

SPEECH OF CARL SCHURZ.

At a dinner given to the Hon. Carl Schurz by the Massachusetts Reform Club on the evening of April 24, Mr. Schurz clearly set forth his views as to the ground the Independents ought to take toward the administration.

As these views cannot fail to be of interest to all civil service reformers, we print his speech in full:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Massachusetts Reform Club,— When I came to Boston, I expected to meet a few friends around a small table; but, behold, I see here this grand dinner. It has taken me somewhat unawares. Permit me to thank you for the honor conferred upon me. I cannot help saying that, standing here among you, I do not feel exactly as one of your guests, but rather as if I were at home. Seeing so many well-known faces before me, remembering the many occasions upon which we have met, it seems to me that I may not only speak to you, but speak as one of you. I even feel somewhat tempted to introduce you to our distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, who honors us by his presence to-night. He probably does not know yet as well as I do what interesting, lively, and perhaps dangerous, company he is in. These young men—for we are all young men, and intend to remain so to our last days—are accustomed to do their own thinking and their own talking, and sometimes a little regardless of consequences, and certainly without consideration of what effect their talking may have upon their chances to get into office. It must have struck my distinguished friend with what cordiality I have been received. I am sure he will be received with the same. It will be entirely honest and sincere. But I warn him that these gentlemen are somewhat irreverent and no respecters of persons. If ever he or I should do anything appearing wrong to them, they would hold us over the coals with equal honesty and sincerity. We had better remember that. It will serve to keep us straight.

Gentlemen of the Club, when men interested in the cause of reform meet nowadays, they do so with the satisfactory feeling that they can report progress, and a good deal of it, too. I say a good deal of it, too, but not enough to permit you to rest upon your oars. How much watchfulness, how much work, how many efforts to enlighten public opinion upon this great theme may still be required was recently illustrated by a very curious and characteristic occurrence. The President of the United States took it into his head to appoint a postmaster who had proved to be an exceedingly efficient public servant, but was not of his own party. This occurrence created an immense excitement all over the United States. The politicians in every part of the land were in a commotion hot to the boiling point. And let me say, by the way, this is probably the only civilized country on the face of the globe where the reappointment of a very efficient, capable public officer, regardless of political opinion, would be looked upon as anything extraordinary. In any other civilized land, I am sure it would be taken not only as a proper, but as a natural thing. In this respect, this great republic enjoys an exclusive and by no means very creditable distinction. Here, the excitement over that occurrence was immense. The old-fashioned partisan mind, Republican as well as Democratic, could not grasp it at all. It could not be that a Democratic President could appoint a Republican postmaster for no other reason than that that postmaster had shown himself an uncommonly good officer, most efficient in serving the public interest. The old-fashioned partisan spirit could not conceive of it! So, then, it cast about for an explanation; and it found one. It was this: There is a class of persons in the United States called the Independents, or, more euphoniously, the Mugwumps. They were reported to have done some respectable service to the successful candidate in the last campaign. The partisan mind thought that for that service they were entitled to some reward in the shape of spoils, entitled to what is commonly called recognition. And it was said, inasmuch as they asked for nothing else in the shape of recognition but the reappointment of that postmaster, let them have it: it is payment in full for all that they have done in the late campaign. Now, this was an idea which the old-fashioned partisan mind could understand. Of course, some of the papers said that their share of the spoils was rather too much; for it was doubtful, after all, whether the Independents or the Rev. Mr. Burchard, with his "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," had done the business. Nevertheless, the partisan mind was satisfied. It saw at least the principle of spoils, and that was in keeping with its ideas. I regret to say, in the interest of truth, I have to dispel that pleasing view. The fact is not only that there was no bargain between President Cleveland and the Independents, either before or after the election, and no idea of recognition, but that even when the idea of recognition was suggested, as far as I know,—and I may be supposed to know something about it,—the idea was distinctly repudiated. The understanding between President Cleveland and the Independents was perfectly simple. It was that the service they had done in the campaign was free of charge; if they venture upon giving him a piece of advice occasion-

ally now, it is free of charge again; that they did not deny, as to the appointment of that postmaster, that they liked him, and they had a right to, but that Mr. Cleveland appointed that postmaster, not in recognition of a debt he owed to the Independents, but in recognition of a duty he owed to the country. Possibly, it may even be discovered that President Cleveland himself thought of that reappointment before anybody suggested it to him.

The old-fashioned partisan spirit must, after all, accept things as they are. The great calamity has actually happened. The country does stand afflicted with a Democratic President who has shown himself capable of reappointing a Republican postmaster, for the simple contemptible reason that it was in the public interest! It may be dreadful, but it is so. Now, the only consolation the old-fashioned partisan mind has is that, while the President may have done this thing once, he will certainly never do it again. But, as we disagreed upon the matter of recognition before, so I am afraid we must disagree upon the matter of repetition also. The reasoning of the Mugwumps is exceedingly simple. If the reappointment of a Republican postmaster by a Democratic President, for the purpose of serving the public interest, was not a good thing, then it ought not to have been done at all. But, if it was a good thing; then we cannot get too much of that good thing. Seriously speaking, the value of that reappointment would be very limited indeed,—in my opinion, at least,—if it remained an isolated occurrence. It would simply show what should be done, what could be done, but what is not done. The principal value of this action would consist in its being the beginning and an illustration of a general policy. I do not mean that the President should hunt up pretexts for keeping as many Republican officers in place as possible. No: I think it will be, in many respects, a good thing for the country if a good many changes are made. But what I do mean,—and I think here I am expressing the sentiment of almost every sincere friend of reform who tries to promote it for its own sake,—what I do mean is that the character of the public service would be vastly improved, and that the moral as well as the intellectual standards of our public life would be greatly raised, if the purely administrative, the non-political part of our governmental machinery were taken out of partisan politics.

See how the thing works. If President Cleveland permits every Republican office-holder to serve out his term, but upon the expiration of every Republican commission puts in a Democrat, then at the end of his Presidential term the whole civil service—with the exception of the comparatively few subordinate places covered by the civil service law, and a very few more exceptions—will be essentially a Democratic partisan service. If, then, the Republicans win, they need only follow the example set by President Cleveland to make it an essentially Republican partisan service again, and so on by terms. Is it not remarkable how the Republicans understand this thing? Every Republican spoils politician you will see raising his voice encouraging the Democratic administration to remove as many Republicans as possible to put Democrats in their places. Why does he do this? Not because he prefers to see Democrats in the public offices, but because at the time when the Republican partisans may return to power they do not want to be fettered by a precedent set by President Cleveland. They see very clearly that this involves essentially a "new deal" every time the party in power changes; and they see also that the prospect of a new deal will always keep our political contests, what in a large measure they have long been, scrambles for public plunder, and it will always preserve in our public service an almost irresistible tendency to develop into party machine business, with all its abuses. That is the reason why the Republican spoilsmen encourage it now.

What is to be done? If that branch of our service which is purely administrative and essentially non-political is to be taken out of partisan politics, then some President brought in by a change of party in power must make a beginning. He will have to make a beginning by leaving a certain number of officers belonging to the opposite party in place upon the single ground of superior merit. The first consequence will be that every officer in the service of the government will be taught that, if he preserves his integrity intact, if he gives his full mind and energy to his official duties so as to raise himself the standard of eminent efficiency, then he will have an excellent chance of remaining in office, even if the party in power changes. I put it to you whether anything can be done that will raise the character of the service to a higher point than that. But, secondly, the President doing this will set a precedent which no subsequent administration, to whatever party it may belong, will be permitted by public opinion to set aside. And thus he will have rendered a service to the republic that will not only be great and valuable for the time being, but will be a lasting benefit for all time to come. Now, we are told that nobody can blame President Cleveland for not doing this thing; for he has not promised it. That is true: he has not promised it; and, if he does not do it, no man can have a right to say that he has broken his word. But his not having promised it does not make that policy any the less good, important, and desirable. And, moreover, I remember that in Mr. Cleveland's

public career there are several instances when he did things to which he was not pledged, simply because they were right and good; and I must confess I cannot bring myself to give up my belief in the possibility, in this case as well as in others, of his outdoing his promises by his performances. Here, I am reminded of an outcry, which now and then has been raised by the party press, that we Independents are so impudent and presumptuous as to pretend to dictate to the administration. My fellow-citizens, does any one of you think that any such attempt has been made? As far as I am aware, we have only claimed the privilege of American citizens to have an opinion and to express it. And, if the politicians accuse us of dictating, it is simply because the opinions we have and express do not always chime with their desires and their interests. If there is any dictating to the administration done, then I apprehend it is more done by the spoils politicians, who want things, than by the Mugwumps, who do not. The whole matter reminds me somewhat of Mr. Lincoln's celebrated saying, when he defined Douglas' theory of non-interference. When A wants to make B a slave, then C has no right to interfere. When the spoils politicians try to drag down the government, and make President Cleveland break his promise and ruin his administration, then we are accused of dictating for giving him a little modest advice not to do so. Our business, as I understand it, is to address ourselves to the patriotic impulses of the American people, the administration always included in the advocacy of sound notions of good government, thus trying to build up a healthy and a strong public opinion.

Now, in order to do this with good effect, I think there are certain mistakes which we must be careful to avoid. This is one. I have heard some friends of reform, good, honest men, say that we must not fix our aims too high, that we must not ask nor expect from anybody anything that is perfect, that we must not embarrass those in power by setting up standards too lofty, by recognizing their obligations to make sometimes material concessions to old abuses, prejudice, and exploded notions. Gentlemen of the Reform Club, that is not my opinion at all. When the friends and representatives of the reform movement talk thus, they will always be in great danger of demoralizing public sentiment. I think we should advance our standard to the highest notch. We should point out the best thing as the thing to be struggled for. We should never tell those in power that we do not expect them to struggle for the best, and that they may mix some badness with their efforts for the public good.

On the other hand, I think another mistake we ought to avoid is to be hasty, captious, and unfair in our criticisms. Whenever reproving an error of action, we should always be ready to give credit for honesty of purpose and intention, whenever we have good reason to believe that it really exists. And, of all things, we should never grow hysterical at a disappointment. Here a case in point. After having made a number of very good appointments, of which our honored and distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, is one, President Cleveland has, it appears, made a few bad ones. We shall not deny that the shock was painful. At the same time, I do not think that anybody who knows the man or anybody who has the cause of good government at heart will be hasty in ascribing to him any design of turning his back upon his high purposes of conducting the government. What we may say in truth is that he has been imposed upon by very bad counsel. President Cleveland has to learn a good many things which other Presidents had to learn before him. He will have to learn among other things — and here I speak as one who has gone through the mill himself — that, of those who make recommendations or requests for appointments, the members of Congress, in nine cases out of ten, are the least to be trusted. And I will tell you the reason. It is one which is inherent in weak human nature. It is that in recommending appointments for their district in many cases, — let me say there are very honorable exceptions among them, — in most cases they have at heart much more the building up of the local machine than the welfare of the people of the United States or the honor of the administration. Gentlemen, you will all agree with me, when I say that it would be unreasonable to expect even the best man in power not to make any mistakes. But it will not be unreasonable to expect, when he has discovered a mistake, that he shall be prompt and earnest in correcting it. I do not mean to say that, whatsoever may happen, you should keep silent. By no means. On the contrary, I consider it the bounden duty of every friend of good government to inform those in power of whatever may go wrong. He should do so firmly, frankly, without malice, and without mincing matters. For, let me tell you, the atmosphere of Washington is sometimes so thick with flattery and with selfish advice that the sound waves of public opinion can scarcely penetrate it, unless they are propelled with a certain vigor. But one thing keep in mind. If you want your criticism to be effective, above all, see to it that it be just.

But, in any event, we gentlemen have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the tremendous progress made by the reform movement against what some time ago appeared almost overwhelming odds. Our successes have been fairly astonishing. Now, at last, the people begin to wake up to it, to understand its principles and to appreciate its aims and its benefits. We have only to go on in the way in

which we have begun, and we shall accomplish it all. One thing is certain, and that is that the reform movement has come to stay and grow. We enjoy to-day a great advantage over former times. Years ago, every effort to improve the methods of government was overshadowed by a dark cloud of supposed danger looming up in the South, having been left behind by the Rebellion. Lately, I have traversed the South myself, seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears; and I can express to you my deliberate conviction that to-day the South is as loyal to the Union as is any part of it. And, when I hear the politicians continue to prate about rebels, I ask myself the question, Where in this country is the man that is in rebellion against his government to-day? The only shadow of an organized resistance to the Union appears down in Virginia among the readjusters, who are allied with the Republican party. No, my fellow-citizens: when I hear politicians who pretend to be statesmen speak about rebels and rebellion to-day, I must confess it appears to me not only a very pitiable demagoguery, but it would appear in the highest degree as a wicked and unpatriotic demagoguery, if they could do any mischief by it. Now, we have a right to feel that the field for reform is free. Gentlemen of the Reform Club, let us keep our eyes firmly fixed upon our high objects, and then go resolutely ahead.

HONORING SCHURZ.

THE DINNER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS REFORM CLUB.

A Distinguished Gathering—A Thoughtful Address by Mr. Schurz—Mr. Phelps Compliments Mr. Lowell—Other Speeches.

The Massachusetts Reform Club gave a reception and dinner to the Hon. Carl Schurz at the Parker House last evening. The company present was large, numbering about 200, and included many leading independents. Shortly after five o'clock the reception was held in the banquet hall of the hotel for an hour or more, after which the club and its guests sat down to the dinner. Mr. John S. Farlow, president of the club, occupied the chair, and on his right were seated Mr. Schurz, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Henry L. Pierce, Leonold Morse, William Everett and Edward Atkinson. On his left were Minister E. J. Phelps, Causten Browne, Leverett Saltonstall and Charles Theodore Russell. Among other gentlemen present were John C. Dodge, Phineas Pierce, Darwin E. Ware, Emil Heidenreich, Moorfield Storey, Henry W. Putnam, A. J. C. Sowdon, Moses Williams, W. R. Richards, M. V. Kellen, William O. Blake, George Fred Williams, J. Russell Reed, Louis D. Brandeis, Edward B. Russell and Samuel Bowles. The bill of fare was both handsome and original production. The cover bore a portrait of Mr. Schurz, and the inscription: "Massachusetts Reform Club; Complimentary Dinner to the Hon. Carl Schurz;" with the date and place. The contents of the inner pages were as follows:—

MASSACHUSETTS REFORM CLUB.

An old mungwump sat on a stump
As the blossom bloomed on the tree,
But never a word said the proud old bird,
And never a song sang he
But "titty lol lol" from the rise of Sol
Till he sank in the western sea.
As the walkin rang with the song he sang
Along came a g. o. p.
And he anceringly heard the song of the bird—
"Wha titty this is," quoth he,
"Or a bird to hawl his 'titty lol lol'
To such a big chap as me!"
When the autumn came and the other game
Flew southward over the len,
That old mungwump still sat on the stump,
And gloomily still sang he,
"O, titty lol lol, you're a goner, by gol!"
As he glared at the g. o. p.
Now the willows wave o'er the new made grave
Of the frivolous g. o. p.
And the old mungwump still roosts on the stump,
And merrily chirpeth he,
"O, titty lol lol" from the rise of Sol
Till he sinks in the western sea.

—(Chicago News.)

You must have officers; and who, aye who?
—(Childe Harvart.)

PRESIDENT.

John S. Farlow.
I believe I am the head of this family.—(Thackeray.)

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Leverett Saltonstall.
A man in much esteem with the king, and truly a worthy friend.—(King Henry VIII.)
Charles Francis Adams, Jr.
The Union (Facile), it must and shall be preserved.—(after) A. Jackson.

Theodore Lyman.

I have done the State some service, and they know it.—(Othello.)

William Everett.

Nor headlong carried by the stream of will,
Nor by his own elect on led to ill.—(Daniel's Civil War.)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Winslow Warren, Chairman.
Game, so far as Warren extended.—(Blackstone.)
John W. Carter, Secretary.
Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said, 'Let Newton be!' and all was light.—(Pope.)

Edward Atkinson.

You have ta'en the tenders for true pay which are not sterling.—(Hamlet.)

Moorfield Storey.

Oh, that Record is lively in my soul.—(Twelfth Night.)

Josiah Quincy.

There went out a decree that all the world should be taxed.—(Luke II.)

F. F. Raymond, 2d.

For though I am not splenetic and rash,
Yet have I in me something dangerous.—(Hamlet.)

Soup. (Not a heavy plate.)
Conjugal (per Cleveland.)
Kind regards to Mrs. Fisher.—(Complete Latin Writer.)
Shad à la Maitre d'hotel. Filet de sole, Buffalo Sauce.
De mortuis nil nisi bonum.—(Latin Proverb.)
Whose kosheth his mouth, keepeth his sole.
Removes. (For cause only.) Chicken Sauts.
Filet de bœuf aux champignons.—(Dictionnaire, x. 30.)
The righteous shall never be removed.—(Dictionnaire, x. 30.)
Entrées. (Démocratiques.)
Lamb cutlets, purée d'épinards.
Sweetbread Croquettes, purée d'asperges.
Fried Bananas.
And lamb the frolic and the gentle.—(Wordsworth.)
Till sunrise the lamb that I do love.—(Twelfth Night.)
Salad.
A rapacious combination.—(Evarts.)
Chicken salad. Mayonnaise of lettuce.
Herbs and other country innesces.
Which the neat handed Phillis dresses.—(Milton.)
Give him a row of notches on his suit.
And lead him on with a hot bed delay.—(Merry Wives of Windsor.)
Roman Punch.
Punch, brothers, punch with care!—(Mark Twain.)
The noblest Roman of them all.—(Julius Cæsar.)
Game. (Cleveland—always.)
Quail. English snipe (from the Soudan).
A wud from the Lord brought quails.—(Numbers.)
Shall I call thee bird, or but a vaandering voice?—(Wordsworth.)

Sweets.
Cabinet pudding à la Bayard. Biscuit glacé.
Charlotte Russé à la Pénitence. Omelette soufflée.
And out of the earth a fabric huge rose like an exhalation.—(Milton.)
I will make an end of my dinner;
There's pipkins and cheese to come.—(Merry Wives of Windsor.)
Cheese.
Fromage de brie.
That night the baron dreamt of many a woe.—(St. Agnes Eve.)
Fruits. (Of victory.)
Apples. Oranges. Bananas. Nuts.
They might have lived to bear and to taste the fruits of duty.—(King Richard II.)
Ice cream. Coffee. Sherbet. Cigars.
"Brûlez ma lettre."—(Bourlambaque.)

N.B.—No reform needed in the civil service at the Parker House, though the chief Butler be absent.

After the dinner Mr. Farlow called the assembly to order, and in a few words outlined the object for which the club had been formed and the work it had accomplished. He then introduced the honored guest of the club, the Hon. Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Civil Service Reform Club.—When I came to Boston I expected to meet a few friends around a small table, but behold, I see here this grand dinner. It has taken me somewhat unawares. Permit me to thank you for the honor conferred upon me. I cannot help saying that, standing here among you, I do not feel exactly as one of your guests, but rather as if I were at home. [Applause.] Seeing so many well known faces before me, remembering the many occasions upon which we have met, it seems to me that I may not only speak to you, but speak as one of you. I even feel somewhat tempted to introduce you to our distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, who honors us by his presence tonight. [Applause.] He probably does not know yet as well as I do what interesting, lively, and perhaps dangerous, company he is in. [Applause.] These young men—for we are all young men, and intend to remain so to our last days—are accustomed to do their own thinking and their own talking, and sometimes a little regardless of consequences, and certainly without consideration of what effect their talking may have upon their chances to get into office. [Laughter and applause.] It must have struck my distinguished friend with what cordially I have been received. I am sure he will be received with the same. It will be entirely honest and sincere. But I warn him that these gentlemen are somewhat irreligious and no respecters of persons. If ever he or I should do anything appearing wrong to them, they would hold us over the coals with equal honesty and

sincerity. [Laughter and applause.] We had better remember that. It will serve to keep us straight. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the club, when men interested in the cause of reform meet nowadays they do so with the satisfactory feeling that they can report progress [applause], and a good deal of it, too. I say a good deal of it, too, but not enough to permit you to rest upon your oars. [Applause.] How much watchfulness, how much work, how many efforts to enlighten public opinion upon this great theme may still be required, was recently illustrated by a very curious and characteristic occurrence. The President of the United States took it into his head to appoint a postmaster who had proved to be an exceedingly efficient public servant, but was not of his own party. This occurrence created an immense excitement all over the United States. The politicians in every part of the land were in a commotion not to the boiling point. And (to say the way, this is probably the only civilized

that service they were entitled to some reward in the shape of spoils, entitled to what is commonly called recognition. [Laughter.] And it was said, I think, that they asked for nothing else in the shape of recognition but the reappointment of that postmaster. Let them have it! It is payment in full for all that they have done in the late campaign. Now, this is a case in which the old fashioned partisan mind could understand. Of course, some of the party said that their share of the spoils was rather too much for it was doubtful, after all, whether the independents or the Rev. Mr. Hurdman, with his "Rumanism and rebellion," had done the business. [Laughter.] Nevertheless, the partisan mind was satisfied. It saw at least the principle of spoils, and that was in keeping with its ideas. I regret to say, in the interest of truth, I have to dispel that pleasing view. The fact is not only that there was no bargain between President Cleveland and the independents, either before or after the election, and no idea of recognition, but that even when the idea of recognition was suggested, as far as I know—and I may be supposed to know something about it [applause]—the idea was distinctly repudiated. The understanding between President Cleveland and the independents was perfectly simple. It was that the service they had done in the campaign was free of charge [applause]; that they venture upon giving him a piece of advice occasionally new, it is free of charge again [applause]; that they did not deny, as to the appointment of that postmaster, that they liked him, and they had a right to, but that Mr. Cleveland appointed that postmaster, not in recognition of a debt he owed to the independents, but in recognition of a duty he owed to the country. [Great applause.] Possibly it may even be discovered that President Cleveland himself thought of that reappointment before anybody suggested it to him.

The old fashioned partisan spirit must, after all, accept things as they are. The great calamity has actually happened. The country does stand afflicted with a democratic President who has shown himself capable of reappointing a republican postmaster, for the simple conceivable reason that it was in the public interest. [Applause.] It may be dreadful, but it is so. Now, the only consolation the old fashioned partisan mind has, in that, while the President may have done this thing once, he will certainly never do it again. But as we disagreed upon the matter of recognition before, so I am afraid we must disagree upon the matter of reappointment also. The reasoning of the mugwumps is exceedingly simple. If the reappointment of a republican postmaster by a democratic President for the purpose of serving the public interest was not a good thing, then it ought not to have been done at all. But if it was a good thing, then we cannot get too much of that good thing. [Applause.] Seriously speaking, the value of that reappointment would be very limited, indeed, in my opinion at least, if it remained an isolated occurrence. It would simply show what should be done, what could be done, but what is not done. The principal value of this action would consist in its being the beginning and an illustration of a general policy. [Applause.] I do not mean that the President should hunt up pretexts for keeping as many republican officers in place as possible. No. I think it will be, in many respects, a good thing for the country if a good many changes are made. [Great applause.] But what I do mean—and I think here I am expressing the sentiment of almost every sincere friend of reform who tries to promote it for its own sake—what I do mean is that the character of the public service would be vastly improved; and that the moral as well as the intellectual standards of our public life would be greatly raised if the purely administrative, the non-political part of our governmental machinery were taken out of partisan politics. [Applause.]

See how the thing works. If President Cleveland permits every republican office holder to serve out his term, but upon the expiration of every republican commission puts in a democrat, then at the end of his presidential term the whole civil service—with the exception of the comparatively few subordinate places covered by the civil service law and a very few more exceptions—will be essentially a democratic partisan service. If, then, the republicans win, they need only follow the example set by President Cleveland to make it an essentially republican partisan service again, and so on by turns. Is it not remarkable how the republicans understand this thing? Every republican spoils politician you will see raising his voice encouraging the democratic administration to remove as many republicans as possible to put democrats in their places. [Applause.] Why does he do this? Not because he prefers to see democrats in the public offices, but because at the time when the republican party is in the ascendant, the power that is most important to be flattered by a President set by President Cleveland. [Great applause.] "Good!" and applause. They see very clearly that this involves essentially a "new deal" every time the party in power changes, and they see also that the prospect of a new deal will always keep out political contests—what, in a large measure, they have long been scrambling for public plunder, and it will always preserve in our public service an almost irresistible tendency to develop into party machine business, with all its abuses. That is the reason why the republicans

ing about 200, and included many leading independents. Shortly after five o'clock the reception was held in the banquet hall of the hotel for an hour or more, after which the club and its guests sat down to the dinner. Mr. John S. Farlow, president of the club, occupied the chair, and on his right were seated Mr. Schurz, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Henry L. Pierce, Leonold Morse, William Everett and Edward Atkinson. On his left were Minister E. J. Phelps, Chausten Browne, Leverett Saltonstall and Charles Theodore Russell. Among other gentlemen present were John C. Dodge, Phineas Pierce, Darwin E. Ware, Emil Heidenreich, Moorfield Storey, Henry W. Putnam, A. J. C. Sowdon, Moses Williams, W. E. Richards, M. V. Kallen, William O. Blake, George Fred Williams, J. Russell Reed, Louis D. Brandeis, Sherman, Edward B. Russell and Samuel Bowles. The bill of fare was both a handsome and original production. The cover bore a portrait of Mr. Schurz, and the inscription: "Massachusetts Reform Club: Complimentary Dinner to the Hon. Carl Schurz," with the date and place. The contents of the inner pages were as follows:—

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And never a song sang he
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Till he sank in the western sea.
As the welkin rang with the song he sang
Along came a g. o. p.
And he sincerely heard the song of the bird—
"What folly this is!" quoth he,
"For a bird to bawl his 'titly lol lol'
To such a big chap as me!"
When the autumn came and the other game
Flew southward over the sea,
That old mugwump still sat on the stump,
And gloomily still sang he:
"Oh, titly lol lol you're a goner, by golly!"
As he glared at this g. o. p.
Now the willows wave o'er the new made grave
Of the frivolis g. o. p.
And the old mugwump still roosts on the stump,
And merrily chirpeth he,
"Oh, titly lol lol" from the rise of Sol
Till he sinks in the western sea.
—[Chicago News.

You must have officers; and who, ay, who?
—[Childe Harvart.

PRESIDENT.
John S. Farlow.
"I believe I am the head of this family."—[Thackeray.

VICE PRESIDENTS.
Leverett Saltonstall.
"A man in much esteem with the king, and truly a worthy friend."—[King Henry VIII.
Charles Francis Adams, Jr.
"The Union (Pacific), it must all shall be preserved."—(after) A. Jackson.
Theodore Lyman.
"I have done the State some service, and they know it."—[O'hellio.

William Everett.
"Nor headlong carried by the stream of will,
Nor by his own election led to ill."—[Daniel's Civil War.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Winstow Warren, Chairman.
"Game, so far as Warren extended."—[Blackstone.
John W. Carter, Secretary.
"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said, 'Let Newton be!' and all was light."—[Pope.

Edward Atkinson.
"You have in these tenders for true pay which are not sterling."—[Hamlet.

Moorfield Storey.
"Oh, that Record is lively in my soul."—[Twelfth Night.

Josiah Quincy.
"There went out a decree that all the world should be taxed."—[Luke II.

F. P. Raymond, 2d.
"For though I am not spiteful and rash,
Yet have I in me something dangerous."—[Hamlet.

J. Russell Reed.
"A deed not shaken by the wind."—[Cowper.

Henry H. Eder.
"Oh for a Lodge in some vast wilderness."—[Cowper.

Henry W. Lamb.
"Oh, reform it altogether!"—[Hamlet.

"I do feast tonight. My best esteemed acquaintance."—[Merchant of Venice.

A nature so sweet,
So earnest, so graceful, so solid, so fleet,
'Tis worth a descent from Olympus to meet."—[Lowell.

"Sit down at that and last the hearty welcome!"—[Macbeth.

INDEPENDENT TICKETS.
(For the Interior Department.)
"Of course, nothing can be more disastrous than that one party should be entrusted with power by a defection in votes of another. . . . How can we tolerate any such principles in our politics?"—[Evarts.
(No holding permitted.)

Quotations.
Blue Point, Deep Shell.
"And all the little oysters stood and waited in a row."
(No political allusion intended.)—[Lewis Carroll.
See claim '87-11.

Roman Punch.
(Merry Wives of Windsor.)
"Punch, brothers, punch with care!"—[Mark Twain.
"The noblest Roman of them all!"—[Julius Caesar.

Game. (Cleveland—always.)
English snipe (from the Soudan).
"A wild from the Lord brought quails."—[Numbers.
"Shall I call this bird, or but a wandering voice?"—[Wordsworth.

Sweets.
Cabinet pudding à la Bayard.
Charlotte Russé à la Fenjeh.
Biscuit glacé.
Omelette soufflée.
"And out of the earth a fabric huge rose like an exhalation."—[Milton.
"I will make an end of my dinner,
There's pippins and cheese to come."—[Merry Wives of Windsor.

Cheese.
Fromage de brie.
"That night the baron dreamt of many a woe."—[St. Agnes Eve.

Fruits. (Of victory.)
Oranges. Bananas. Nuts.
"They might have lived to bear and he to taste the fruits of duty."—[King Richard II.
Ice cream. Sherbet. Cigars.
"Bûche ma lettre."—[Bourlaimaque.

N.B.—No reform needed in the civil service at the Parker House, though the chief butler be absent.

After the dinner Mr. Farlow called the assembly to order, and in a few words outlined the object for which the club had been formed and the work it had accomplished. He then introduced the honored guest of the club, the Hon. Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Civil Service Reform Club.—When I came to Boston I expected to meet a few friends around a small table, but behold, I see here this grand dinner. It has taken me somewhat unawares. Permit me to thank you for the honor conferred upon me. I cannot help saying that, standing here among you, I do not feel exactly as one of your guests, but rather as if I were at home. [Applause.] Seeing so many well known faces before me, remembering the many occasions upon which we have met, it seems to me that I may not only speak to you, but speak as one of you. I even feel somewhat tempted to introduce you to our distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, who honors us by his presence tonight. [Applause.] He probably does not know yet as well as I do what interesting, lively, and perhaps dangerous, company he is in. [Applause.] These young men—for we are all young men, and intend to remain so to our last days—are accustomed to do their own thinking and their own talking, and sometimes a little regardless of consequences, and certainly without consideration of what effect their talking may have upon their chances to get into office. [Laughter and applause.] It must have struck my distinguished friend with what cordiality I have been received. I am sure he will be received with the same. It will be entirely honest and sincere. But I warn him that these gentlemen are somewhat irreverent and disrespectful of persons. If ever he or I should do anything appearing wrong to them, they would hold us over the coals with equal honesty and sincerity. [Laughter and applause.] We had better remember that. It will serve to keep us straight. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the club, when men interested in the cause of reform meet nowadays they do so with the satisfactory feeling that they can report progress [applause], and a good deal of it, too. I say a good deal of it, too, but not enough to permit you to rest upon your oars. [Applause.] How much watchfulness, how much work, how many efforts to enlighten public opinion upon this great theme may still be required, was recently illustrated by a very curious and characteristic occurrence. The President of the United States took it into his head to appoint a postmaster who had proved to be an exceedingly efficient public servant, but was not of his own party. This occurrence created an immense excitement all over the United States. The politicians in every part of the land were in a commotion hot to the boiling point. And let me say, by the way, this is probably the only civilized country on the face of the globe where the reappointment of a very efficient, capable public officer regardless of political opinion would be looked upon as anything extraordinary. [Applause.] In any other civilized land I am sure it would be taken not only as a proper, but as a natural thing. In this respect this great republic enjoys an exclusive and by no means very creditable distinction. [Laughter and applause.] Here the excitement over that occurrence was immense. The old-fashioned partisan mind, republican as well as democratic, could not grasp it at all. It could not be that a democratic President could appoint a republican postmaster for no other reason than that this postmaster had shown himself an uncommonly good officer, most efficient in serving the public interest. The old-fashioned partisan spirit could not conceive of it! So then it cast about for an explanation, and it found one. It was this: There is a class of persons in the United States called the independents, or more euphoniously the mugwumps. [Applause.] They were reported to have done some respectable service to the successful candidate in the last campaign. The partisan mind thought that for

it was suggested, as far as I know—and I may be supposed to know something about it [applause]—the idea was distinctly repudiated. The understanding between President Cleveland and the independents was perfectly simple. It was that the service they had done in the campaign was free of charge [applause]; if they venture upon giving him a piece of advice occasionally new, it is free of charge again [applause]; but they did not deny as to the appointment of that postmaster, that they liked him, and they had a right to feel that Mr. Cleveland appointed that postmaster in recognition of a debt he owed to the independents, but in recognition of a duty he owed to the country. [Great applause.] Possibly it may even be discovered that President Cleveland himself thought of that reappointment before anybody suggested it to him.

The old-fashioned partisan spirit must, after all, accept things as they are. The great calamity has actually happened. The country does stand afflicted with a democratic President who has shown himself capable of reappointing a republican postmaster, for the simple contemptible reason that it was in the public interest! [Applause.] It may be dreadful, but it is so. Now the only consolation the old-fashioned partisan mind has, is that, while the President may have done this thing once, he will certainly never do it again. But as we disagreed upon the matter of recognition before, so I am afraid we must disagree upon the matter of reposition also. The reasoning of the mugwumps is exceedingly simple. If the reappointment of a republican postmaster by a democratic President for the purpose of serving the public interest was not a good thing, then it ought not to have been done at all. But if it was a good thing, then we cannot get too much of that good thing. [Applause.] Seriously speaking, the value of that reappointment would be very limited, indeed, in my opinion at least, if it remained an isolated occurrence. It would simply show what should be done, what could be done, but what is not done. The principal value of this action would consist in its being the beginning and an illustration of a general policy. [Applause.] I do not mean that the President should hunt up pretexts for keeping as many republican officers in place as possible. No. I think it will be, in many respects, a good thing for the country if a good many changes are made. [Great applause.] But what I do mean—and think here I am expressing the sentiment of almost every sincere friend of reform who tries to promote it for its own sake—what I do mean is that the character of the public service would be vastly improved and that the moral as well as the intellectual standards of our public life would be greatly raised if the purely administrative, non-political part of our governmental machinery were taken out of partisan politics. [Applause.]

See how the thing works. If President Cleveland permits every republican office holder to serve out his term, but upon the expiration of every republican commission puts in a democrat, then at the end of his presidential term the whole civil service—with the exception of the comparatively few subordinate places covered by the civil service law and a very few more exceptions—will be essentially a democratic partisan service. If, then, the republicans win, they need only follow the example set by President Cleveland to make it an essentially republican partisan service again, and so on by turns. Is it not remarkable how the republicans understand this thing? Every republican spite politician you will see raising his voice encouraging the democratic administration to remove as many republicans as possible to put democrats in their places. [Applause.] Why does he do this? Not because he prefers to see democrats in the public offices, but because at the time when the republican partisans may return to power they do not want to be fettered by a precedent set by President Cleveland. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.] They see very clearly that this involves essentially a "new deal" every time the party in power changes, and they see also that the prospect of a new deal will always keep our political contests—what, in a large measure, they have long been—scrambles for public plunder, and it will always preserve in our public service an almost irresistible tendency to develop into party machine business, with all its abuses. That is the reason why the republican spoilsmen encourage it now.

What is to be done? If that branch of our service which is purely administrative and essentially non-political is to be taken out of partisan politics, then some President brought in by a change of party in power must make a beginning. [Applause.] He will have to make a beginning by leaving a certain number of officers belonging to the opposite party in place upon the single ground of superior merit. [Applause.] The first consequence will be that every officer in the service of the government will be taught that, if he preserves his integrity intact, if he gives his full mind and energy to his official duties so as to raise himself the standard of eminent efficiency, then he will have an excellent chance of remaining in office, even if the party in power changes. [Applause.] I put it to you, whether anything can be done that will raise the character of the service to a higher point than that. [Applause.] But, secondly, the President doing this will set a precedent which be subsequent administration, to whatever party it may belong, will be resisted by public opinion to set aside. [Applause.] And thus he will have rendered a service to the republic that will not only

...time being, ...benefit, ...New, we are told ...President Cleveland for ...this thing, for he has not promised it. ...he has not promised it, and if he does not do it, no man can have a right to say that he has broken his word. But his not having promised it does not make that policy any the less good, important and desirable. [Applause.] And moreover, I remember that in Mr. Cleveland's public career there are several instances when he did things to which he was not pledged, simply because they were right and good. [Applause.] And I must confess I can not bring myself to give up my belief in the possibility in this case as well as in others of his outdoing his promises by his performances. [Applause.] Here I am reminded of an outcry which now and then has been raised by the party press, that we independents are so impudent and presumptuous as to pretend to dictate to the administration. My fellow citizens, does any one of you think that any such attempt has been made? As far as I am aware, we have only claimed the privilege of American citizens to have an opinion and to express it. [Applause.] And it is simply because the opinions we have and express do not always coincide with their desires and their interests. If there is any dictating to the administration done, then I apprehend it is more done by the spoils politicians who want things than by the independent who do not. [Applause.] The whole matter reminds me somewhat of Mr. Lincoln's celebrated saying when he defined Douglas's theory of non-interference. When A wants to make B a slave, then C has no right to interfere. When the spoils politicians try to drag down the government and make President Cleveland break his promise and ruin his administration, then we are accused of dictating for giving him a little modest advice not to do so. [Applause.] Our business, as I understand it, is to address ourselves to the patriotic impulses of the American people, the administration always included [applause] in the advocacy of sound notions of good government, thus trying to build up a healthy and a strong public opinion.

Now, in order to do this with good effect, I think there are certain mistakes which we must be careful to avoid. This is one: I have heard some friends of reform—good, honest men—say that we must not fix our aims too high, that we must not ask nor expect from anybody anything that is perfect, that we must not embarrass those in power by setting up standards too lofty; by recording their obligations to make sometimes material concessions to old abuses, prejudices and exploded notions. Gentlemen of the Reform club, that is not my opinion at all. [Applause.] When the friends and representatives of the reform movement talk thus, they will always be in great danger of demoralizing public sentiment. I think we should advance our standard to the highest notch. [Applause, and cries of "Good."] We should point out the best thing as the thing to be struggled for. We should never tell those in power that we do not expect them to struggle for the best, and that they may mix some badness with their efforts for the public good. [Applause.]

On the other hand, I think another mistake we ought to avoid is to be hasty, captious and unfair in our criticisms. Whenever reproving an error of action, we should always be ready to give credit for honesty of purpose and intention whenever we have good reason to believe that it really exists. [Applause.] And of all things, we should never grow hysterical at a disappointment. Here a case in point. After having made a number of very good appointments of which our honorable and distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, is one [great applause; the company rising and cheering], President Cleveland has, it appears, made a few bad ones. We shall not deny that the shock was painful. At the same time I do not think that anybody who knows the man, or anybody who has the cause of good government at heart, will be hasty in ascribing to him any design of turning his back upon his high purposes of conducting the government. [Applause.] What we may say in truth is, that he has been imposed upon by very bad counsel. President Cleveland has to learn a good many things which other Presidents had to learn before him. He will have to learn among other things, and here I speak of one who has gone through the mill himself, that of those who make recommendations or requests for appointments, the members of Congress in nine cases out of ten are the least to be trusted. [Applause.] And I will tell you the reason. It is one which is inherent in weak human nature. It is their recommending appointments for their district in the name of the people. Let me say there are very few exceptions among them [applause]—in most cases they have at heart much more the building up of the local machine than the welfare of the people of the United States or the honor of the administration. [Applause.] Gentlemen, you will all agree with me when I say that it would be unreasonable to expect even the best man in power not to make any mistakes. But it will not be unreasonable to expect, when he has discovered a mistake that he shall be prompt and earnest in correcting it. [Applause.] I do not mean to say that whatever may happen you should keep silent. By no means. On the contrary, I consider it the duty of every friend of good govern-

(Great applause.) And when I hear the politicians insist on to prate about rebels, I ask myself, how is it possible in this country is the man who is the rebellion against his government to have the only shadow of an organized resistance to the Union appears down in Virginia among the seceders, who are allied with the republican party. [Laughter and applause.] No, my fellow citizens; when I hear politicians who pretend to be statesmen speak about rebels and traitors today, I must confess it appears to me not only a very pitiable demagogy, but it would appear in the highest degree as a wicked and unpatriotic demagogy if they could do any mischief by it. [Applause.] Now we have a right to feel that the field for reform is free. Gentlemen of the Reform club, let us keep our eyes firmly fixed upon our objects, and let us go resolutely ahead. [Applause and cheering.]

Mr. Farlow then alluded to Mr. James Russell Lowell, the late United States minister to the Court of St. James, and commented upon the excellent manner in which he had filled the position. President Cleveland, he said, has appointed his successor, and as a matter of course some fault was found with him, the chief one being, that he was a "conperhead," which was exceedingly ludicrous, coming as he did from Vermont. He then introduced Mr. E. J. Phelps. Mr. Phelps said:—

I cannot thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for this cordial welcome—all the more generous because it is so poorly deserved. You make me sorry to go away from the country, which is the only one in this can be gathered in which such a company as this can be gathered in one night around one table. [Applause.] I am fortunate in having been able unexpectedly to accept your kind invitation and be here tonight. It is a pleasure to me to look you in the face. It is a great pleasure to me to testify the great respect that I entertain for your distinguished guest, to whom this dinner is specially and most properly offered. [Applause.] The reception which you have given him is not more honorable to him, in my judgment, than it is to you. I have listened with the delight with which you have listened to the eloquent and statesmanlike speech which he has given you, and it has delighted me to see that every eloquent word was touched an answering chord of every man present. [Applause.]

There is no cause, in my judgment, that engages the attention of the American people, there is no object or purpose that is so high, that is so closely connected with the future happiness and prosperity of this country as this very matter of civil service reform. [Applause.] If this be the last word that I have opportunity to say to my countrymen before I leave, let me say that—[Applause.] Let me say, likewise, another thing. There is no living cause today, in my opinion, that is so absolutely certain of permanent success, of being backed up, accepted and adopted by the American people as this. [Applause and cries of "Good."] No man that believes, as I believe, in the destiny of this great country—the country that is to offer an asylum for all humanity that needs an asylum—that is to bring forth a race that is to incorporate into itself all races, as our language incorporates into itself all languages—no man that has that faith believes that this country is going to perish for need of an adequate government. Yet it would perish for need of an adequate government unless its channels could be purified and its character elevated and ennobled. I cannot believe, when I see before me so many young men as I see tonight, whose hearts are in this great work, who are going to carry it forward through many a summer that I shall not see, I cannot believe that it is going to perish, and I do not believe it. [Applause.] It is not becoming, gentlemen, in my judgment, the circumstances in which I am placed, to say much about the present administration of your government. But it is impossible to allude to the subject without considering to some extent what is now going on. I believe—and I think I am not mistaken—that the American people are finding out that it is the sole object and purpose of the present administration of the government to purify its public service [applause], to obliterate, as far as it is in the power of any one administration to obliterate, the idea that the public service is to be made over as a reward to those who have corrupted it [applause], turning the public offices of this country into the conditions which Dr. Johnson in one of his definitions applied to a pension—"a reward given to a state hawking for betraying his country." [Laughter and applause.]

Now, nothing in all the eloquent remarks of our distinguished friend pleased me more than his eloquent and just and charitable observations in regard to those mistakes that are inevitable. It certainly would not become me to say that the administration was not liable to make mistakes. [Laughter.] I have been told by some of the newspapers of the best class that I am one of the most conspicuous examples. [Applause.] Nevertheless, it remains to be said that there is one thing worse than a mistake, and that is a crime; and there is no greater crime that I know of than that which debauches the public service of this country. [Applause.]

It is not my intention, gentlemen, to make a speech. You know as well as I do that the first lesson the diplomatist has to learn is that while speech is silver silence is golden, and you will sympathize, I am sure, in my effort to hold my tongue. [Laughter and applause.] From what al-

lusioning to you my thanks, gentlemen, for this very kind reception. I am compelled now, by another engagement, very reluctantly to bid you good night. [Great applause.]

The song which leads the bill of fare, printed above, was then sung by the club amid some laughter, and Mr. Farlow called upon the Rev. James Fresman Clarke, who spoke of the labor of Mr. Schurz, and said that his aim had always been to elevate republican standard and morals. We left the old party, he said, with which we had been so long affiliated because we believed that it had left the old republican principles. It took some thought and consideration, and many arguments were brought to bear to prevent us. But we believed our action was right, and we went forward. We have found out that the man we trusted was trustworthy; that President Cleveland has thus far taken every step in the right direction, even to the refusing of presents. We did not altogether trust to hearsay that he would act as he has done. His past record showed him to be reliable, and that he followed what he considered his duty. He is a man who will not be easily led away from what he believes to be right. If some bad appointments have been made, he has sense enough to find them out, and firmness enough to revoke them. There is, however, above the President and the Cabinet and Congress, a power to right all wrongs and that power is public opinion, and you, gentlemen, have been instrumental in agitating it in the last election. I have seen so many such changes, that I firmly believe in the power of the people to right any grievous wrong. Mr. Clarke then paid a eulogistic tribute to Mr. Schurz and the nationality he represented. The following poem by Mr. William Everett was then read:—

THE MUGWUMP.

The mugwump is an Eastern bird,
With plumes of gorgeous hue;
His crest is red, his bosom white,
His wings celestial blue;
And sparkling through those tints are seen
Resplendent stars of argent sheen.

The mugwump's note is high and clear
As nightingale or lark;
He sings when morning streaks appear
Just breaking through the dark.
O'er crows that creak and corks that crow,
His upper C's resistless go.

The mugwump's claws are hooked and long,
His bill is short but keen;
His wings swoop onward, swift and strong,
His tail steers broad between;
And gazing on the sun he flies
To meet the eagle in the skies.

The mugwump flies at first alone,
Then two and three congregate,
Then scores and hundreds troop to form
A long extended line;
Then thousands ranked in serried wedge
Cut through their foes with trenchant edge.

From age to age some mugwump flock
Has made the nations thrill:
One perched of yore on Plymouth Rock;
One lit on Bunker Hill.
And thick and fast along the Rhine
The mugwumps flew in '49.

But still this royal bird is rare
And grows in wondrous ways;
Not seen, but when with ancient rust
Some party old decays,
From whose dry bones 'tis fated then
A patriot brood be born again.

Whatever the party yet contains
Unshaken and living still,
Is scathed from the dead remains
In many a mugwump's bill;
And wrapped in spices, sweet and dense,
Is moulded to an egg immense.

Then on the mugwump's back 'tis borne
When blow the shafts of spears,
And laid, in spite of soot and scorn,
Where good election's embers.
Then following in its orb their nest
The mugwumps lay them down to rest.

The embers glow, the breezes rise,
The party organs roar,
The priests pile up the sacrifice,
The rich libation pour;
Till bursts o'er all the land a blaze—
The bonfire of election days.

It fides, when lo! new light breaks forth,
New notes of joy are heard;
Out from the dull and dingy pile
Business in spite of scorn is bred,
Crest, bill and claw, wing, tail and leg
Hatched from the mugwump's sly egg.

The Phoenix party! See it fly
Above all by gone strife!
Still gazing up at the morning sky,
The nation's youth and life,
Whatever its name, its soul shall be
The mugwump's spirit, bold and free.

The Rev. George E. Ellis was then called upon. He spoke as follows:—

Dr. George E. Ellis, who was then introduced, said: I admire Carl Schurz alike for the penetration of his statesmanship as much as for the mastery of his eloquence. In connection with the name and purpose of this club, there comes to mind a golden sentence of the great Lord

The Lincoln celebrated saying when he defied Douglas's theory of non-interference. When A wants to make B a slave, then C has no right to interfere. When the spoils politicians try to dig down the government and make President Cleveland break his promise and ruin his administration, then we are accused of dictation for giving him a little modest advice not to do so. [Applause.] Our business, as I understand it, is to address ourselves to the patriotic impulses of the American people, the administration of which ways included [applause] in the advocacy of sound notions of good government, thus trying to build up a healthy and a strong public opinion.

Now, in order to do this with good effect, I think there are certain mistakes which we must be careful to avoid. This is one: I have heard some friends of reform—good, honest men—say that we must not fix our aims too high, that we must not ask more than we can expect from anybody, anything that is perfect, that we must not embarrass those in power by setting up standards too lofty, by recognizing their obligations to make sometimes material concessions to old abuses, prejudices and exploded notions. Gentlemen of the Reform club, that is not my opinion at all. [Applause.] When the friends and representatives of the reform movement talk thus, they will always be in great danger of generalizing public sentiment. I think we should advance our standard to the highest notch. [Applause, and cries of "Good."] We should point out the best thing as the thing to be struggled for. We should never tell those in power that we do not expect them to struggle for the best, and that they may mix some badness with their efforts for the public good. [Applause.]

On the other hand, I think another mistake we ought to avoid is to be hasty, cautious and unfair in our criticisms. Whenever reproving an error of action, we should always be ready to give credit for honesty of purpose and intention whenever we have good reason to believe that it really exists. [Applause.] And of all things, we should never grow hysterical at a disappointment. Here a case in point. After having made a number of very good appointments of which our honorable and distinguished friend, Mr. Phelps, is one [great applause; the company rising and cheering], President Cleveland has it appears, made a few bad ones. We shall not deny that the shock was painful. At the same time I do not think that anybody who knows the man, or anybody who has the cause of good government at heart, will be hasty in ascribing to him any design of turning his back upon his high purposes of conducting the government. [Applause.] What we may say in truth is, that he has been imposed upon by very bad counsel. President Cleveland has by far a good many things which other Presidents had to learn before him. He will have to learn among other things, and here I speak as one who has gone through the mill himself, that of those who make recommendations or requests for appointments, the members of Congress in nine cases out of ten are the least to be trusted. [Applause.] And I will tell you the reason. It is one which is inherent in weak human nature. It is that in recommending appointments for their district in many cases, let me say there are very honorable exceptions among them [applause], in most cases they have at heart much more the building up of the local machine than the welfare of the people of the United States or the honor of the administration. [Applause.] Gentlemen, you will all agree with me when I say that it would be unreasonable to expect even the best man in power not to make any mistakes. But it will not be unreasonable to expect, when he has discovered a mistake, that he shall be prompt and earnest in correcting it. [Applause.] I do not mean to say that whatsoever may happen you should keep silent. By no means. On the contrary, I consider it the bounden duty of every friend of good government to inform those in power of whatever may go wrong. [Applause.] He should do so promptly, frankly, without malice and without annoying matters. For, let me tell you, the atmosphere of Washington is sometimes so thick with flattery and with selfish advice that the sound waves of public opinion can scarcely penetrate it, unless they are propelled with a certain vigor. But one thing keep in mind. If you want your criticism to be effective, above all, see to it that it is just. [Applause.]

But, in any event, we gentlemen have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the tremendous progress made by the reform movement against what some time ago appeared almost overwhelming odds. Our successes have been fairly astonishing. Now at least, the people begin to wake up to it, to understand its principles, and to appreciate its aims and its benefits. We have only to go on in the way in which we have begun, and we shall accomplish it all. [Applause.] One thing is certain, and that is that the reform movement has come to stay and to grow. [Applause.] We enjoy today a great advantage over former times. Years ago every effort to improve the methods of government was overshadowed by a dark cloud of supposed danger looming up in the South, having been left behind by the Rebellion. Lately I have traversed the South myself, seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and I can express to you my deliberate conviction that today the South is as loyal to the Union as is any part of it.

generous because it goes away from the country, make me sorry to go away from the earth in which such a company as this can be gathered in one night around one table. [Applause.] I am fortunate in having been able unexpectedly to accept your kind invitation and be here tonight. It is a pleasure to me to look you in the face. It is a great pleasure to me to testify the great respect that I entertain for your distinguished guest, to whom this dinner is specially and most properly offered. [Applause.] The reception which you have given him is not more honorable, to him, in my judgment, than it is to you. I have listened with the delight with which you have listened to the eloquent and statesmanlike speech which he has given you, and it has delighted me to see that every eloquent word has touched an answering chord of every man present. [Applause.]

There is no cause in my judgment, that engages the attention of the American people, there is no object or purpose that is so high, that is so closely connected with the future happiness and prosperity of this country as this very matter of civil service reform. [Applause.] If this be the last word that I have opportunity to say to my countrymen before I leave, let me say that. [Applause.] Let me say, likewise, another thing. There is no living cause today, in my opinion, that is so absolutely certain of permanent success, of being backed up, accepted and adopted by the American people as this. [Applause and cries of "Good!"] No man that believes, as I believe, in the destiny of this great country, the country that is to offer an asylum for all humanity that needs an asylum that is to bring forth a race that is to incorporate into itself all races, as your language incorporates into itself all languages,—no man that has that faith believes that this country is going to perish for need of an adequate government. Yet it would perish for need of an adequate government unless its channels could be purified and its character elevated and ennobled. I cannot believe, when I see before me so many young men as I see tonight, whose hearts are in this great work, who are going to carry it forward through many a summer that I shall not see,—I cannot believe that it is going to perish, and I do not believe it. [Applause.] It is not becoming, gentlemen, in me, under the circumstances in which I am placed, to say much about the present administration of your government. But it is impossible to allude to the subject without considering to some extent what is now going on. I believe—and I think I am not mistaken—that the American people are finding out that it is the true object and purpose of the present administration of the government to purify its public service [applause], to obliterate, as far as it is in the power of any one administration to obliterate, the idea that the public service is to be made over as a reward to those who have corrupted it [applause], turning the public offices of this country into the conditions which Dr. Johnson in one of his denunciations applied to a pension—a reward given to a state hrologer for betraying his country. [Laughter and applause.] Now, nothing in all the eloquent remarks of our distinguished friend pleased me more than his eloquent and just and charitable observations in regard to those mistakes that are inevitable. It certainly would not become me to say that the administration was not liable to make mistakes. [Laughter.] I have been told by some of the newspapers of the best class that I am one of the most conscientious examples. [Applause.] Nevertheless, it remains to be said that there is one thing worse than a mistake, and that is a crime; and there is no greater crime that I know of than that which debauches the public service of this country. [Applause.]

It is not my intention, gentlemen, to make a speech. You know as well as I do that the first lesson the diplomatist has to learn is that while speech is silver, silence is golden, and you will sympathize, I am sure, in my effort to hold my tongue. [Laughter and applause.] From what allusion has been made by your chairman to the duty upon which I am about to set out, I know very well, as you know, that I cannot expect to make good the place of that distinguished citizen of Boston who now fills that post and has filled it in such a manner that the office does not honor him; he has honored the office. [Applause, and cries of "Good!"] And let me say with respect to Mr. Lowell, since I have alluded to him, and since I have heard some criticism on that point from those who do not know him, that one of the chiefest elements in the great success which he has attained is that he has been first and last and all the time an American. [Applause and cries of "Good!"] and those who are undertaking to criticize him in that respect are, in my humble judgment, talking about what they do not understand. [Applause.] I

very much mistake the character of the English people if it is not true that a man would utterly fail to commend himself to their consideration and their respect, unless he stood by the colors and the country and cries of "good!" They are not accustomed to applaud the man that deserts his country; they applaud the man that stands by it. And in the very great acceptance which Mr. Lowell has found in this country, I find the strongest evidence that he has done his duty as an American citizen. [Applause.] And now for myself in taking leave of you gentlemen, I have only to say that while silver and gold I have none, such as I have I will give you. It may not be much

and Congress, a power is public opinion, and you gentlemen have been instrumental in agitating it in the last election. I have seen so many such changes, that I firmly believe in the power of the people to right any grievous wrong. Mr. Clarke then paid a eulogistic tribute to Mr. Schurz and the nationality he represented. The following poem by Mr. William Everett was then read:

THE MUGWUMP.
The mugwump is an Eastern bird,
With plumes of gorgeous hue;
His crest is red, his bosom white,
His wings celestial blue,
And sparkling through those tints are seen
Resplendent stars of argent sheen.

The mugwump's note is high and clear
As nightingale or lark;
He sings when morning streaks appear
Just peaking through the dark,
O'er grown and croaked and corks that crow,
His upper C's resistless go.

The mugwump's claws are hooked and long,
His bill is short but keen;
His wings swoop onward, swift and strong,
His tail steers broad between,
And going on the sun he flies
To meet the eagle in the skies.

The mugwump flies at first alone,
Then two and three combine,
Then scores and hundreds troop to form
A long extended line;
Then thousands raked in serrated wedges
Cut through their foes with trenchant edge.

From age to age some mugwump flock
Has made the nations drill;
One perched of yore on Plymouth Rock;
One lit on Bunker Hill,
And thick and fast along the Rhine
The mugwumps flew in '49.

But still this royal bird is rare
And grows in wondrous ways;
Not seen, but when with ancient rust
Some party old decays,
From whose dry bones 'tis fated then
A patriot brood be born again.

Whatever the party yet contains
Unstained and living still,
Is gathered from the dead remains
In many a mugwump's bill;
And wrapped in spices, sweet and dense,
Is moulded to an egg immense.

Then on the mugwump's back 'tis borne
When blow the chill Novembers,
And laid, in spite of scold and scorn,
Where glow election's embers.
Then following in its orb their nest
The mugwumps lay them down to rest.

The embers glow, the breeze rise,
The party organs roar,
The priests pile up the sacrifices,
The rich libation pour;
Till bursts o'er all the land a blaze—
The bonfire of election days.

It fades; when lo! new light breaks forth,
New notes of joy are heard;
Out from the dull and dying pile
Springs up a gorgeous bird,
Crest, bill and claw, wing, tail and leg,
Hatched from the mugwump's spiny egg.

The Phoenix party! See it fly
Above all by gone strife!
Soil gathering, as it sweeps the sky,
The nation's youth and life,
Whatever its name, its soul shall be
The mugwump's spirit, bold and free.

The Rev. George E. Ellis, was then called upon. He spoke as follows:—
Dr. George E. Ellis, who was then introduced, said: I admire Carl Schurz alike for the penetration of his statesmanship as much as for the mastery of his eloquence. In connection with the name and purpose of this club, there comes to my mind a golden sentence of the great Lord Bacon. It is crowded with wisdom, and is expressed in the dignity of strong, plain words, as follows: "Things alter for the worse spontaneously, if they be not altered for the better designedly." [Applause.] The truth is of universal compass, as applied to all things earthly, and I do not know but that it includes the stars in heaven. It recognizes the fact that there is in all organic and composite things an inherent tendency to degenerate and decay, if they are not re-enforced and renewed by an amending and reinvigorating process, a protective and reforming agency. Iron rusts, wheat yields to the worm, or rots; the solid rocks crumble, and characterize in man or woman, if not steadily built up, strengthened, ennobled, or, as we say, made better, is impaired and debased. This truth applies to all human institutions, domestic, social, civil, political and religious. By wisdom, patience, strong purposes and noble efforts, they must be purified and elevated, or they will waste away by neglect, indifference or corruption. It is by the intelligent recognition of this, and by resolves and efforts of men of the nobler type, that things are altered for the better, and that a renovation and improvement, the changeable generations, help the good work with fresh materials and new energies. The breaking up of old fossilized parties encourages it. The periodical recurrence of campaigns and elections are procreative and opportunities for it. [Applause.] It may have been a grievance in our old

... says that men were called to a line for
... as governor or in some other
... But that was better than that office
... holders should give the whole community by
... doing all trusts and places as spoils. (Great ap-
... plause.) The vast majority of our citizens who
... do not desire, and who would not accept, public
... offices must insist upon and exercise their right
... inside of parties and outside of parties. And it
... can never be out of course for those who as
... citizens, take lead of those who hold office under
... them, to insist upon pure integrity and rigid
... fidelity in the servants under them. Thus will
... things be altered for the better advisedly. (Ap-
... plause.)

The Hon. Henry L. Pierce was the next
speaker. He referred to Mr. Schurz's early
interest in political affairs, and said that in
whatever cause he had been engaged it was
always for the public good. He had also
followed all the official actions of President
Cleveland, and found them honorable,
trustworthy and commendable.

Mr. Leverett Saltonstall followed. He
spoke of the work of the independents, and
the triumph which has followed their efforts.
The senator from New York, he said, with
the presidential bee already buzzing in his
ears, threw away his opportunity last week.
He saw nothing in a great republican dinner
except that it occurred at two o'clock and
that the desertion of the independents was
the greatest calamity that the country ever
experienced.

The Rev. Rufus Ellis and others made
brief remarks. The following letters of
regret were read:--

W. NEW BRIGHTON, STATEN ISLAND,
April 16, 1886.

Gentlemen.--I thank you for your kind invita-
tion to the reception and dinner to Mr. Schurz,
and I regret sincerely my inability to accept it.
It would be exceedingly pleasant to meet the
gentlemen of the club, and I am always sorry to
lose any occasion of testifying my friendship
and high respect for your distinguished guest, to
whom the cause of patriotic politics and of
honest reform in this country is so deeply in-
debted. No man advocates it more eloquently
upon the platform; no man in public office has
illustrated it more faithfully than he. All honor
to the man, the patriot, the statesman. Very
truly yours,
GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
April 16, 1886.

Gentlemen.--I received today your invitation
to attend the reception and dinner to be given
by the Massachusetts Reform Club to the Hon.
Carl Schurz, at the Parker House in Boston, on
the evening of the 24th inst. It would give me
great pleasure to be present on that occasion,
but my public duties will render it necessary that
I should be in Washington on that day. I am,
very truly yours,
Wm. C. ENDICOTT.

Letters of regret were also received from
William L. Putnam of Portland, William
Perkins, William Gaston, George S. Mar-
riam, Henry Ward Beecher, B. F. Thurston,
Simeon E. Baldwin, ex-Governor In-

gersoll, President Eliot, Phillips Brooks,
E. P. Wheeler of New York, John Quincy
Adams and Hamblin Carter.