

if they could meet in the familiarity of personal intercourse, in the fulness of personal knowledge, would not only cease to entertain any bitterness, or alienation, or distrust, but each would utter to the other the words of the Jewish daughter, in that most exquisite of idylls which has come down to us almost from the beginning of time:

"Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God.

"Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part me and thee."

Mr. President, I repeat to-night on Southern soil what I said first in my place in the Senate, and what I repeated in Faneuil Hall, with the full approbation of an enthusiastic and crowded audience, representing the culture and the Puritanism of Massachusetts.

The American people have learned to know as never before the quality of the Southern stock, and to value its noble contribution to the American character; its courage in war, its attachment to home and State, its love of rural life, its capacity for great affection and generous emotion, its aptness for command; above all, its constancy, that virtue above all virtues, without which no people can long be either great or free. After all, the fruit of this vine has a flavor not to be found in other gardens. In the great and magnificent future which is before our country, you are to contribute a large share both of strength and beauty.

The best evidence of our complete reconciliation is that there is no subject that we need to hurry by with our fingers on our lips. The time has come when Americans, north,

south, east, and west, may discuss any question of public interest in a friendly and quiet spirit, without recrimination and without heat, each understanding the other, each striving to help the other, as men who are bearing a common burden and looking forward with a common hope. I know that this is the feeling of the people of the North. I think I know that it is the feeling of the people of the South. In our part of the country we have to deal with the great problems of the strife between labor and capital, and of the government of cities where vast masses of men born on foreign soil, of different nationalities and of different races, strangers to American principles, to American ideas, to American history, are gathered together to exercise the unaccustomed functions of self-government in an almost unrestricted liberty. You have to deal with a race problem rendered more difficult still by a still larger difference in the physical and intellectual qualities of the two races whom Providence has brought together.

I should be false to my own manhood if I failed to express my profound regret and sorrow for some occurrences which have taken place recently, both in the North and in the South. I am bound to say that, considering all the circumstances, the Northern community has been the worse offender.

It is well known (or if it be not well known I am willing to make it known) that I look with inexpressible alarm and dread upon the prospect of adding to our population millions of persons dwelling in tropical climes, aliens in race and in religion, either to share in our self-government, or, what is worse still, to set an example to mankind of the subjection of one people to another. We have not yet solved the problem how men of different races can dwell together in the same land in accordance with our principles of

republican rule and republican liberty. I am not one of those who despair of the solution of that problem in justice and in freedom. I do not look upon the dark side when I think of the future of our beloved land. I count it the one chief good fortune of my own life that, as I grow older, I look out on the world with hope and not despair. We have made wonderful advances within the lifetime of the youngest of us. While we hear from time to time of occurrences much to be deplored and utterly to be condemned, yet, on the whole, we are advancing quite as rapidly as could be expected to the time when these races will live together on American soil in freedom, in honor, and in peace, every man enjoying his just right wherever the American constitution reigns and wherever the American flag floats—when the influence of intelligence, of courage, of energy, inspired by a lofty patriotism and by a Christian love will have its full and legitimate effect, not through disorder, or force, or lawlessness, but under the silent and sure law by which always the superior leads and the inferior follows. The time has already come when throughout large spaces in our country both races are dwelling together in peace and harmony. I believe that condition of things to be the rule in the South and not to be the exception. We have a right to claim that the country and the South shall be judged by the rule and not the exception.

But we want you to stand by us in our troubles as brethren and as countrymen. We shall have to look, in many perils that are before us in the near future, to the conservatism and wisdom of the South. And if the time shall come when you think we can help you your draft shall be fully honored.

But to-night belongs to the memory of the Pilgrims. The Pilgrim of Plymouth has a character in history distinct from

any other. He differed from the Puritan of Salem or Boston in everything but the formula in which his religious faith was expressed. He was gentle, peaceful, tolerant, gracious. There was no intolerance or hatred or bigotry in his little commonwealth. He hanged no witches, he whipped no Quakers, he banished no heretic. His little State existed for seventy-two years, when it was blended with the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He enacted the mildest code of laws on the face of the earth. There were but eight capital offences in Plymouth. Sir James Mackintosh held in his hand a list of two hundred and twenty-three when he addressed the House of Commons at the beginning of the present century. He held no foot of land not fairly obtained by honest purchase. He treated the Indian with justice and good faith, setting an example which Vattel, the foremost writer on the law of nations, commends to mankind. In his earliest days his tolerance was an example to Roger Williams himself, who has left on record his gratitude for the generous friendship of Winslow. Governor Bradford's courtesy entertained the Catholic priest, who was his guest, with a fish dinner on Friday. John Robinson, the great leader of the Pilgrims, uttered the world's declaration of religious independence when he told his little flock on the wharf at Delft Haven, as reported by Winslow:

“We are ere long to part asunder and the Lord knoweth whether he should live to see our face again. But, whether the Lord hath appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and, if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as we were to receive any truth by his ministry, for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break out of his Holy Word.”

The Pilgrim was a model and an example of a beautiful, simple, and stately courtesy. John Robinson, and Bradford, and Brewster, and Carver, and Winslow differ as much from the dark and haughty Endicott, or the bigoted Cotton Mather as, in the English church, Jeremy Taylor, and George Herbert, and Donne, and Vaughn differ from Laud, or Bonner, or Bancroft.

Let us not be misunderstood. I am not myself a descendant from the Pilgrims. Every drop of my blood through every line of descent for three centuries has come from a Puritan ancestor. I am ready to do battle for the name and fame of the Massachusetts Puritan in any field and against any antagonist. Let others, if they like, trace their lineage to Norman pirate or to robber baron. The children of the Puritan are not ashamed of him. The Puritan, as a distinct, vital, and predominant power, lived less than a century in England. He appeared early in the reign of Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, and departed at the restoration of Charles II, in 1660. But in that brief period he was the preserver, aye, the creator of English freedom. By the confession of the historians who most dislike him, it is due to him that there is an English constitution. He created the modern House of Commons. That House, when he took his seat in it, was the feeble and timid instrument of despotism. When he left it, it was what it has ever since been—the strongest, freest, most venerable legislative body the world has ever seen. When he took his seat in it, it was little more than the register of the king's command. When he left it, it was the main depository of the national dignity and the national will. King and minister and prelate who stood in his way he brought to the bar and to the block. In the brief but crowded century he made the name of Englishman

the highest title of honor upon the earth. A great historian has said: "The dread of his invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the island. He placed the name of John Milton high on the illustrious roll of the great poets of the world, and the name of Oliver Cromwell highest on the roll of English sovereigns." The historian might have added that the dread of this invincible leader was on all the inhabitants of Europe.

And so, when a son of the Puritans comes to the South, when he visits the home of the Rutledges and the Pinckneys and of John C. Calhoun, if there be any relationship in heroism or among the lovers of constitutional liberty, he feels that he can

"Claim kindred there and have the claim allowed."

The Puritan differs from the Pilgrim as the Hebrew prophet from St. John. Abraham, ready to sacrifice Isaac at the command of God; Jeremiah, uttering his terrible prophecy of the downfall of Judea; Brutus, condemning his son to death; Brutus, slaying his friend for the liberty of Rome; Aristides, going into exile, are his spiritual progenitors, as Stonewall Jackson was of his spiritual kindred. You will find him wherever men are sacrificing life or the delights of life on the altar of duty.

But the Pilgrim is of a gentler and a lovelier nature. He, too, if duty or honor call, is ready for the sacrifice. But his weapon is love and not hate. His spirit is the spirit of John, the Beloved Disciple, the spirit of grace, mercy, and peace. His memory is as sweet and fragrant as the perfume of the little flower which gave its name to the ship which brought him over.

So, Mr. President, responding to your sentiment, I give you mine:

South Carolina and Massachusetts, the Presbyterian and the Puritan, the Huguenot and the Pilgrim; however separated by distance or by difference, they will at last surely be drawn together by a common love of liberty and a common faith in God.

FAVORING MCKINLEY'S RE-ELECTION

SPEECH DELIVERED AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, OCTOBER 12, 1900

IT is more than fifty years since I ceased to be a dweller in Concord. A few old men are all there are left of the companions of my boyhood. And yet I cannot overcome the feeling that it is strange that I should come here to speak and not to hear—to give instruction and not to get it. Certainly no Concord man, however long he may live, wherever on the face of the earth he may wander, can fail to carry with him the inspiration of the spot. The great generations of the Puritan and the Revolution and the war for the Union seem ever standing upon these plains, clasping hands in an eternal companionship. For myself, the influence of Concord through my whole life has been around me and over me like a sky.

From the beginning, since Peter Bulkeley came here in 1635, this town has been consecrated to righteousness and liberty. There have been great men here whose fame, like the shot our ancestors fired at the bridge, has been heard round the world. Concord has owed much to them. But I think they would all be glad to say they have owed quite as much to Concord.

Governor Banks said at Cambridge, in his somewhat grandiloquent way, speaking of old Josiah Quincy, that he would be reckoned among honorable men if their number were reduced to that of the mouths of the Nile or the gates of Thebes. I suppose of the number of the men who have been great inspirers of mankind, either of the intellect or the spirit, for a thousand years were to be counted upon the fingers of the two hands, however otherwise the list might be made up, it would still contain the name of Waldo Emerson.

I remember also the gracious and beautiful woman whose presence gave a new charm to the historic old manse whose genius explored almost the whole range of literature and science; of whom Edward Everett said she could fill every professor's chair in Harvard College and who, while she discharged every household duty, read *Æschylus* or *Tacitus* or the "*Mécanique Céleste*" in the interval of rocking the cradle.

I will not speak of men of my own blood and kindred. But I recall also, what a few only of you will recall with me, the name of another Emerson, also a dweller in Concord, whom I think with good reason to have been the brightest genius ever born on New England soil. His brother Waldo, who was eight years his senior, said of him that all the years to come of his life leaned upon him; that he deferred to him on so many questions and trusted him more than himself; that he never should hear again such speaking as his; that his genius and the weight of his thoughts made Shakespeare seem more conceivable to him. This estimate of Charles Emerson was not born of a brother's fondness. Daniel Webster, with whom he studied law, when he was asked where Charles Emerson should settle, answered: "Let him settle anywhere. Let him settle in the midst of the backwoods in Maine. The

clients will throng after him." Dr. Channing said when he died that all New England mourned his loss; and Edward Everett spoke his eulogy at Harvard. Wendell Holmes said of him: "A beautiful, high-souled, pure spirit, he was the very ideal of an embodied celestial intelligence; a soul glowing like the rose of morning with enthusiasm; a character white as the lily in purity." Charles Emerson died in early youth. But he was already preparing himself to deal with the great question which then lowered like a dark cloud over the public life of this country and looked forward with good reason to the debates in the Senate as to his natural and proper sphere. He was alive with the spirit of liberty. Miss Martineau records that when, after the murder of Lovejoy, the mob in Boston threatened the persons who met in Faneuil Hall to express their sympathy that the adored Charles Emerson, as she calls him, said that it was better that Boston be laid in ashes than that free speech should be suppressed.

So I hope you will believe that I could not come to Concord to bring base and ignoble counsel. Four years ago this town gave President McKinley 517 votes, against 105 for Mr. Bryan. The State gave him 175,000 majority. I suppose but for one question that majority would be largely increased this year. But for one question our Republican meetings in Massachusetts would be not to debate public policies, but only to sing pæans of triumph. We have the same old Democratic party; we have the same old Mr. Bryan; we have, with this one exception, the same old declaration of purpose in the same old platform. Every Republican promise, every Republican prophecy has been fulfilled. We touched the high-water mark of prosperity so far under the McKinley bill four years before. We had touched the low-water mark of adversity in the four years' nightmare of Democratic administra-

tion. We have waked from that hideous dream and the prosperity of the American people has risen higher yet.

We had a great debate in 1896. We made up the issue and the Democratic party was defeated. We have had four years' experience. The Democratic party comes back, I say, for a new trial with the same old candidate, the same old leaders, and, with one, or perhaps I ought properly to say, two exceptions, the same old doctrines. They mean to elect Mr. Bryan if they can; they mean to get the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 if they can; they mean to overthrow the protective system, if they can; they mean to adopt Mr. Bryan's remedy for what they call "trusts" or great and overgrown aggregations of capital, if they can; they mean to impose an income tax by national authority, if they can, and they mean to reconstruct the Supreme Court of the United States, if they can. Two other questions have assumed prominence at the present time not discussed in the last election, but practical questions now. In five States at the South the Democratic party has succeeded by ingenious processes in taking away from the colored men the right to vote. Other States are following their examples, so that before long if they do not stop there are to be ten million colored peons in the United States deprived of the rights of American citizenship, and the question is upon us whether we shall execute the constitutional mandate that the Southern Democratic States which have done this thing shall have their representation in Congress proportionately reduced, or whether you and I also are to be disfranchised and have fifty or sixty men make laws for us who represent nothing but usurpation. That question demands our attention now.

Another question has come up for our consideration. That

question is how we are to deal with the people of the Philippine Islands. And in speaking of it, as I shall do before I get through, I purpose to take the bull squarely by the horns. I stated in my place in the Senate, as I have stated in many appeals to the public while the question was going on, my total dissent from the policy which was adopted in the Spanish treaty of 1899. I declared at the same time with equal emphasis that my hope for the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness and liberty, as I understood them in this matter, was in the Republican party and nowhere else. I have never said one thing without saying the other. Both those propositions I stand by to-day. If there has been any mistake or wrong in the past, Mr. William J. Bryan is as responsible for it as any man, as any ten men in the United States, since the treaty left the hands of the President. It was he who stabbed the cause of anti-imperialism in the back in the hour of its assured victory. He says that he wanted to get the question out of the way and to restore peace, and that he trusted to a resolution of the Senate to prevent the mischief which the treaty would accomplish. I shall deal with this pretext a little later. I will say one thing about it at this moment. The Senate was the stronghold, the citadel, the West Point of the opposition to what is called imperialism. It was agreed by everybody, it was distinctly asserted by the President, that we had no title whatever to any part of the Philippine Islands save only the city of Manila. We could get no title to any part of the Philippine Islands except by a treaty with Spain, which could be accomplished only by a two thirds vote of the Senate. The defeat of the treaty was as sure, as it seemed, as the rising of to-morrow's sun, with many votes to spare, when Mr. Bryan came in person to Washington to secure its adoption.

He was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party; he had been its candidate at the last election; he was sure to be at the next election. He put forth all his authority to induce his unwilling followers to change their attitude and to vote for the treaty, in spite of the remonstrances of the wisest and most experienced leaders of the Democracy. It was as if some great military and political leader of the Revolutionary war had surrendered West Point to the enemy in the midst of the struggle, had got the Continental Congress to declare that we were the lawful subjects of Great Britain and that King George was our rightful sovereign, and said that he did it because he wanted peace; that he hoped later to get through a resolution somewhere which would declare our independence.

But I wish to speak for a moment of the other issues of the campaign. I speak of them because I believe that Mr. Bryan does not mean business in this matter of imperialism, or if he does mean business, he means nothing that will not be better and more safely accomplished by the Republican party, and that he does mean business in the matter of the free coinage of silver and the attack on the supreme court and the establishment of free trade and his reckless and destructive plans of dealing with the matter of trusts.

Nobody is talking much about the tariff just now. We have debated that question in this country for a hundred years. I am not going to debate it now. We have the theorist on one side and the practical man and the statesman on the other. All the time experience has given the lie to theory. Nearly every statesman whose name has survived the falling of the gravel on his coffin has come to adopt the doctrine of protection. The men who are charged with the administration of great industries, who must pay good wages if they