blue Ridge, whose extended forests recall the pioneers of the frontier, and notably that far-seeing woodsman George Rogers Clarke, "the Hannibal of the West," to whose wisdom and energy and courage we so largely owe the territory between the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico.

And so as we pass on from the homes of the Lees and the Masons to the country of the Randolphs and the Lewises, we come hour by hour upon some spot famous in history—some name that recalls great deeds. We cross streams that in the early times of Indian hostilities, and again in later years of civilized combat, ran red with blood. We pass over fields where great armies have met in the shock of battle. We go by towns that were the homes of statesmen and jurists, men who in the Senate, in the forum, and in the Executive chair, have given character and direction to the nation. Everywhere, our way is rich in the memories and stirring from the events that it recalls, until we come, aglow with high thoughts and great recollections, to this home of education, planted amid all these great names and great scenes.

Surely, if there were any virtue in the statues and inscriptions with which the ancients surrounded their youth, that, fired by the example of the good and great who had gone before them, they might be excited to nobler effort, you, young gentlemen, growing up among such scenes, living among such names, inspired day by day by these recollections—you, too, have always about you a like incentive to higher efforts and to worthier life.

PHYSICAL ADVANTAGES OF VIRGINIA.

I think a Northern visitor coming for the first time to Virginia will also be surprised at how little it resembles the South, as a part of which we class it. The agriculture, the productions, the face of the country, the mountain summits, the wooded ranges, the charming valleys, the swift streams, the bubbling springs here, are all foreign to what we are wont to consider as the physical features of the South.

Indeed, the climate of Virginia is more akin to the climate of England than is either the climate of New England, with its rigorous winters, or that of the Southern States, with their extremes of heat; and as the colony was favored with a productive soil and other great natural advantages, the English came naturally and readily to settle here.

Among these immigrants were many leading families, who brought with them to the colony considerable wealth, and they brought here perhaps more than to any other part of the continent, because more suited for such habits, the pursuits and amusements of the land from which they came. Here, as at home, were large landed proprietors, and a distinct laboring class; and here, as there, grew up a love of the sports of the field, a fondness for outdoor exercise, and manly and vigorous amusements. Here, even more than there, independence of opinion and liberality of thought prevailed, at the same time that decent respect for precedent and authority was cherished, while higher education and elegant cultivation were not neglected.

And thus it happened that Virginia, whose House of Burgesses was the first legislative chamber in the land, had come, when the Revolution broke out, to be far the richest, the most developed, and the most influential of the colonies.

THE LONG PREPARATION FOR SELF GOVERNMENT.

The revolutionary war was no sudden and accidental movement. Neither was it caused by any special measure of oppression. It was inevitable that, separated as the colonies were by weeks of time and thousands of miles of distance from the mother country, unlike as they were to that country in their situation, necessities and opportunities, they could not be well governed from Great Britain. No matter how wise the ministry at home who directed the colonial government were, nor how good, they could neither understand nor appreciate what the far off colonies required. And thus it was unavoidable that their government of the colonies should prove in the end irksome and oppressive.

It was this necessity that gradually constrained the people of the colonies to separate themselves from their mother country. For them, this separation was not only a serious and dangerous, but a sad and trying business. Their pride, their affection, their sense of their own weakness, their knowledge of the power of Great Britain, all united to make them determine upon it with reluctance. It was long years before the views of those who supported Henry's resolution against taxation ripened into the opinions Jefferson enunciated in the Declaration of Independence.

During that period, they went gradually from discussion to protest and from protest to resistance, and at last from resistance to revolution. Through all these long years the leading men of the colonies were necessarily and most seriously engaged in considering the principles of government; what were the rights of individuals, what the just powers of rulers, what the duties of subjects, what the obligations of the colonies. And, being compelled to consider these questions under new circumstances and under conditions without precedent, they were compelled to consider them upon principle, and to apply principles to conditions in which they lived. Those days, too, were in themselves favorable to solid study and sound reflection. They were days of patient industry, of steady habits, of moderate gains and simple living. There was then room and opportunity, as well as occasion, for deep and earnest thinking. No clicking telegraph gathered its outline of passing events from all quarters of the earth to engross men's interest and attention. No journal, bristling with headlines of news, full of items for wonder or excitement, with leaders rich in editorial comment and suggestion, came to supply men daily with ideas and save them the trouble of studying and reflecting for themselves. In those days, men had little of the varied and general knowledge of our times, the knowledge of passing events. Life was easy and simple and natural, neither crowded nor hurried; but it was sound and solid and hearty. Things were then carried from point to point with too much difficulty to make what was idle or unfounded, or frivolous, worth the carrying.

And so, by much study and much reflection, the men of the colonies prepared themselves for independence. After that declaration, came a long and bitter struggle, throughout which our Fathers maintained the highest resolution and the noblest devotion; and this, by the aid of France, resulted at last in triumphant success. After those years of strife in arms, there came yet other years in which the infant confederacy kept alive with difficulty the feebly light of national life. During all these years, the principal men of these colonies were being educated in all that went to produce large-minded, wise, just, and self reliant public leaders, so that, when finally they came to meet at convention in Philadelphia, for the purpose of framing the National Government under which we live, perhaps no body of men that ever met to frame a government were better prepared for the duties before them, or brought to their task greater purity, ability and wisdom.

How wisely they fashioned, how [illegible] they builded, having regard to the circumstances under which they built, we know. No one can read the debates of that convention, nor those of the State conventions which followed, without feeling how full the time was of wise, able, thoughtful men—men who dealt with principles rather than with forms, and who considered substantial matters more than matters of detail, nor without observing how notably the most distinguished of these men were Virginians.

Speaking now to the descendants of the Virginians of that day, may I ask attention to the principles upon which the Fathers founded the Government, to the circumstances under which they applied those principles, to the changes in the country which have since taken place, and to the evils which have arisen with these changes, that we may inquire whether their principles of government afford a remedy for such evils.

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE FATHERS FOUNDED GOVERNMENT.

The Fathers held three cardinal principles of government. Upon these all their systems, both of State and Federal authority, were based. The first was that government should be limited against absolute power. They had well learned that "liberty consists in the limitation of government;" that "the many, though strong to execute, are often blind to perceive." They therefore established both their State and national governments by written constitutions, which were at once the source, the measure, and the limit of their authority; and by the distribution of the powers of government into independent departments, and by various details, they further provided for the fullest preservation of such limitations.

Their second principle was that the government should be localized, so that the men of the locality should settle for themselves the concerns of that locality.

Their third principle was that there should be in this country no favored governing class, and so they forbade titles of primogeniture, and the perpetuation of great estates.

WHY THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN OVERLOOKED.

Now, although the Fathers had come through long years of suffering and reflection to a clear conviction as to these principles, the circumstances which followed have tended to make their decendants lose sight of them.

The establishment of the new government was followed by a great prosperity—a prosperity which, coming after it, was naturally ascribed to it, but which would, perhaps, come without it. Indeed, Macaulay thought the same prosperity would surely have come had the government remained colonial, and pointed to a like prosperity in Australia and other countries, whose natural conditions were analogous to ours.

Certainly the natural circumstances here were all favorable to prosperity. An enormous territory; a virgin soil, rich in every desirable production; a salubrious climate; great natural conveniences for intercommunication; no great difficulties of access for immigrants; a European language, and room and welcome for all. Surely, the new States might well have been expected, under any tolerable form of government, to prosper.

But, long after their establishment, a new method of conveyance was introduced, which added wonderfully to these advantages. Nowhere in the world was the steamboat so well fitted to produce great results as in these States, with their long lines of coast, and their mighty inland waters. This invention at once gave a new and marvellous development to the natural advantages and natural unity of the land. For no sooner had the steampacket begun its journeys up the great rivers of the interior, than it drew together within days of each other people before separated by weeks. This internal trade was developed, and with it wealth and population increased, and by these in turn new means of intercommunication were established. Roads were extended, Turnpikes built, Canals dug, Post Routes multiplied, Newspapers distributed. Day by day the people grew richer; step by step the wilderness was overcome; trade and intercourse between different parts increased, and better understanding, greater homogeneousness among the people of the different States followed; until at last the railway was invented, drawing together within hours the people whom the steamboat had only brought within days of each other; and then last, and most centralizing of all, the telegraph was introduced, putting all parts of the land in instant communication with each other.

Now, however due to these natural causes, it was not strange that men should ascribe the great prosperity following upon the establishment of the new government adopted.

It is indeed most true that government cannot of itself create prosperity, but it can, and, alas! often does, interfere with and prevent it; and our government at least permitted the freest possible development of the natural advantages of the country. And so the American citizen, brought up to regard his Union and Constitution as the sum of human wisdom, and justly proud of the unprecedented growth and prosperity of his country, came more and more to ascribe these blessings to the *form* of government under which he lived, and, with less and less thought of the reason for that Constitution and the principles it expressed, contented himself in every country he visited by crying aloud to all men to take pattern after his model Republic.

DISCUSSION ABOUT THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

Beyond this, the political parties into which the country was early divided tended further to remove the original principles of the fathers from notice.

In a great country where the people rule, there will be generally two parties; one for having the governing power do much, the other for having it do little; one for having the exercise of government centralized, the other for having it localized. One, a party which would hold up the weak, aid the feeble and protect the needy; the other a party insisting that, beyond preserving order and administering justice, government should interfere with the action of its citizens as little as possible, and that, while the general government should prescribe those regulations which affect the whole people, local affairs should be left to the people of the localities. From the dual nature of the government established by our Fathers out of the union of independent States, it followed naturally and inevitably that the party in this country in favor of extending government would seek a liberal construction of the Federal powers. And these, indeed, were, and have ever [illegible] visions of parties in this country, except when some question of present paramount interest has for a time forced a special issue upon the people. And so, from the beginning, discussion went on about the respective functions and scope of the Federal and State authority. Year after year, it was debated whether particular powers should be exercised by the Federal and State government, as to what were the limits of the power of the one and the extent of the power of the other. But, during all the time of these discussions—discussions which went on, not only in the halls of legislation, and upon political platforms, but in every country store and around every bar-room fire throughout the land—men were gradually losing sight, in their disputes about the distribution of the powers of the government, of the principles upon which the government was founded. Instead of realizing that the rights of States were of no advantage in themselves, except as they preserved the liberty of individuals, and that local government and limitation of power might under new conditions be more readily obtained by direct restraints upon the central authority than by the strictest construction of the existing Constitution, it was deemed so settled that we had the best government the world ever saw, that doubts of that were not even permitted to be suggested. Indeed, the changes which went on in the conditions of the country and of society, although rapid, were so gradual that no one thought corresponding changes in the Constitution necessary; and there was, besides, a natural disinclination to disturb an instrument obtained by compromises effected with so much difficulty.

THE DISPUTE ABOUT SLAVERY.

Meanwhile, by the aid of the gin, cotton had become one of the chief productions of the country, and the system of labor it had employed had reached great dimensions. New territories had been acquired, whose acquisition the Fathers had not foreseen, and for which they made no provision; and when these territories came to be settled, and government had to be provided for them, the introduction of slave labor into these territories became a subject of difference.

The discussion that then grew up tended further to divert men from any consideration of the original principles of government, for it was from its nature a discussion not about what government ought to be, but as to what, from the nature of the compact between the States, were the rights of the States in respect of the territories, and of this domestic institution. Not a discussion of the true principles of government, but of the true construction of the agreement by which this government was established. This question presently took precedence over all other questions, and, as no compromise nor settlement of the difference was arrived at, it finally brought on a war—a great civil war, which divided our people. During that war the march of armies set the slave himself free, and put an end forever to the questions out of which the war arose.

THE GROWTH OF A PRIVILEGED CLASS.

Meanwhile a privileged class had gradually grown up within the States. Beginning with small associations, allowed in the supposed interest of trade, corporations had been created, and had been permitted, in the same interest, to increase and consolidate, until we had come to have a class of privileged and artificial creatures, more dangerous than any hereditary aristocracy; holding estates vaster than any noble; having continued existence; without moral or personal accountability; without conscience and without possible inducement to public good; having for their best object the private good of their corporators, often only the wrongful gain of their managers. To-day, some of these corporations virtually rule the States which created them, and exercise a controlling influence in politics and business over thousands of miles of territory.

So that when the war broke out we had already, in some degree, lost sight of every one of the great principles upon which the Fathers founded government—the limitation of government, the localization of government, and the prevention of privileged classes.

But after the war, the freeman was invested with suffrage, and this afforded a means by which adventurers sought to rule the South. The system of reconstruction that was adopted gave rise to new questions, and followed by great evils and great abuses, and of necessity, therefore, by great suffering and great dissatisfaction. It may be hoped that, now at least, those evils have been checked, and that the war and its issues are finally over and belong to the past, and that restored once more to normal conditions, we may consider what are the difficulties and evils which now confront us, and the remedies which they require.

THE COUNTRY WE HAVE NOW TO GOVERN.

You are about, young gentlemen, to go out into the world, and take upon yourselves the duties and occupations of men under a new condition of things. You go at a time, too, when you realize the paramount importance of your duty as citizens.

But, to rightly understand what is now needed, we might clearly realize how different the present condition of these States is from their condition when the Constitution was adopted.

At that time the thirteen States which formed this government were entirely sovereign and separate. They lay stretched along the Atlantic coast, having behind them a wilderness without limit, and in large part unknown. The people of those feeble States spoke indeed the same language, and had laws of the same general character, but their origins had been different, their habits dissimilar, their views unlike. Communication between them was rare and difficult, trade paltry and infrequent. Then a few roads were opened near the coast, along which great wains toiled slowly with goods, while on the more inland ways traffic was carried on by the pack-horse and the sumpter mule. Men drifted slowly down the rivers on rafts, or worked the flat boat and the batteau up the current by the aid of the sail or the setting pole, and thus carried on the inland navigation, grown to over four millions of tons a year. Then a pound of tea or a silk kerchief was an unusual luxury, and a bright ribbon was a handsome present. Even Jefferson, when Secretary of State, and called in haste to meet the Cabinet, was twenty-eight days of diligent travel in going from his home to New York; and now one leaves New York at night and reaches Monticello comfortably the next morning.

It was for States thus weak and separate, for people thus [illegible] and frugal and thoughtful, with occupations and habits and temptations wholly unlike those of our generation, that our Fathers sought to establish government. And if, in establishing it, they apprehended evils which never arose, and failed to provide for those which do now exist, it was because the subsisting evils have come in with a growth, riches, and consolidation wholly unprecedented, and mainly resulting from inventions and methods of intercommunication then unsuspected. So that the present wealth and centralization of the country could not then have been foreseen, nor provision made against the particular evils which attend them.

But now all this is changed. Forty millions of people occupy a vast continent from one ocean to the other, rich in every form of wealth; bound together by great national water ways, by a vast system of internal improvements, and by all modern contrivances for communication. Great cities, enormous wealth, gigantic industries, vast combinations, of both capital and labor, have grown up, and the feeble and struggling colonies of our Fathers' days have come to be one of the wealthiest and most advanced and most powerful nations of the earth.

PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND EVILS OF GOVERNMENT.

But in poor and sparse communities government is easy. If there be but two men on an island, each has room and liberty to do as much as he pleases. But crowd a thousand people into a ship, and every one must give up some of his natural rights if he would not unduly trench upon the rights of the others. And so, with increasing population and increasing wealth, the difficulties of government begin; and now, with our unequal distribution of property, with the grinding competition and the stifling rush that goes on everywhere, for life, for work, and for wealth, we begin to be beset with difficulties from which our Fathers wholly escaped.

What shall be the relations of government to the industries of the country; what provision it shall make for education, what for want; how far labor may be furnished those willing but unable, to find employment; how far government should carry on great works of internal improvement; how far it should exercise control over the railways, telegraphs and other great common carriers; to what scrutiny it should subject corporations; what are the rights of capital, and what are the duties of capitalists, and what are the rights of labor and laboring men:—these are all questions which, in some degree at least, we are likely to have to meet. We have, besides, unlike our Fathers, to legislate for a country knit together by every form of instant communication. Men pass now from one shore to the other of this vast continent within a week, while the telegraph keeps every part of the land in constant communication with every other part, so that, practically, all business, all trade, all discussions are carried on within speaking distance of the parties; and this, while it enormously facilitates, enormously centralizes business and power, so that the country, although far larger, is far more connected and homogeneous than the original States were.

But, beyond the difficulties arising from a crowded population, unequal distribution of wealth, and enormous combinations of industry and capital, to which I have referred, many grave and positive evils confront us. On every side corruption prevails. It has found place in the legislatures of the principal States, and has even, on some occasions, entered the Congress itself.

In a country whose founders intended to prevent privileged classes, where they forbade hereditary titles, orders of nobility, continued accumulations of property and entailed estates, we have created corporations that hold vaster estates and are more powerful than any foreign nobility—artificial persons which never die, and which, while they continuously exist, having neither conscience nor feeling, are liable always to pervert and abuse their powers.

We have a Civil Service, in which over 100,000 persons hold their places at the absolute will and disposal of the President, and so entirely partisan in its character as to give rise everywhere to grevious complaints and grevious evils.

None of these evils existed, or were foreseen, in the time of our Fathers. They are the result of the growth of the country in numbers and wealth, and the corresponding increase in public gifts and places and patronage; and they require other remedies than any which the Fathers have provided.

THE DUTY OF THE CITIZENS.

Now government, always a serious work, becomes difficult just in proportion to the number and magnitude and variety of the interests governed. In our country, it grows year by year more important and more embarrassing. This great business is, in other nations, usually given over to some selected or favored class, which is rewarded for attention to it by hereditary rank, and honor and power. But with us this is different. We have undertaken, in this country, to conduct government for ourselves; and, if it be not well conducted, we have no one to blame for it but ourselves. And yet one often hears, at least in the section in which I live, worthy men (more especially divines and students and men of letters) speak with complacency of rarely or never voting, and of feeling no interest in politics, and taking no part in public affairs; as if the direction of affairs could be wisely or safely left to the ignorant or worthless, or to those who interest themselves in public affairs only for their own profit.

In the early days of the Republic the conduct of government was indeed so easy that good citizens might, without harm, follow their avocations, and leave public matters mainly to those who profited by following them. And this leaving public affairs to professional politicians brought politics into some discredit. But you may be sure, young gentlemen, that however it was formerly, the condition of public affairs is too grave, the evils in the body politic too threatening, and the necessity of change too imminent, to longer sustain such neglect.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT NOT A FAILURE.

How then are these evils to be met? To do so, must we abandon the principles upon which our Fathers founded this Government, and hold that, however good they were for that day, they are are not suited for our time and condition; or may we yet find within their principles the remedy for existing evils? For myself, I think that in a just adaptation of those principles to existing conditions will be found the required remedies, that it is needless and idle to look elsewhere for them.

Every now and then we hear worthy people, alarmed at prevailing evils, cry out that Republican government is a failure, and that what we need is a despotism, a dictatorship, or absolute authority of some kind. Such people, it seems to me, gravely mistake the circumstance and the spirit of the age. Absolute authority by one man over a people is a condition which can exist only in less advanced communities than ours. In countries in which the railway and the telegraph and the newspaper exist, information is too rapidly disseminated, and combinations among the people are too readily made, to permit the assumption of any one of absolute authority. All over the world it will be seen that, whatever the nominal form of government, whether pure autocracy, like Russia, or a nominal monarchy, like England, the tendency of government is steadily and uniformly toward popularization. Everywhere that the modern means of intercommunication exist, the people are asserting more and more their authority. For the English speaking race, at least, Republican government is not a failure. I have no fear, therefore, that the establishment of any personal despotism here is possible. No executive, however bold or however dangerous, can venture upon unauthorized powers when the Congress is united against him. There is nothing to warrant fear of such danger.

But, whatever may be thought about this, the truth is, that, under existing circumstances, we need and must continue to have popular government, and relief from existing evils can only come from within, and by the action of the people. And I repeat that, as it seems to me, the remedy for these evils is to be found, not in despotism, not in any general limitation of suffrage, not in seeking a new system of government, but in a further application to existing conditions of the fundamental principles upon which the Fathers framed government.

RE APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES NECESSARY.

If you consider the popular government of this age, you will perceive that it has one essential feature which distinguishes it from the popular government of the ancient times, and that is limitation. The wisdom of applying to such governments what Mr. Van Buren called "the sober second tho't" of the people, has everywhere been recognized. So, nearly every modern government is more or less a constitutional government based upon a fundamental charter which limits the action and the powers of the rulers, so that whether hereditary monarchs or elected Presidents, there be certain things which they may not do. Undoubtedly, this fundamental law can be changed, but with so much difficulty, and after so much time, that in effect it answers as a constant limitation upon the first thought and the first wish of the people.

This truth the Fathers fully realized; and they inserted into the governments, State and Federal, of their time, greater limitation upon the authority thereby established, than had existed in government before, and all that in the then existing conditions were necessary.

But, notwithstanding the changes which have since taken place, trained to believe that our dual government was the model for government all over the world, occupied in discussing the distribution of its powers, we have failed to make allowance for such changes in the country and in society as have meantime taken place, and been unwilling to believe that any corresponding changes in our Constitution were required. Yet, conscious of existing evils, the cry has everywhere gone up for reform and better administration of government, as if permanent reform could be secured, or better administration be permanently had, unless such modifications be made in the scope and powers of government as existing conditions require.

FURTHER RESTRAINTS UPON LEGISLATION REQUIRED.

Now, in the great States, it has been found that abuses and corruption in legislation are mainly the result of private and special laws. Legislation by general law, which affects equally all the community, rarely affords opportunity for private gain. But the legislation which gives to particular persons special privileges or monopolies—whether it be charters for ferries, or railways, or banks; whether monopolies to light streets, or to carry passengers, or to land goods; whether subsidies to construct works of public use, or to carry on commerce; or whether it be legislation which makes exception to the general burden and rule, by the relief which it affords or the stipend which it pays, or the advantage which it gives to particular citizens—in short, every form of legislation for the one at the expense of the whole; such legislation proves rich in every inducement to deception, injustice, and evil. And the remedy, and the only remedy which has proved effectual to prevent this, is found in severely, depriving the Legislature of the power to legislate for any citizen in preference to or at the expense of the whole.

I know it is said that if we would choose better men to the legislative bodies we would have no corruption; but when legislation is special and in private interest, when its power extends to giving away grants, monopolies, lands or other public property, how can we expect good men to be chosen to the legislative bodies? They who seek some gift or privilege from the state do not want such men there. They want men who are willing to take bribes, or accept contributions, or receive favors, and vote kindly for monopolies, or subsidies, or special relief in return. And the activity of those interested in legislative grants will always largely influence the selection of the members of legislative bodies whenever there is much to be gained from their private or special legislation.

It is true that there has been little corruption in Congress as yet, because there has been little scope for private legislation there. Hitherto the legislation of Congress has been chiefly general. Doubtless its power to determine what shall be expended for public works and buildings in particular localities too often controls Representatives, and leads to evil combinations and log-rolling. But this influence is of a *quasi* public nature; so that, except in grants of public lands, subsidies, and those provisions of the tariff for protection so shaped as to give bounties to particular persons, Congress has hitherto had little opportunity for direct corruption.

But year by year the private and special legislation by Congress increases. There have been many thousand of applications to Congress during the present session alone for some form of special relief. The very number of these claims of course prevents any intelligent consideration of them, and defeats alike the power of Congress to do justice and to discriminate against injustice, and affords as well opportunity as inducement to evil and corrupt legislation.

Now, as I said, the remedy that has proved effectual to prevent this great and growing cause of evils, is found in further limiting the powers of the legislatures by depriving them of any power of private or special legislation. In most of the great States amendments have therefore been added to their constitutions preventing legislation except by general law.

What is there now to prevent the establishment of courts to determine all claims against the Government except those addressed to its special grace, and to require a judicial ascertainment of the facts in all cases which are dependent upon special favor? And why should we not prohibit Congress from granting favor or grace, either at all, or except according to some general rule? In short, why should we not restrict Congress and all our State legislatures, as the legislatures of some of the States have already been restricted, from any legislation not general and in the common interest of all the people? Just exactly as the country becomes greater and richer, and so has more to give away or to be plundered of; just as government becomes centralized and paternal, just so it is the more important that legislation should be restricted.

Doubtless, much of the special legislation of our day is not warranted by the constructions of Federal power that formerly prevailed, and to return to such constructions would tend to prevent these evils. But such constructions involve a general narrowness of Federal power in conflict with the prevailing ideas, which to restrain Congress by direct amendment from such legislation will conflict with no one's views of how the Constitution should be construed.

EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED AND DIMINISHED.

So, too, with the evils that exist in the civil service. When the Government was established the executive patronage was so insignificant that no provision was made for its regulation. It will be seen by the debates of the first Congress that the farmers of the Constitution wholly overlooked it. It increased gradually with the growth and power of the nation, until to-day it exceeds the patronage of almost any monarch. Until the telegraph was in general use, this patronage, although nominally centered in the President, was, to a certain extent, restricted and localized. The necessities of discipline required that, in the days of tardy communication by mail, the control of Federal officials in States remote from the Capital should be relegated to some friend of the Executive there. But now, by the aid of the telegraph, the President can as efficiently discipline a postmaster in Texas as in Maryland; and thus it has happened that to-day he absolutely and directly may control the lives and conduct of more than one hundred thousand officials. If we say that each of these officials can control two votes beside his own, we have then over three hundred thousand voters dependent upon the Executive will—a number greater than the majority at many presidential elections. Indeed, at the last election, the party majority in Ohio and other States was even less than the actual number of Federal office holders in the State.

Beyond this, these officeholders form not only an army of voters, but an army of workers, so that, to turn out an Administration once in power, requires not merely a majority of the people, but a majority great enough to overbalance this army of officeholders and their followers and efforts.

By thus uniting all the patronage under one control, we divide the country into two great parties, whose contest for that control threatens to destroy the government. When patronage is localized, the strife for it affects only the localities. Men in Hartford or Columbus or Atlanta might contend over a postmastership or collectorship; but such struggles, no matter at how many points, nor how bitter, could never disturb the nation, nor do more than affect such localities. But centralize all the appointments under one control and then the people at once divide themselves every four years in a strife for that control, as dangerous as it is demoralizing.

Worthy men tell us that what is needed to cure these evils is a better administration of the Executive patronage. To secure this, they would have competitive examination of applicants, and officials selected for fitness and not for political services. But has competitive examination, so far as tried, diminished the existing evils? Has any President really established a non-partisan civil service? Nay, has any attempt at this been even partially successful? No; the cure of this great evil lies beyond any administration of the civil service. It will be found, and it will be found only, in limiting the power of the Executive over appointments.

Having centralized all the offices in one prize, and divided the people into two great parties to struggle for that prize, it is idle to expect that the party which wins the prize will give it up to, or will divide it with, its opponent. No Executive who has been chosen to distribute the offices among his followers will be tolerated, who does not so distribute them.

Belligerants may agree before the battle that certain things shall not be spoils of war, and then the victor will not so treat them. But no one need expect the victor to abandon to the vanquished the very thing contended for. All our real reforms have come, not from having one party give up to the other what it has by great effort just wrested from its opponent, but by both parties agreeing in advance of strife that, in future differences, neither party shall exercise the objectionable power. It is only limitation upon the future exercise of power that is practicable.

Now, why might not the appointment of many of these officials be localized? And why should not the tenure of subordinate officials, the mere clerks and tidewaiters, be made, at least for a fixed time, dependent upon good behavior only?

There are now over forty thousand postmasters. The salaries of most of them are very small; and such places are sought by tradsmen and shopkeepers mainly because of the custom obtained from the persons who come to the post office for their mails. Of course, the people of any such locality can best determine what is the most convenient place for a postoffice, and what citizen would, on the whole, best serve them as a postmaster, and they might be safely left to make the selection.*

Neither in the army, nor in the navy, has the President any absolute power of removal; he can suspend officers from duty, but he cannot remove them from the service without trial. Surely, the exigencies of the civil service are not greater than those of the military or naval services.

For myself, I think the postmasters, at least in the rural districts, might well be chosen by the popular vote. But, if not chosen by the people of their respective districts, they might be safely appointed by the State, or county, or township, or municipal authorities, and this portion of the executive patronage be thus happily ended.

So with the vast numbers of clerks, and copyists, and counters, and other subordinates. Why should not a poor woman who writes, or a man who measures, be left to hold their office, say, for four years at least, if they behave themselves meantime and do their work well? Why need they wake up every morning in anxiety for the future, and live in perpetual fear that their party services may not be efficient enough to enable them to keep their place? Can we expect a decent civil service while the tenure of office is made to depend upon party fealty, and not upon good conduct?

When, therefore, we shall have relegated the appointment of Federal officers so far as practicable to localities, and shall have made tenure of other subordinate officials permanent, we may expect real reform in this regard; and not before.

THE CREATION AND POWER OF CORPORATIONS TO BE LIMITED.

So, too, is it not time to put some check on the growth and aggregation of corporations? In these days of great wealth for some, and of great distress for others, is it wise to encourage the artificial perpetration of accumulated capital, and to build up rail road barons greater than the State, and to leave them at liberty to go on increasing and consolidating without restraint?

THESE CHANGES CONSISTENT WITH THE NATURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

But do you say the changes here suggested would be radical and excessive? I reply, not at all; they would simply apply the fundamental principles of government to present circumstances and existing conditions. It is true the Fathers did not so apply their principles, but that was because there was in their time no necessity for such restraints. But, if the wise and great men who formed our governments—States and Federal—were now to frame a government, can you believe they would frame one that left to Congress such a range of discretionary and unrestricted power, and such inducements for evil and corrupt legislation as exist; or that left the Executive invested with a patronage vaster, more absolute, more dangerous, and more corrupting, than that of any European monarch; or that they would have permitted the growth and consolidation of the power of the great corporations—the Daimios of our day? I cannot think so; on the contrary, as it seems to me, the very principles upon which they framed the government would have required them to now frame a government very different, in these respects, from the government they established.

For myself, I am profoundly convinced that the Fathers understood the real principles of popular government. They foresaw, too, that as circumstances changed, a change in the application of principles to new conditions might be necessary, and so they wisely made provision for amendments to the Constitution they framed. I agree that changes in that fundamental law are not to be lightly made, but to make amendments in order to apply principles to new conditions, is to continue the Constitution, not to change it. True consistency is to be found in adhering to principles, not to methods. It is no more consistent than it is wise for a man to go about always in the clothes of a child, nor to so blindly revere the forms by which principles are expressed, as to refuse, when circumstances change, to change the methods by which such principles are to be applied.

WHY THIS IS A NATION.

No, the Fathers would realize, if they worked in our day, as we should realize, that these States have become a nation, not merely because the Constitution and its amendments so declare; but has become a nation by the higher law of natural causes.

The people of these States form a nation, because they come mainly of kindred races, occupy a homogeneous country, speak a common language, have common interests and common hopes, are bound together by great natural ways and divisions, and knit together by every method of artificial intercommunication, and cemented by the blood and memories of a great war. Being such a nation, then, their national government ought in some respects, I think, to have greater and different power than the Fathers intended; but in other and more serious respects it ought to be, on the other hand, far more defined and limited than in their time was necessary.

The curse of our present time is too much legislation, too much patronage, too much interference with natural laws. When we stop protecting, and subsidizing, and inflating, and meddling with production, with currency, with industry and with natural laws; when we stop artificial aggregations of wealth and great chartered companies, and leave associations of persons to the limited duration, the natural difficulties, and the natural laws, with which Natur affects mankind; when we put an end to a patronage more enormous than ever existed before, and which to-day threatens the peace and prosperity of the country, we may look for really better government, and not, I fear, before.

No, believe me; not in preserving balance of power between the State and Federal authorities, not in strictest construction of the Constitution, nor in the fullest, maintenance of the rights of the States, will be found the complete cure for the evils we are realizing, or which threaten us; but only in the proper application to our times, and to existing circumstances, and to the National as well as the State authority, of the three great principles upon which our Fathers founded government—the limitation of the powers of the government, the localization of those powers, and the restraint of any privileged class. In those three great principles, when duly applied by further limitation laws—State and Federal—will be found the true and sufficient remedy, and the only sufficient remedy, for the evils which beset and threaten us.

THE DUTY OF VIRGINIANS.

It may be that these views are erroneous. But the difficulties and evils to which I have referred to exist, and their causes and cure are at least worthy your best thought and best study.

In the new conditions of our time, the need and the opportunity of the sons of Virginia will be found. Her central position; her natural relations with the States of the North and the South on either hand; her tried loyalty to her friends; her fidelity to her own convictions, all justify Virginians in taking a leading place in any movement against existing evils and in the measures that should be had to meet them.

The men of this State had such large share in the formation of our Government because they had fitted themselves for the work they had to do by profound study of the principles and needs of government. Once more, there is room for Virginians to render great public service by doing their part to bring about those reforms which have become necessary. But, to do their part, they must be willing to think and to labor for themselves, and to see, beyond forms in government, to the real reason and substance of things.

Above all, young gentlemen, pray remember that neither in public nor in private affairs can there be lasting prosperity without justice, and wisdom, and truth. For in the noble words which Henry endorsed upon his own copy of his famous resolution against taxation, "Whether independence will prove a blessing or a curse will depend on the use our people make of the blessings a gracious God has bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy. If the contrary, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt a nation. Whoever thou art, remember this, and in thy sphere practice virtue thyself, and encourage it in others."

*The President offered to appoint as postmaster at Fremont any person whom the people preferred; and they held an election for the purpose, and he nominated the person they chose. If the people of Fremont are qualified to choose a postmaster for themselves, the people of the other villages must also be qualified to do so.

REMEDY FOR TROUBLE.—Work is your true remedy. If misfortune hits you hard, you hit something else hard; pitch into something with a will. There's nothing like good, solid, exhausting work to cure trouble. If you have met with losses, you don't want to lie awake and think about them. You want sleep, calm, sound sleep—and eat your dinner with appetite. But you can't unless you work. If you say you don't feel like work, and go loafing all day to tell Tom, Dick, and Harry the story of your woes, you'll lie awake and keep your wife awake by your tossing, spoil your temper and your breakfast next morning, and begin to-morrow feeling ten times worse than you do to-day. There are some great troubles that only time can heal, and perhaps some that never can be healed at all; but all can be helped by the great panacea, work. Try it, you who are afflicted. It is not a patent medicine. It has proved its efficiency since first Adam and Eve left behind them, with weeping, their beautiful Eden. It is an efficient remedy. All good physicians prescribe it in cases of mental and moral disease. It operates kindly as well, leaving no disagreeable effects, and we assure you that we have taken a large quantity of it with most beneficial results. It will cure more complaints than any nostrum in the *materia medica*, and comes nearer to being a "cure all" than any drug or compound of drugs in the market. And it will not sicken you if you do not take it sugar-coated.

WHY SOME PEOPLE ARE POOR.—Silver spoons are used to scrape kettles.

Coffee, tea, pepper, and spice, are left to stand open and lose their strength.

Potatoes in the cellar grow, and sprouts are not removed until the potatoes become worthless.

Brooms are never hung up, and are soon spoiled.

Nice handled knives are thrown into hot water.

The flour is sifted in a wasteful manner, and the bread-pan is left with the dough sticking to it.

Clothes are left on the line to whip to pieces in the wind.

Tubs and barrels are left in the sun to dry and fall apart.

Dried fruits are not taken care of in season and become wormy.

Pork spoils for want of salt, and beef because the brine wants scalding.

Bits of meats, vegetables, bread, and cold puddings are thrown away, when they might be warmed, steamed, and served as good as now.