NEW-ENGLAND ELOQUENCE

SOME OF THE SPEECHES AT THE ANNUAL DINNER AT DELMONICO'S.

Among the speeches delivered at the annual dinner of the New-England Society at Delmonico's last night, were those given herewith. An account of this remarkably successful gathering of descendants of the Pilgrims and the Puritans with the addresses that are not given here, is published on the first and second pages of this paper.

MR. DEPEW'S WIT AND ELOQUENCE.

Chauncey M. Depew replied for "The State of New-York. The City of New-York." The quotations given in connection with the toast were these:

Know you not
How your State stands i' the world with the whole world?
King Henry VIII, Act V, Scene 1.

Will you walk with me about the town?
Comedy of Errors, Act I, Scene 2.

Mr. Depew said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have responded often for the state of New-York, and many times for the city, but never before for both. At the New-England Society, with its fondness for the concrete, the orator who stands in either position is supposed to represent and resemble either the Governor or the Mayor. In the present situation I am presumed to embody them both. (Laughter.) Nothing but Yankee audacity could suggest that one man should be David B. Hill and Abram S. Hewitt. (Long-continued laughter.) When a Boston citizen first saw the Siamese twins, he remarked to them: "Brothers, I suppose." But so far as I know the only visible link which binds together Governor and Mayor is that neither is shedding many tears over the total result this fall in the State of New-York. (Shouts of laughter.) The passenger who gets ashore with all his baggage when the ship is lost and the captain drowned, does not permit the publication of suitable resolutions over the dead, to mar his happiness. If I say more I may talk politics, but the New-England Society has views and likes opinions.

The colorless hilarity of the other National banquets disappears with the anniversary night, the annual dinner of the New-England Society is a National event. (Applause.) Sentiments spoken here have aroused the country to fight for liberty, and here were spoken the most eloquent words of reconciliation and peace. New-York holds the proud position of having furnished the present President of the United States and nominated the soldier statesman who is to be our next President. (Applause.) Native and insurmountable modesty alone prevents my stating what might have happened had she stuck faithfully to her first choice. (Laughter and applause.) But we of the old Dutch stock were always magnanimous in dealing with our hereditary foes, and we selected a Puritan of the Puritans.

ALWAYS THE SAME LIBERTY-LOVING MAN.

It has been for two centuries the belief of the historian and the philosopher that the sterile soil, the harsh climate, the difficult, bleak New-England were essential to the development of the Puritan. That he needed the spurs of hostile Indians and savage nature to bring out his virtues, and that his grit and gray matter were only roused by despair. But the brilliant example which proves that whether living under sunny skies and with hospitable surroundings, or making a home in the midst of forbidding wilds and arctic snows, whether cast upon the frozen coasts of Massachusetts or welcomed to the fertile plantations of Virginia, he was ever the same indomitable and liberty-loving man, fearing nothing but God, is the Virginia Harrisons. (Long continued applause and cheers.)

The New-Englander and the Southerner of the same stock and faith, parting upon the field of Naseby, where they gave their blood for religious liberty, met again in Independence Hall, with the same courage, the same martyr spirit, the same devout and fierce confidence in the Almighty, to risk their lives and pledge their honor and property for civil liberty and nationality. (Applause.) Puritan pluck and faith, which from the land of sunshine and flowers furnishes a signer of the Declaration of Independence and two Presidents of the United States could not have done more, had it begun with the Plymouth Colony. (Applause.)

PILGRIMS AND PURITANS CONTRASTED.

The Pilgrim was a wanderer and the Puritan an egotist. These two qualities have made them the the formation of its institutions. The Pilgrim's rest- the formation of its institutions. The Pilgrims' rest- less spirit was ever seeking a better home, and his aggressive self-reliance stamped his individuality upon the beginnings of territories and the infancy of States. (Applause.) There are places more Mohammedan than Mecca, more Calvinistic than Geneva, and more Irish than Ireland—the last the City of New-York. New-England farms are owned and tilled by races alien in blood and creed to the Puritan founder, but in every Western State the descendants of the Pilgrims have framed its statutes, directed its civilization and organized its development. (Applause.) The resistless and unconquerable campaign of the Western Reserve of Ohio against slavery was the protest of Plymouth transplanted to other soil and covering wider fields. The fierce declaration of the Northwest in 1861, that the Mississippi should flow unvexed to the sea, was the hereditary cropping out under different conditions in their descendants, of the defiance of restraints upon liberty and commerce which impelled their ancestors to throw the tea into Boston Harbor.

NEW-YORK SUBDUED BUT NOT CONQUERED.

But the Yankee had to climb over New-York to find room for the free exercise of his faculties. He subdued New-York but he never conquered it. (Laughter and applause.) The Dutchman thought of the Spanish Armada and of his part in its destruction which was the salvation of Puritan religion and liberty. (Laughter.) He remembered how he had received at Leyden a party of wild iconoclasts who could live with nobody nor agree with themselves, had taught them toleration, and given them the principles of popular education and of Home Rule. (Laughter and applause.) As the old professors, when the young alumni come trooping back to Alma Mater, full of new schemes for the reform of the college, listen to them kindly and dismiss them compassionately, so the sturdy Knickerbockers resisted the eager assaults of Yankee theory and Yankee practices, and in restful content said to the invaders, "Your opportunity is in greener fields; go west young man, go west." (Laughter.)

But New-York by Dutch thrift and Yankee energy, Dutch liberality and Yankee pluck, has become an Empire among States and metropolitan among cities. She is the crucible in which the raw material is assimilated to American conditions and disseminated over the Republic. She has become the arbiter of the political fortunes of the country. As goes New-York, so goes the Nation. (Applause.) She feels quite equal to the two most important of the seven places in President Harrison's Cabinet, and is even charged with suggestions as to the English Mission. (Laughter and applause.) She has reached that serene height of conscious greatness where she will take the earth as her right, and yet cheerfully acquiesce if the awakening in the morning finds her stocking empty. (Laughter.)

AN OLD LAW THAT WILL NEVER BE BROKEN.

In 1632 the Plymouth Council enacted that any man elected to and then declining an office should be fined thirty pounds. The influence of that statute upon the American people cannot be estimated. (Shouts of laughter.) There has been no time in a hundred years when a case under it could be successfully brought, and the descendants of its authors have created and governed most of the States, and directed the permanent policy of the Nation. Elder Cushing said "the Pilgrims migrated to Plymouth because, as the heathen would not come to them, they must go to the heathen." They braved everything to go to them, and then to go for them. (Laughter.) The Dutchmen welcomed the Puritans with cordial hospitality. Their tolerant opinions permitted asylum to persecuted Protestants, Jews and Catholics. But while Pilgrims, humanized in Holland, protected the victims of Puritan intolerance, they advised them to move on—the witches to New-York, and Roger Williams to Rhode Island. (Laughter.) The Puritan became a colonist, not to earn a living, find a fortune, or found a home. He had demonstrated his ability to hold his own in any community. He was in name and purpose a separatist. He could touch elbows with neither the Pagan nor the Christian of his period. The Church of England was corrupt, with the power of the State behind it, and to free himself he abandoned friends and fortune and fled to Holland. People who professed faiths which he believed born of the devil and leading to hell crowded upon him. Dutch Calvinism was winding about him its rigid dogma, and he chartered the Mayflower and sailed to America.

WHERE THE NASAL TWANG CAME FROM.

The Pilgrims caught cold on that bleak December day when they landed, and ever since they have sung psalms through their noses. (Laughter.) But their songs have always been devout aspirations for liberty on earth and the gates of Heaven ajar. Upon their simple and sublime declaration in the cabin of the Mayflower for "just and equal laws," we have builded our constitutions and our statutes. (Applause.) It was principles ages in advance of their time, and the birth of modern democracy. (Applause.) The stern demand for just and equal laws shattered the power of Great Britain in America and inspired the Declaration of Independence. It broke the shackles of the slave and illumined the fraternal spirit of the reconstruction of the Rebels and their States. It gave freedom in religion and manhood suffrage. (Applause.) It dissolved masses and classes, and builded a state of sovereign citizens. (Applause.) It wrought into the political life of the Nation the purpose of the Almighty, as shown in the statement of the origin of the race, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him." (Long continued applause.)

In the furnace at Plymouth was forged the hammer which is pulverizing polygamy. Puritan honesty is behind the cry for a free ballot and an honest count. (Applause.) With the Puritan the home was the nursery of Church and State, and his power and influence are the potential forces urging the legislation for its protection in virtue and temperance. The intolerant bigotry of the colonist has flowered into the hospitable Americanism of the citizen. It says to Communist and Anarchist, The penalties of law are for license, the enforcement of law is liberty. (Applause.) It can construct upon this Continent the ship canals and the railroads which commerce demands, and it will not tolerate the avenues of its trade under European ownership and control. With unquestioning confidence in its mission and its future the Americanism of to-day selects its guests, but welcomes with open arms and hospitable opportunities all who will assist as citizens in the development and progress of the Republic. (Long continued applause.)

DR. TAYLOR'S RESPONSE.

"The Covenanters and the Puritans" was responded to by the Rev. Dr. William M. Taylor. The lines accompanying the toast were:

Married in league, coupled and linked together
With all religious strength of sacred vows.
King John, Act III, Scene 1.

Who hath not heard it spoken
How deep you were within the books of Heaven?
King Henry IV, Part II, Act IV, Scene 2.

Dr. Taylor said:

In the early part of the month of August last I spent a memorable day with the honored president of this society in the city of Edinburgh, and had the pleasure of showing to him some of the places in that ancient metropolis which are imperishably associated with the history of my native land. It was then, in a moment of weakness, that I promised to him to take some little part in the proceedings of this anniversary, and I have a suspicion that the place where the engagement was made has had something to do with the selection by him of the subject to which I am now asked to speak. But, however that may be, the coupling of the Covenanter and the Puritan is every way appropriate for an occasion like this. For they were very near akin, since the lineage of both runs up to and unites in him whom all must regard as the greatest Scotchman of his age, if not also of his country, John Knox. This statement may be surprising to some, but during the last four years of the reign of Edward the Sixth that eminent reformer, while laboring in connection with the Church of England, at Berwick, Newcastle and finally as one of the Royal Chaplains, with a commission which sent him all over the land, preached the doctrines and followed the practices which were afterward adopted and practised by at least one section of the Puritans. Hence Carlyle speaks of him as the "chief priest and founder, as one may consider him to be, of the faith that became Scotland's, New-England's, Oliver Cromwell's"; and Lorimer has said, with more precision, that his work at Berwick was "the beginning of Puritan worship in England," and that he was the father of Presbyterian Puritanism in that land, even as Hooper was the first of those who may be called more strictly Episcopalian Puritans. In Scotland, of course, his influence was paramount, and the religious history of that country was made and moulded by him more than by any single individual.

ENGAGED IN THE SAME GREAT STRUGGLE.

It is fitting, therefore, that those who were so directly descended from the same noble ancestor should be bracketed together when we wish to do honor to the fathers of that New-England which their principles did so much to form. Moreover, they were engaged in the same great struggle. They lived in the crisis-time of British history, and stood shoulder to shoulder in the conflict which ended in the utter demolition of the divine-right nonsense of the Stuarts, and the expulsion of their dynasty from the British throne. The struggle, so far as it was a religious one, began in England over a question of vestments, and in Scotland over the use of a certain form of prayer. These, it may be said, were small matters in themselves, but whether such things should be forced by royal authority on a people, without any consultation with them, and whether they would have them or not—that was a great question, involving in it the liberty of the nation; and the men who resisted that were fighting, whether they knew it or not, not for mere points, but for a principle. The difference between liberty and slavery may turn upon a little thing, but it is not a little difference; and the riot which began in the Edinburgh Cathedral, when Jenny Geddes hurled her stool at the head of the innovating Dean, ridiculous and unimportant as it might seem to be, was the spark which kindled a conflagration that did not burn itself out until, by the choice of the people, William III was called to the throne. The struggle drew attention to the relation of the ruler to the subject, and established in the end the principles that the ruler was for the people, not the people for the ruler; that he was in his place simply and solely by the will of the people, and that the law was supreme alike over him and them. In short, it established the doctrine which in this new land has led to "government of the people, for the people and by the people."

Samuel Rutherfurd, known to most people only by his seraphic letters, gave the first formal demonstration of these principles in his Lex Rex—the law is king—in which are found such sentiments as these: "The power of creating a man a king is from the people"; "If the king have not the consent of the people he is a usurper, for we know no lawful calling that kings have now, or their family, to the crown, but only the call of the people." These principles, illustrated by the execution of Charles I and the expulsion of James II, have taken firm root in the Anglo-Saxon race, and led in due season to the American Revolution which has given to the world a Republic having in it the element of perpetuity, because it stands on a foundation of truth.

PAID DEARLY FOR THEIR PRINCIPLES.

But the Puritans and Covenanters paid dearly for the securing of these principles. In England, 2,000 of the clergy of the Established Church were excluded from their pulpits in a single day, because they would not submit to the act of uniformity, and they were followed into their retirement by corporation acts, five-mile acts, conventicle acts, imprisonment, the pillory, the Star Chamber, and a great many civil disabilities, some of which, I am sorry to say, still remain on the statute-book of England, but the greater number of which, since 1832, have been buried more securely than in the tomb of the Capulets to know no resurrection. Not two months after the passing of the act of uniformity and the exclusion of the 2,000 Nonconformists from their pulpits in England, some 400 of the ministers of the National Church of Scotland were shut out of their parishes and forced to hold their meetings with their people on the green hillsides, thereby drawing upon themselves a persecution which lasted with various degrees of intensity for eight and twenty years, and a parallel to which we can find only in the cruelties of Alva in the Low Countries and in the Dragonnades of France. Their goods were spoiled. They were tortured by the thumbscrew and the boot. They were imprisoned in Dunnottar and on the Bass Rock. They were sold into West Indian slavery. They were hanged upon the scaffold in the Grass Market of Edinburgh. And there is scarcely a hillside or a valley in the upper wards of Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire and Galloway that was not reddened with their blood. In this way during these terrible years, more than eighteen thousand of the people were in one way or other put to death; and as oppression maketh even a wise man mad, we may not wonder that they felt compelled to defend themselves as at Rullion Green, Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, with the sword. The lines have fallen unto us in pleasanter places, but as we sit under the spreading branches of the goodly tree of Liberty, it becomes us to remember that its roots were nourished long ago by the blood of the Puritan and the Covenanter. With a great price they purchased this freedom for us that we might be free born, and that is a powerful reason why we should stand

"With hearts resolved and hands prepared
The blessings we enjoy to guard."

But some one may say, were they not ridiculous alike in their speech and their idiosyncracies? And to that I answer, that their speech was that of their times, which to our modern ears is uncouth, but we must not take our ideas regarding them from the caricatures of novelists. The Poundtexts, the Kettledrummles, the Macbriars and the Manse Headrigs of Scott, are all very clever and very funny, but I appeal here from the novelist to the historian, and take leave to quote the following sentences from Walter Scott's own History of Scotland: "The clergy were endeared to the people by the purity of their lives, by the depth of learning possessed by some and the powerful talents exhibited by others; above all by the willingness with which they submitted to poverty, penalties and banishment rather than betray the cause which they considered sacred," and, he adds, "There is no doubt that these good men and the Christianity which they taught were one of the principal means of correcting the furious character and revengeful habits of the Scottish Nation, in whose eyes bloodshed and deadly vengeance had been till then a virtue."

THEY BUILDED BETTER THAN THEY KNEW.

They had their faults, undoubtedly. They did not understand religious liberty as we do now, and would have persecuted others, probably, even as they were persecuted themselves, but "they builded better than they knew" and contributed to the securing of a larger freedom than they themselves would have approved. They were besides very opinionative and believed very largely in personal infallibility, so that Cromwell had to say to some of them on a memorable occasion, "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken." They were, withal, exceedingly controversial, and at Bothwell Bridge they were busy arguing, when they ought to have been active on the battlefield, so that the day was lost. But the Revolution of 1688 was the vindication of their course, for then it was seen, when the whole nation came up to them, that they had been only so much before their time. They belonged to the seventeenth century and not to the nineteenth, and they must not be condemned as individuals for those things which were the faults of their age. We honor them, therefore, for what they did and for what in these two centuries has sprung on both sides of the sea, from their doings. But mere verbal honor is not enough. Let us prove ourselves worthy of the succession into which we have come. We are not called to be their duplicates; but we owe it to them to take the legacy of their principles, in so far as they were true, and apply them to the exigencies of the present. Let us in the settlement of the questions of the day, show the same regard for justice, honesty, and above all, conscience, as they did. I emphasize conscience, for that, when truly enlightened and courageously followed, is, next to the power of God, the mightiest force in the world and is, perhaps, more needed in our times than anything else.

In Scotland there used to be a kind of cloth called Galashiels grey, which was thus described by a venerable man two or three years ago: "Galashiels grey was a most durable cloth, made of sound wool, with a well-twined thread, and warped and wefted with conscience." We need to-day, both in the State and in our churches, men with characters like that cloth—men who shall put their consciences into everything they do. Give us such men in our halls of legislation and in our great ballot-dropping constituencies; in the White House and in the executive mansions of our States, as well as in the pews and pulpits of our churches; and then we shall have a record that shall be worthy of those who are the children and successors of the Covenanter and the Puritan.

CONGRESSMAN REED'S REPLY.

Thomas B. Reed replied to the toast, "The Mighty West," and with the toast were these lines:

I may wander
From East to Occident.
Cymbeline, Act IV, Scene 2.

There lies your way, due West.
Then Westward-ho!
Twelfth Night, Act III, Scene 1.

Mr. Reed said:

I am going to attempt to talk about the West to-night, not so much because I know a great deal about it, but because this audience probably knows less. It is on the well-known scientific principle that a five-year-old boy can teach a four-year-old boy more than Plato, or Aristotle, or St. Paul, and possibly more than the president of a New-England college. My residence, also, is advantageous. Most everything is west of Maine, and if it should be desirable to have a fine peroration, the whole boundless continent might easily be ours. As one born of the strongest and most powerful mess of California, a land of vigorous men, not long ago declared to me—and I venture to shock the New-England Society by his declaration—that had the Pilgrim Father landed on the Pacific slope instead of on Plymouth Rock, civilization would never have got east of the Rocky Mountains. The people, after California, would never have thought our country worth the settlement. Whoever warmed by the almost unending summer, and standing on the rich soil of those sunset lands, thinks of the far-off rockland regions and sterile coasts of the Northern Atlantic, may well indulge in day-dream of a teeming empire that could have been west of the Sierras had all the energies which have made this Republic great have been concentrated on those wonderful valleys?

But this day-dream, enticing as it is, is all a mistake. What seem to be the chances of history are always the decrees of a higher law, and this was no exception. Wherever, in the Temperate Zone, nature is most bleak, there she is the weakest and there must be the first successful attack. New-England soil yielded but little, but it yielded what it had to labor without capital, and capital is never a first settler. Had these men, equipped only with their hands and the scanty knowledge of Europe, been dropped upon the San Joaquin Valley they would have perished miserably, amid the riches which our generation finds to be without stint or limit. It took all the wealth which the Atlantic coast could garner or attract in a hundred and fifty years to begin the exploration of the West. (Applause.)

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS.

Did you ever think how the map of America two hundred years ago, could he have had it, would have deceived the wisest observer as to our future history? He would have seen on the Atlantic coast a narrow strip shut off from all the rest of the Continent by a chain of mountains stretching from the White Hills almost to Florida. He would have seen the great Valley of the Mississippi open to access only from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. Knowing that France held the one and Spain the other, not even the boldness of patriotism would ever have dared to people the banks of that riches-bearing river and its richer tributaries with an English-speaking race. The West was settled in defiance of the map, across the rugged mountains and across the mighty river. (Applause.)

The Spaniards wasted their energies in vain pursuit of fabled fountains of youth and still more fabulous cities of gold. In their wild search for the riches which cost nothing they lost the riches which to-day astonish the world. That wealth was reserved for the descendants of those who had learned on the tough soil of the Atlantic Coast that great lesson that man must pay a just price for what he has. (Applause.) That the French had the nobler motive of glory for their native land and the still loftier hope of bringing within the Christian fold the roaming savages, did not preserve for them the empire of the great valley. They left their names and their whitening bones on the banks of many a Western river, but the land and its riches were for a people who had few notions of glory and still fewer designs for the conversion of Indians. All history shows that it needs a certain coarseness of fibre to conquer the world. The Pilgrims and Puritans both had it, and gild their memories however we may, they had as firm a grasp on this world as they thought they had on the next. (Applause.) We cannot spare as many fine words on them as on the others. Success is always prosaic. Poetry clusters thickest over failures as ivy over ruins. The losers have the garlands, for it is not always the saints who possess the earth. Loftiest motives often bring smallest returns. It is a hard thing to say, but it is the truth, that an honest and persistent desire for six per cent interest, with a willingness to take ten, has done more to civilize the world than all the courage of the crusaders. And what a world it has won! Did you ever look at a map of a hundred and twenty years ago? There lies the narrow strip close to the margin of the ocean, which is the germ of the great republic of to-day. The province boundaries go back a few miles, and then lose themselves in a vast unknown. To-day few spots unexplored lie under the daily pathway of the sun from ocean to ocean.

THE VASTNESS OF THE COUNTRY.

What a vast empire it is! I speak with no thought of boasting, but in simple wonder. Most of it lies beyond the Mississippi. The Mississippi itself is considered West no longer. Ohio has ceased to be a Western State except at political conventions. The great plains which stretch toward the sunset we have carved into States and Territories so immense that we have utterly disguised their greatness even from ourselves. How many men who listen to me here know that California alone has a hundred million acres of the richest soil the sun ever shone on, under a sun the most benignant that ever shone, capable of filling the world with grain and oil and wine and fruit and rearing stalwart millions? How many know that the great Empire State of New-York could be thrice times embroidered on that single State of California and have plenty of room for New-Jersey and Delaware? Put upon California the State of New-York and every New-England State, and then if you added Pennsylvania only the bare edge would hang over the Pacific. Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Massachusetts, if made into convenient shapes, could be stowed away in Montana and not jostle each other. Dakota, which they refuse to admit into this Union, could admit within its borders nine out of the thirteen original States.

But huge extent of territory and untold wealth are the least that we owe to the West. Much that goes to make up American manhood has come from there. Progress clogs in old ruts. Where society is settled individuality gets lost in use and want. But when men are forced to face new conditions, when old formulas cease to solve the world, then whatever of power the brain holds comes forth in fulness of vigor. The Western man had to meet his new and untried problems face to face, and out of that struggle came, with much that was extravagant and much that was grotesque, an energy which knew no obstacles, a courage which roared defiance to all its foes. The extravagant and the grotesque adorn section in "Elijah Pogram" and "The Pogram Defiance," but the final result adorns history in Abraham Lincoln, name blessed forever! While we in the East were untying the knots of old entanglements and losing ourselves in sophistical difficulties about constitutions and statutes, the West was marching on the gulf. (Applause.)

If New-England has given to the West capital and men, the West has given back to New-England no small measure of vigor of thought, unlimited release from the thraldom of old traditions and many a useful lesson in statesmanship and war. Much of the West remains unconquered. Away off beyond the Mississippi and beyond the turbid waters of the muddy Missouri you may travel day after day and night after night over plains without human habitation, watched over by the melancholy mountains. But no man comes back from such travel to-day without an abiding certainty that the third century of the Republic will see those treeless, waterless plains, which lie out so lonely under the lonely sky, swarming with millions of rich, happy and contented citizens of this Republic, made stronger by successful battle with nature and made freer by a faith in themselves which has been often tried and never found wanting. (Prolongd applause.)

WHAT MR. ISHAM SAID.

"The Ready Adjustment of the Descendants of the Pilgrims to All Sorts and Conditions of Life" was the next toast, and Edward S. Isham replied to it. The quotations were:

You shall find me apt enough
An' you will give me occasion.
Romeo and Juliet, Act, III, Scene 1.

In the reproof of chance
Lies the true proof of men.
Troilus and Cressida, Act I, Scene 3.

Mr. Isham's remarks were as follows:

It is an unmerited honor that is accorded me to represent for a moment in this assembly the occasion in commemoration of which it has convened. The two hundred and sixty-eight years now gone would have been a long time to live, and during them one would have seen a range of development impossible in any equal time since history began. But it is because somewhat is still living of the few score persons who touched the Rock of Plymouth in 1620, that this great Society of New-England exists at all and celebrates that event. Its great historic dignity ought never to be in the least obscured. This is not the anniversary of a battle that stunned men's ears when it occurred; nor of the tumultuous storming of the Bastile; nor of the jubilee of a sovereign. It is the anniversary of an event that occurred in obscurity and silence. It was an event of profound peace. It was one whose great significance dawned slowly upon the intellect and appreciation of men; but it has come to outrank in dignity and importance the lost secret of the foundation of Rome, and has found its own exponents in battles unnumbered, in statutes and constitutions, and in the shining standards of states and a Nation. (Applause.)

Mr President, we are not in New-England to-night. This great representative assembly is gathered outside of New-England, and partly from that "immeasurable wilderness" beyond the Ohio, Ames said that when it would be settled or how it could be governed was "past calculation." And that "immeasurable wilderness" seems not to be too well known yet. I have a large globe made upon a special order in London in 1873 expressly to be sent to Chicago. It shows the latest explorations in central Africa, about the head waters of the Nile, but there is no Chicago on it. Its site is called Fort Dearborn. There is no Illinois, Wisconsin or Iowa. The region is marked "Northwest Territory or Huron." Apparently the Geographical society does not face this way. Some of us may be even from that remote Oregon, which the Senator from New-Jersey in 1825 demonstrated was impossible to be represented in Congress, for the representative would spend the whole year at thirty miles a day in the journey to and from the seat of Government. (Laughter.) I suspect the majority of us are domiciled outside of New-England, but until within about 100 years the New-Englander confined himself closely within his own borders. He Now his descendents assert his principles in principles in every Northern community throughout that "sea-to-sea" territory which made such a figure in the Colonial Charters.

So it is in keeping with the truth of history that New-England is represented outside her borders. But let us see things as they are. If those Mayflower Pilgrims, whose graves on the old hill were concealed by the waving grass to protect them from the desecration of savages, solemn in demeanor because the burden of self-sacrifice was always upon them and the shadow of their consecration was always over them, were to enter here, what impression would he theirs at first? Let us not disguise it. From this splendor of lights and apparel and Babylonian luxury they would recoil. They would think, we may be sure of it, that Endicott and Standish had but half done their work on Merrymount and that Maypole. But would time and acquaintance bring them to recognize anything they knew at Plymouth, and familiarize them at length as at home among us? What could and would we show to vindicate our meeting here in their name and the name of their band? What special elements in our conception of citizenship would the Pilgrim hold to? What in our relations to his principles of society and government would lead him to sit down and be one of us? Would anything? Mr. President, I believe so.

THE STRENGTH OF THEIR CIVIL LAW.

Underneath the entire body of civil law in New-England lay the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Every system of philosophy has a social and political as well as a religious and theological side. From Aristotle to Locke politics, ethics and religion are departments in a comprehensive scheme of philosophy. Below the Mosaic Civil Code lay the Mosaic cosmogony and origin of man. Under other systems some were princes because descended from the stars or from gods of the accepted mythology; but men created from the common Mother Earth, by the breath of the Almighty, stand equal. Mr. President, we may believe that under our Republic the equality of men before the law is not impaired but is confirmed. If endangered at all it is by the reckless extravagance that has put the jewel of citizenship into the control of persons unfit for it, and unable to comprehend it. Equality before the law does not mean the license of the Faubourg St. Antoine. All men are equal before the law if the conditions of citizenship are such as every one may satisfy by reasonable effort of his own. Illustrious descent is not the endowment of every one. Wealth in considerable amount is not equally accessible to all. Theological opinion is not a fit basis of discrimination. But reasonable intelligence and education and moral character are. It is an abuse of power when a political party makes a promiscuous award of suffrage merely to recruit a party vote; but no party in this Republic can throw the first stone at the other in this regard. The most serious problem of our citizenship to-day may be solved, and the deepest reproach to our public honor removed in this way by action lawfully within the power of the States. There is a nobler and better way for a State to protect its dignity and security than violence and a "suppressed vote." (Applause.) Society has a right to require that every citizen, every enfranchised person, shall have some stake in the Commonwealth; that he shall be interested in its success; that he shall so place himself as to understand that he has more to gain by public order than by disorder.

Mr. President, have you heard New-England charged with illiberality, or bigotry, or intolerance of opinion? Well, sir, I wish to say that the particular company that in Massachusetts sought to establish a community of "gentlemen and clergy and commoners," etc., and used the dungeon and fire in old European fashion, never represented New-England any more than Calhoun represented the Declaration of Independence. The Scrooby and Leyden minister, John Robinson, was the exponent of the ecclesiastical and moral ideas and discipline of which the Pilgrim Colony was the embodiment. Plymouth was always conspicuous among the New-England colonies for the brotherly tenderness and helpfulness of its citizens between themselves, for scrupulous morality in dealing with all the world, and for the absence of fanaticism and disputes; and, after all, the controversies of Massachusetts are allowed for, it is the influence and spirit of the Pilgrim type that has been dominant. Amidst a world full of controversial bitterness, the voice of Robinson is heard alone in the spirit of peace. He rose above all other men, and taught his people not religion only, but the whole philosophy of society's growth and progress, when he charged them not to think that because they had acquired some new truth that compelled them to break with the world around them, that they had rounded up the sum of available knowledge, for the field was yet open and unexplored. He deplored the sentiment of those who could not go beyond where Luther went, or Calvin, and who "stuck where they left them." He told them they should always be ready to receive any new truth disclosed by any instrument. Rational liberality cannot be broader than this—the intellect always open to new truth among the founders of a new civil society. (Applause.)

THE PURITAN PRINCIPLES.

And, sir, New-England has kept abreast of this principle of conduct. Never was a people more alert to seize upon any invention, or any new fact of science, or any well-founded principle or theory of politics or government. Even in theology the crust was continually breaking up. There is stiffer Calvinism in Kentucky than has prevailed in New-England during this century. They never for a moment thought to drop an anchor in the stream of Time, nor refuse to yield to the current of human thought. Everywhere the descendants of New-England advance with it, and adapt themselves to its conditions. They never obstruct but try to test its quality and truth. They created a society mobile in every part, in which the particles may move as freely as the drops of water in the sea. They made the development of knowledge a vital factor in the conduct of the civil State; and their descendents everywhere believe that citizens should know all they can learn of the constitution of man and society. A Republic will be successful in which every man acts as well as he knows how, and if a man knows enough, he will steadily tend to reject the administration of poison to his moral and social nature as resolutely as to his physical one. (Applause.)

Mr. President, two hundred and sixty-eight years have gone by. Historic events receding in time have been likened to the stern-lights of a departing vessel. But this will not do for us. The Mayflower has sailed away, but her colony is but a light rising on the horizon and coming on. Theorists and historians have dwelt with earnestness upon the wonderful apparent preparation about 2,000 years ago for the introduction and diffusion of the Christian faith by bringing so much of the world just at that time under the one canopy of the Roman Empire. But what shall be said of that which is so conspicuously going on now. The great empires mentioned by Herodotus lie in irredeemable decay in the desolate regions of the Euphrates. If a map of the globe be parted from pole to pole along that line, and expanded, this which is still called the New World is shown to lie between the great civilizations, old and new, of the earth.

On the hand are all the races of Europe with their philosophies and traditions. On the other is that "Mysterious East," as mysterious now as it was in the days of Aristotle and Alexander. There are the most ancient philosophies of the world, of which Europe yet knows little. There are the great religions of Confucius and Buddha and Brahm, and intellectual people trained to the forms of Oriental life and the grooves of Oriental thought. And all these are surely coming here. The ideas of the Jordan and of the Ganges, the political habits and principles of an infinite diversity of races are all to be poured into the crucible of this New World, and fused there. In all this what is to become of the Pilgrim principles which we believe essential to human happiness and the best development of man? Their crusade is yet in its beginnings. They do not prevail as yet throughout our own Republic. With no certainty of fate there is a dark night setting in, or a new dawn is to rise upon full noon, and the issue will remain with the descendants of New-England. (Continued applause.)

The eighth toast was "The Financial Administration of the National Government," and was responded to by W. L. Trenholm. The following thoughts followed the toast:

Money is a good soldier, sir, and will on.
The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act II, Scene 2.

It is noised he hath a mass of treasure,
Let us make the assay upon him.
Timon of Athens, Act IV, Scene 3.

"The Electoral Problem in the South" was responded to by John S. Wise. The quotations were:

Let desert in pure election shine,
And fight for freedom in your choice.
Titus Andronicus, Act I, Scene 1.

Must have their voices; neither will they bate
One jot of ceremony.
Coriolanus, Act II, Scene 2.

GENERAL PORTER ON PILGRIMS ABROAD.

"Pilgrims Abroad" was responded to by General Horace Porter. The sentiments were:

I will go lose myself
And wander up and down.
Comedy of Errors, Act I, Scene 2.

'Tis ever common
That men are merriest when they are from home.
King Henry V, Act I, Scene 2.

General Porter spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: Again has this society assembled to commemorate Forefathers Day. Another instance of that courageous gayety peculiar to New-Englanders, who, in spite of the passage of the Anti-Chinese bill still venture to celebrate the landing of a cargo of foreigners. I congratulate you upon your increased numbers in this hall to-night. You are numerous; you are solid. Even the Brooklyn annex has come down from up stairs and unloaded its passengers here. Your president has been a conspicuous and worthy figure in the labor of purifying politics, but he must admit that his convention here to-night is packed. The Pilgrim, at an early period of his history, started abroad. He climbed over that modern great wall of China, which constitutes the boundary line of New-England, stepped out into the damp, cold fog of a relentless outside world, and brought up in New-York. Why he has settled down in our midst we know not, unless it be on account of that trait of his nature described by the English historian, who said: "The Puritans derived the character of their minds from a constant contemplation of superior beings."

HIS BADGE OF KNIGHTHOOD.

We always recognize the New-England pilgrim by the number of relics of the Mayflower found in his house. They constitute his badge of knighthood, his patent of nobility. You will sometimes find enough in one house to have swamped a small fleet of Mayflowers. There are among them, usually, peaked hats of the vintage of 1620, teapots, modern wooden clocks, patent matches and other things that won't strike, regardless of the age in which such articles are known to have been invented. Our surprise is lessened by recent advices from Boston, which inform us that Mayflower relics are manufactured there, with the proper certificates of genuineness attached, for $1 75 apiece, wholesale, and they are considered cheap at that, as the lie itself is worth twice the money. With the Pilgrim's usual versatility of talent, he soon adapted himself to the frivolities of the metropolis, but he still contends that he does not take that mild view of perdition which is sometimes indulged in by the average New-Yorker. He at times still professes to believe that the doctrine of total depravity is just as good as any other if men only live up to it. When a New-England Pilgrim runs up against a New-Yorker he invariably tries to impress him with the proximity of the punishment to be hereafter. Only as recently as last September we found the headlines of the morning papers announcing that "the Pilgrim collided with the sam Sloan close to Hell Gate." But the Pilgrim takes good care that he shall not be the one to suffer from collisions upon the borders of such a region. He is as conservative in this respect as the Irish cabman in London when he was undertaking to drive an Englishman home from a house at which he had been partaking heavily of that form of convivial hospitality which renders the recipient more or less oblivious to surrounding circumstances. "Where will I drive ye?" said the cabman. "To hell!" muttered the passenger. The cabby drove along some distance, but finding himself rather mixed as to the geography of such a region he got down, opened the door, shook the passenger and said: "Where did ye say I'm to drive ye?" "To hell!" mumbled the passenger. The driver scratched his head, shook the man again, and said: "I big yer pardon, sor, but can I back up when I land ye?"

The old Pilgrim was soundly democratic in his ideas. At an early period he gave up all titles—except on real estate, and on these he tightened his grip. As an agriculturist he could squeeze moisture out of a stone. He was a hopeful man. When children were born to him such was his pride in them that he believed they would begin to pay dividends the first year. His inventive genius has been handed down to his children. They have among other things invented the toboggan, evidently a device to facilitate the backsliding of modern pilgrims.

HE HAS A NATURAL ADVANTAGE.

It is now seen everywhere that the Pilgrim is abroad in the land, and wherever you meet him, when you press his hand and say: "You are from New-England, I believe," he returns the pressure, and frankly replies: Sir, I have that natural advantage." You find him in the country of the Great Lakes, that region of unsalted seas and salted mines. Notwithstanding the shock it must be to one with a Boston grammar school education he mingles with those people of the distant plains whose orthography is precarious and whose pronunciation is erratic. Such is his sense of justice that we see him indulging in that rude form of administering it practised by a vigilance committee, in those cases in which one citizen borrows a horse from another citizen—while he is not looking—and the sudden demise of the borrower is noticed in the local paper the next day as having resulted from nervous prostration followed by hanging. Now that the Pilgrim is abroad you may expect to find him numerously in Washington during the next four years. Previous to last spring's nominating convention I had occasion to cross-examine a number of candidates for the Presidency. Time did not permit me to get through with them all, but from the extent of the promises several of them were making in regard to Cabinet appointments I was impressed with the idea that if certain ones of them were elected they would have the largest Cabinets known to history.

A GENIAL SOUTHERN EXPOSURE TO HIS MIND.

Now that old Pilgrim had a nature which we cannot say was entirely unyielding. He always had a profound respect for the judgment of other men—when it is accorded with his own—and he was quick to imbibe impressions which were in consonance with his original conceptions. To do him justice he was never soured by his solemnity; if his countenance did wear an east wind look of severity, there was a genial southern exposure to his mind; his humor was as unctuous as that of the gayest; and his wit was based upon that best definition of wit—talking in fun and thinking in earnest. He was a natural leader; he was born to command; he could convince when others could not advise. He was of that class of men who mark the hours while others only sound them. He fought out his battles with his fellow men on his feet; he fought out his battles with the devil on his knees; he fought when courage and manhood were his only weapons of defence and a consciousness of right his only hope of reward. In true Cromwellian style,