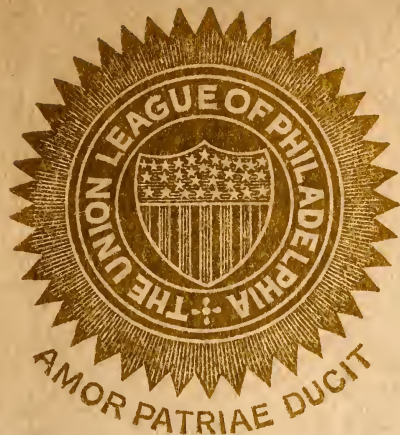


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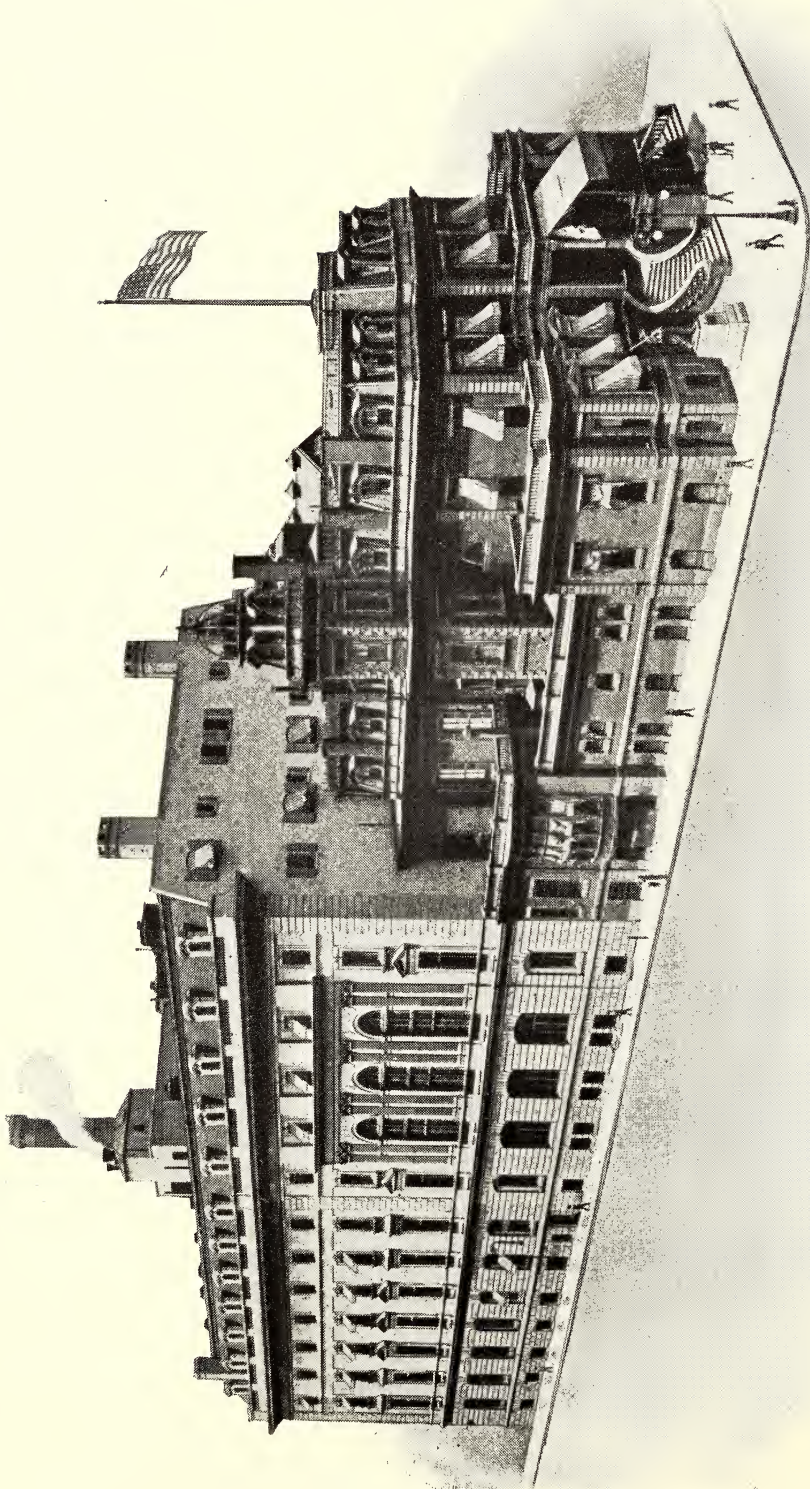
Golden Anniversary

FEBRUARY TWELFTH

1913

Albert Bailey

2313 Brown St.



THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA
1913

SOUVENIR

TO THE

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL BOYS

FROM

The Union League of Philadelphia

UPON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF ITS

Fiftieth Anniversary

February 12, 1913

BEING THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BIRTH OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

OFFICERS

Elected December 9, 1912

President

WILLIAM T. TILDEN

Vice-Presidents

THOMAS J. JEFFRIES
WILLIAM C. SPROUL

JOSEPH B. McCALL
GEORGE B. EVANS

Directors

JAMES E. MITCHELL
JOHN W. HAMER
FRANK C. GILLINGHAM
CLARENCE BISPHAM COLLIER
JOHN GRIBBEL
HARRISON TOWNSEND
JOHN C. LOWRY

JOHN BANCROFT
WILLIAM K. HAUPT
LOUIS PLUMER POSEY, M.D
T. ELLIS BARNES
MIERS BUSCH
WILLIAM R. LYMAN
ROBERT P. HOOPER

GEORGE S. GRAHAM

Elected by the Board of Directors

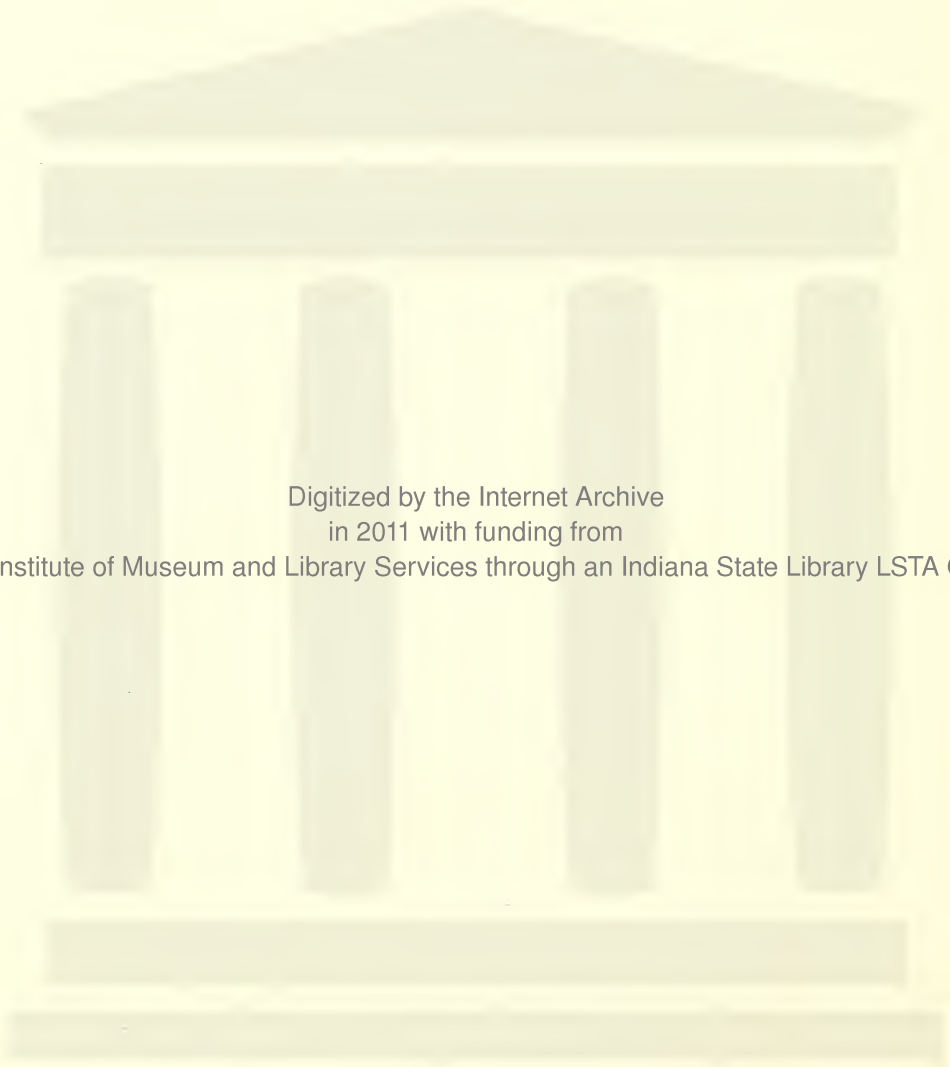
December 10, 1912

Secretary

JOHN W. HAMER

Treasurer

JAMES E. MITCHELL



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Brief of the History

of

The Union League

of

Philadelphia

The Union League of Philadelphia

Among many patriotic institutions to which the Rebellion gave rise, none perhaps wielded a more extended influence for good than The Union League of Philadelphia. We see in the fall of 1862, a mere social company, called the Union Club, meeting from house to house to discuss the interesting topics of the day, the members encouraging their hearts and strengthening their arms by words of hope in hours of despair and darkness, and devotion to the Union cause incited in their minds strong faith in the final triumph of the great cause.

At the meeting at which it was proposed to organize The Union League, which was held at the home of George H. Boker, there were but six gentlemen present: Hon. J. I. Clark Hare, Benjamin Gerhard, Horace Binney, Jr., Morton McMichael, George H. Boker and Charles Gibbons. These gentlemen added continually to their number and continued meeting from house to house until it was believed that a more extended organization could render still greater service to the cause. On the 27th of December, 1862, at a meeting of the Club held at the residence of Dr. J. Forsyth Meigs, the entertaining member of that evening, the subject of

forming such an association was introduced. Stephen Colwell, Esq., presided at this meeting. After some discussion of the question, Charles Gibbons, Esq., who had prepared a plan for the organization of The Union League of Philadelphia, submitted it to the gentlemen present, who adopted it with unanimity. The fundamental articles presented by Mr. Gibbons were brief and to the point. They were as follows:

1. "The condition of membership shall be unqualified loyalty to the Government of the United States, and unwavering support of its efforts for the suppression of the rebellion."

2. "The primary object of the association shall be, to discountenance and rebuke, by moral and social influences, all disloyalty to the Federal Government, and to that end the associators will use every proper means in public and private."

These articles were signed on the same evening by thirty-eight gentlemen, to wit:

Stephen Colwell, John Ashhurst, Charles Gibbons, F. Fraley, Henry D. Moore, A. J. Antelo, Edwin M. Lewis, William H. Ashhurst, John B. Myers, George Trott, A. J. Lewis, J. G. Fell, Ferdinand J. Dreer, George Whitney, J. I. Clark Hare, Alexander Brown, A. D. Jessup, Horace Binney, Jr., E. Spencer Miller, J. Forsyth Meigs, Fairman Rogers, Charles Gilpin, William Henry Rawle, Samuel J. Reeves, James L. Claghorn, James W. Paul, W. M.

Tilghman, Henry C. Comly, Morton McMichael, C. H. Clark, Daniel Dougherty, Charles Borie, George H. Boker, B. H. Moore, Joseph B. Townsend, John R. Young, Benjamin Gerhard, J. Milliken.

The Chairman of the meeting was authorized by resolution to appoint the standing committee or board, required by the articles for the management of the League, which was done, and thus The Union League of Philadelphia was organized on the 27th of December, 1862, commencing its career with thirty-eight members.

A committee was appointed for the purpose of securing a suitable house, and the old Kuhn mansion, 1118 Chestnut Street, was secured. The League occupied these premises on the twenty-second day of January, 1863, and from that time forward began to count its membership by hundreds. The premises occupied by the League were purchased, about a year after that time, by M. W. Baldwin, Esq., for a private residence. The procuring of a building for the use of the League became imperatively necessary and it was determined to secure a lot of ground and establish a fund for the erection of a building commodious to the League and ornamental to the city. A joint stock association was formed by individual members of the League, who subscribed for bonds at the par value of \$500, the capital stock to amount to \$120,000.

A rectangular lot on the west side of Broad Street,

bounded by Sansom and Moravian Streets, was secured, and ground for the erection of this building was broken on the first day of March, 1864.

On March 30, 1864, The Union League of Philadelphia was incorporated, as follows:

WHEREAS, An association has been formed in the city of Philadelphia for the purpose of fostering and promoting the love of Republican Government, aiding in the preservation of the Union of the United States, and extending aid and relief to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy thereof; and are desirous of being incorporated, the better to enable them to carry out said purposes; therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That William M. Meredith, John B. Myers, Horace Binney, Jr., Adolph E. Borie, Morton McMichael, J. I. Clark Hare, Benjamin Gerhard, James L. Claghorn, Charles Gibbons, George H. Boker, William H. Ashhurst, Joseph B. Townsend, George Whitney, John B. Kenney, John A. Brown, Stephen Colwell, Charles Gilpin, J. Gillingham Fell, N. B. Browne, Samuel C. Perkins, Benjamin H. Brewster, Lindley Smyth, Daniel Dougherty, George Trott, William Sellers, and such other persons as have been or may hereafter be associated with them, for the purposes of said association, are hereby erected into, and declared*

to be, a body politic and corporate, by the name, style and title of The Union League of Philadelphia, and by the same style and title shall have perpetual succession; and may purchase, take and hold, by gift, grant, demise, bargain and sale, devise and bequest, or by any other lawful mode of conveyance, any lands, tenements, goods, chattels and estate, real, personal or mixed, and the same, or any part thereof, from time to time may sell, alien, mortgage or otherwise dispose of; and may have a common seal, which they may alter and renew at their pleasure: *Provided*, that the clear yearly value or income of all the estate and property of the said corporation, including interest on all moneys by them lent, shall not exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars, exclusive of the real estate in the actual occupancy of the corporation.

SECT. 2. That the officers of the said corporation, hereafter to be elected, shall be a president, four vice-presidents and fifteen directors, who shall choose and appoint from their own number a secretary and also a treasurer; the said officers shall be elected at an annual meeting, to be held on the second Monday of December, and if an election be not held on that day, the corporation shall not for that cause be dissolved, but an election shall be held as soon thereafter as possible, and until such new election shall take place, the former officers shall continue and hold over.

SECT. 3. That the duties and rights of the members of the said corporation, the powers and functions of the officers thereof, the mode of supplying vacancies in office, the times of meeting of said corporation or its officers, the number which shall constitute a quorum thereof, respectively, at any such meeting, the mode of electing or admitting members, the terms of their admission, and the causes which justify their expulsion and the manner of effecting the same, and the mode and manner in which the property of said corporation shall be divided and appropriated in case of a dissolution of said corporation, or winding up of its affairs, shall be regulated by the by-laws and ordinances of said corporation, which they are empowered to make and alter, in the manner which may be therein mentioned: *Provided*, that the said by-laws and ordinances shall not be repugnant to nor inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States or of this Commonwealth.

SECT. 4. That the following officers elected by the aforesaid association, at its annual meeting in December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, shall hold their respective offices under this charter until the next annual election in December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four; and that any vacancies occurring therein, before the next annual meeting, may be filled in the manner provided in their by-laws, to wit: President, William M.

Meredith; Vice-Presidents, William H. Ashhurst, John B. Myers, Horace Binney, Jr., Adolph E. Borie; Directors, Morton McMichael, J. I. Clark Hare, Benjamin Gerhard, James L. Claghorn, Charles Gibbons, George H. Boker, Joseph B. Townsend, George Whitney, John B. Kenney.

HENRY C. JOHNSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN P. PENNY,
Speaker of the Senate.

APPROVED the thirtieth day of March, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

A. G. CURTIN.

The Union League during the war of the Rebellion recruited and sent to the front nine regiments of infantry and five companies of cavalry at an expense of over one hundred thousand dollars, besides spending over eighty thousand dollars in the distribution of literary matter for the dissemination of information regarding the Rebellion and to inculcate patriotic loyalty to the Government of the country.

While preparations for building were under way it became necessary to surrender the old Kuhn mansion to Mr. Baldwin, its purchaser, which was done on August 18, 1864, and the League removed temporarily to 1216 Chestnut Street.

The Broad Street building was completed and occupied on May 11, 1865. No formal ceremonies

were held, for the reasons stated in the following resolution, adopted by the Board of Directors at that time, as follows:

“On motion of Mr. McMichael, it was resolved that the Secretary be requested to note upon the minutes of the Board that the new house was this day opened for the reception and accommodation of the members of The Union League and that the Directors deemed it expedient to waive all formal proceedings on the occasion, as a testimonial of respect to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the late President of the United States.”

The commencement of operations in the form of destroying the old Fifteenth Street properties was begun on February 22, 1909. The cornerstone of the new western section was laid at the corner of Fifteenth and Moravian Streets at noon of Saturday, October 9, 1909, by James F. Hope, then president of the League and a member of the 196th Pennsylvania Volunteers, one of the regiments which the League placed in the field in 1864, in the presence of a large and enthusiastic assemblage of members, including the Governor of Pennsylvania and former presidents of The Union League. This building was completed and occupied for the first time on November 14, 1910.

Work on the middle section was begun on January 3, 1911, and was first opened for use on December 2, 1911.

No organization, however, can live on the record of its past, no matter how worthy that record may be. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, unceasing devotion and loyalty. Therefore, it is necessary to keep alive the spirit of the motto of The Union League

“AMOR PATRIAE DUCIT”

SURVIVING MEMBERS

1863

EDWARD SMITH KELLY

HENRY G. MORRIS

GEORGE RICE

J. EDWARD ADDICKS

JOHN F. GRAFF

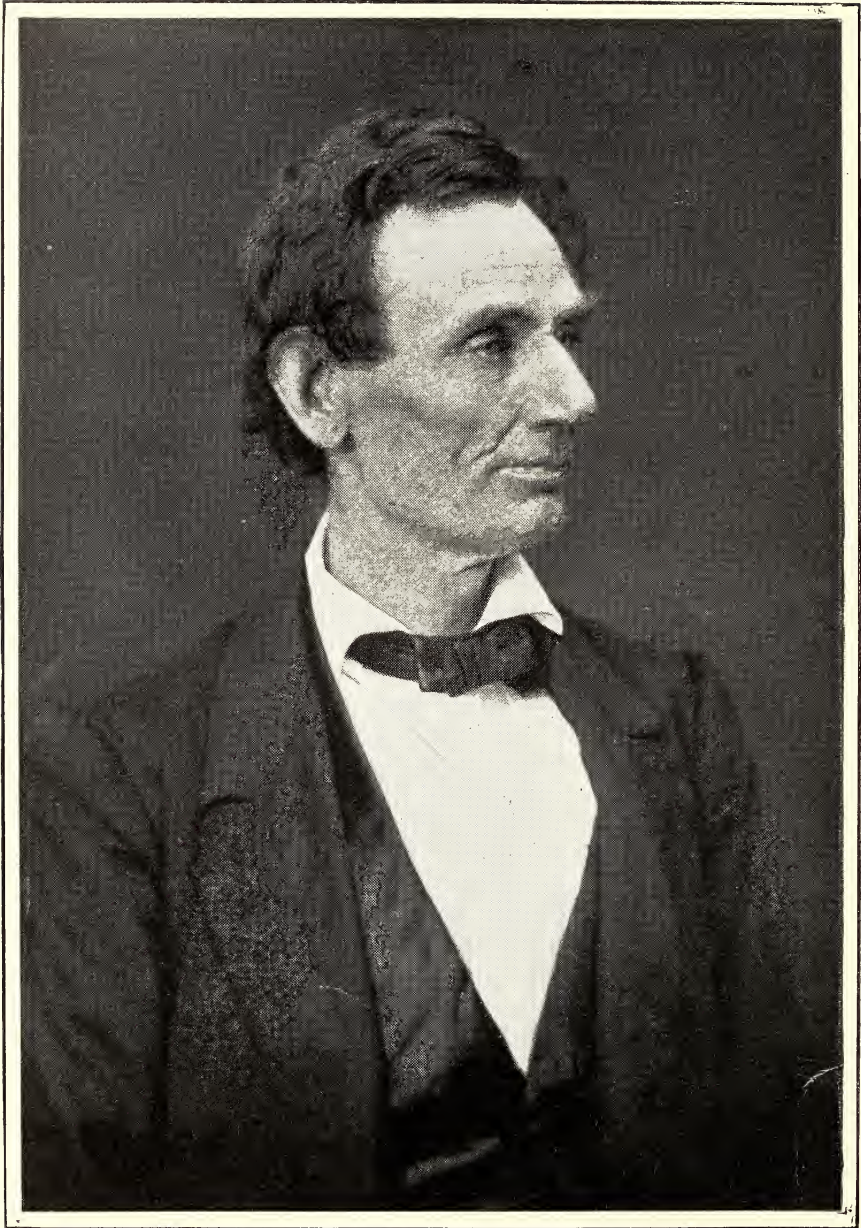
THOMAS DOLAN

S. EMLÉN MEIGS

CHARLES H. CRAMP

FRANK H. WYETH

WAYNE MACVEAGH



Abraham Lincoln

GETTYSBURG, PA.

November 19, 1863*

“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ADDRESS

ON

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

DELIVERED AT

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

BY

HONOURABLE FRANK S. BLACK

Former Governor of the State of New York

November 28, 1903

Gentlemen of The Union League: This is a celebration in honor of the Founders of The Union League. The sentiments that are peculiar to this occasion are justly due to the founders of this honored institution, but no commemoration of places, events or men dedicated to the spirit of liberty would ever be complete without some recognition of that marvelous personality to which you have invited my imperfect consideration. There are subjects upon which nothing new can be said, but which still arouse the fervor awakened at their first enunciation. If the song was true when it started on its journey, it will be sung as long as human hearts vibrate and tongues retain the gift of speech. It will be lisped by those who are tottering on toward the end, and echoed by those whose hearts are filled with the promise and glow of youth. If the product was genuine when it passed from the Creator's hand, it will neither be dimmed by age nor cheapened by familiarity; for honor is not decreased by contact, and truth is never out of tune.

This is the age, I know, when the search is at its height for the new and marvelous; and in this eagerness the primeval forests are swept away, the bowels of the earth are punctured, and even on the remotest sea the observant eye detects the flutter of a sail. The watchword is energy, the goal is

success; but in this fever of modern enterprise a moment's rest can do no harm. We must not only acquire, we must retain. We must not only learn, we must remember. The newest is not always the best. The date or lustre of the coin does not determine its metal. The substance may be plain and unobtrusive, and still be gold. Whoever chooses without a proper test may die both a pauper and a fool. The paintings of modern times have evoked the praise of critics, and yet thousands still pay their homage to an older genius. Modern literature is ablaze with beauty and with power, and yet millions are still going, and will go to-night, to one old and thumbworn text for their final consolation.

Remembering the force of these examples, it will be profitable sometimes to step one side for the serious contemplation of rugged, lasting qualities in whatever age or garb they have appeared. The hero of an hour will pass as quickly as he can. The flashlight will dazzle and blind, but when the eyes are rubbed the impression has passed away; but the landscape that comes slowly into view with the rising sun, growing more resplendent and distinct with his ascending power and fading gently from the vision at the approach of night, will remain in the mind forever, to illuminate, to strengthen and to cheer. And men are like impressions. There are more examples of the flashlight kind than there are fireflies on a summer's night, but there is no nobler representative of the immortal and enduring

than he to whose name I offer this incomplete memorial. Whoever imparts a new view of his character must tell it to the newborn, to whom all things are new, for to the intelligent and mature his name and virtues have been long familiar. His was a power that commanded admiration, and a humanity that invited love. Mild but inflexible, just but merciful, great but simple, he possessed a head that commanded men and a heart that attracted babies. His conscience was strong enough to bear continual use. It was not alone for public occasions nor great emergencies. It was never used as a capital, but always as a chart. It was never his servant, to be dismissed at will, but his companion to be always at his side. It was with him but never behind him, for he knew that a pursuing conscience is an accuser, and not a guide, and brings remorse instead of comfort.

His greatness did not depend upon his title, for greatness was his when the title was bestowed. He leaned upon no fiction of nobility and kissed no hand to obtain his rank, but the stamp of nobility and power which he wore was conferred upon him in that log hut in Kentucky, that day in 1809 when he and Nancy Hanks were first seen there together; and it was conferred by a power which, unlike earthly potentates, never confers a title without a character that will adorn it. When we understand the tremendous advantages of an humble birth, when we realize that the privations of youth are the

pillars of strength to maturer years, then we shall cease to wonder that out of such obscure surroundings as watched the coming of Abraham Lincoln should spring the colossal and supreme figure of modern history.

Groves are better than temples, fields are better than gorgeous carpetings, rail fences are better than lines of kneeling slaves, and the winds are better than music, if you are raising heroes and founding governments. Those who understand these things and have felt the heart of nature beat will not wonder that this man could stand the shock and fury of war and still maintain that calm serenity which enabled him to hear, above the roar of the storm that enveloped him, the low, smothered cry that demanded the freedom of a race.

If you look for attributes that dazzle and bewilder, you must seek them elsewhere than in the character of Lincoln. It was not by show or glitter or by sound that the great moments of history were marked and the great deeds of mankind were wrought. The color counts for nothing; it is the fibre alone that lasts. The precept will be forgotten unless the deed is remembered. The wildest strains of martial music will pass away on the wind, while the grim and deadly courage of the soldier, moving and acting without a word, will mark the spot where pilgrims of every race will linger and worship forever. No man in all this world more clearly saw the worth of substance and the mockery of show, and no career

ever set in such everlasting light the doctrine that, although vanity and pretense may flourish for a day, there can be no lasting triumph not founded on the truth.

The life of Lincoln moved upon that high, consistent plane which the surroundings of his youth inspired. Poverty is a hard but oftentimes a loving nurse. If fortune denies the luxuries of wealth, she makes generous compensation in that greater love which they alone can know who have faced privations together. The child may shiver in the fury of the blast which no maternal tenderness can shield him from, but he may feel a helpless tear drop upon his cheek which will keep him warm until the snows of time have covered his hair. It is not wealth that counts in the making of the world, but character. And character is best formed amid those surroundings where every waking hour is filled with struggle, where no flag of truce is ever sent and only darkness stays the conflict. Give me the hut that is small enough, the poverty that is deep enough, the love that is great enough, and over all the fear of God, and I will raise from them the best there is in human character.

This lad, uncouth and poor, without aid or accidental circumstance, rising as steadily as the sun, marked a path across the sky so luminous and clear that there is not one to mate it to be discovered in the heavens, and throughout its whole majestic length there is no spot or blemish in it.

The love of justice and fair play, and that respect for order and the law, which must underlie every nation that would long endure, were deeply embedded in his nature. These are qualities, Mr. President, I know, which are destitute of show and whose names are never set to music; but unless there is in the people's heart a deep sense of their everlasting value, that people will neither command respect in times of their prosperity nor sympathy in the hour of their decay. These are the qualities that stand the test when hurricanes sweep by. These are the joints of oak that ride the storm, and when the clouds have melted and the waves are still, move on serenely in their course. Times will come when nothing but the best can save us. Without warning and without cause, out of a clear and smiling sky may descend the bolt that will scatter the weaker qualities to the winds. There is danger at such a time. The hurricane will pass like the rushing of the sea. Then is the time to see whether governments can stand amid such perilous surroundings. The American character has been often proved superior to any test. No danger can be so great and no calamity so sudden as to throw it off its guard. This great strength in time of trouble and this self-restraint in times of wild excitement have been attained by years of training, precept and experience. Justice has so often emerged triumphant from obstacles which seem to chain her limbs and make the righteous path impossible, that there is now rooted in the

American heart the faith that, no matter how dark the night, there will somehow break through at the appointed hour the light which shall reveal to eager, watchful eyes the upright forms of Justice and the Law, still moving hand in hand, still supreme over chaos and despair, the image and the substance of the world's sublime reliance.

I should not try, if all the time were mine, to present Lincoln as an orator, a statesman or a politician. His name and his performances in the lines which he pursued have been cut into the rock of American history with the deepest chisel yet made use of on this continent. But it is not by the grandeur of his powers that he has most appealed to me, but rather by those softer, homelier traits that bring him down to a closer and more affectionate view. The mountain that crowds its summit to the clouds is never so magnificent to the observer on the plain below as when by some clear and kindly light its smaller outlines are revealed. And Lincoln was never more imposing than when the milder attributes of his nature were exposed. He was genuine; he was affectionate; and, after all is said and the end is reached, what is there without these two? You may measure the heights and sound the depths; you may gain the great rewards of power and renown; you may quiver under the electric current of applause—the time will come when these will fall from you like the rags that cover your bodies; the robes of power and the husks of pretense will alike be

stripped away, and you must stand at the end, as you stood at the beginning, revealed. Under such a test Abraham Lincoln might stand erect, for no man loved the humbler, nobler traits more earnestly than he. What he pretended to be, he was; genuine and sincere, he did not need adornment. There is nothing in this world which needs so little decoration, or which can so well afford to spurn it altogether, as the absolutely genuine. Imitations are likely to be exposed unless carefully ornamented. Too much embellishment generally covers a blemish in the construction. And that is why the first rate invariably rejects the adornment and the second rate invariably puts it on. The difference between the two can be discovered at short range, and safety from exposure lies only in imperfect examination. If the vision is clear and the inspection careful there is no chance for the sham ever to be taken for the genuine; and that is why it happens that among all the forms of activity in this very active age no struggle is more sharp than that of the first rate to be found out and of the second not to be. It is easier to conceal what a thing is than to prove it to be what it is not; one requires only concealment, the other requires demonstration. Sooner or later the truth will appear; some time the decoration will fall off, and then the blemish will appear all the greater because of the surprise at finding it. None had less to fear from such a test than Abraham Lincoln; and his strength in that regard arose,

it seems to me, from the preservation through all his life of that fondness for his early home, of his tender recollections of his family and their struggles, which kept his sympathies always warm and young. He was never so great but that the ties of his youth still bound him. He was never so far away but that he could still hear the note of the evening bird in the groves of his nativity.

They say the tides of the ocean ebb and flow by a force which, though remote, always retains its power. And so with this man; whether he rose or fell; whether he stood in that giantlike repose that distinguished him among his fellow-men, or exercised those unequalled powers which, to my mind, made him the foremost figure in the world, he always felt the tender and invisible cord that chained him to his native rock. In whatever field he stood he felt the benign and sobering influences of his early recollections. They were the rock to which he clung in storms; they were the anchor which kept his head to the wind; they were the balm which sustained him in defeat and ennobled him in the hour of triumph.

I shall not say he had his faults, for is there any hope that man will pass through this vale of tears without them? Is there any danger that his fellow-men will fail to detect and proclaim them? He was not small in anything. He was carved in deep lines, like all heroic figures, for dangerous altitudes and great purposes. And as we move away from

him, and years and events pass between us, his form will still be visible and distinct; for such characters, built upon courage and faith, and that loyalty which is the seed of both, are not the play-things but the masters of time. How long the names of men will last no human foresight can discover, but I believe that even against the havoc and confusion in which so many names go down, the fame of Lincoln will stand as immovable and as long as the pyramids against the rustle of the Egyptian winds.

ADDRESS
OF
HONOURABLE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
27th President of the United States
DELIVERED AT
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA
February 12, 1913



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James V. Duff

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of The Union League of Philadelphia: It is worth being the worst licked President in the history of the United States to have such a reception as this. [Applause and cheers.] When your good President asked me to come to attend the Fiftieth Anniversary of The Union League Club, and the one hundred and fourth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, I realized that it was just before my political demise. [Cries of "No, no."]

I seized the opportunity, in order that I might come to the home of my friends and have one more good time under the hospitable roof of The Union League, and feel the patriotic inspiration that comes from every meeting of this historic organization. [A voice: "Oh, I don't know. We will have you four years hence."]

Your kindly appreciations I am glad to receive as an evidence of your friendship, but not of your judgment.

It is a great opportunity to be here on an occasion like this. This is a Republican organization. It stands for the Republican Party. Its life is only a little less than the life of the Republican Party, and it came into being in order to strengthen the hands of the greatest Republican in history, Abraham Lincoln. Therefore, on this day The Union

League should celebrate its life, should celebrate its birth, and should give forth the spirit of that fifty years that is so honorable to all who have had to do with its life and its existence. I never think of The Union League that I do not think of Abraham Lincoln. It is rarely that one thinks of Abraham Lincoln and his life, in those four years of agony in Washington that the spirit of The Union League does not rise before him. I have always felt so, but with the four years of my experience in the White House, carrying not the burdens that Lincoln carried, but carrying some of the burdens of a great government like this, I begin to realize how he felt when in the dark days of the war, when everything seemed going away from him, when the Nation seemed in a state of dissolution, these brave men of Philadelphia came together and told him they were with him and that they would stand to the end.

The occasion brings back that phase in Lincoln's life, that patience, that foresight, that sorrowful but hoping spirit with which he went about the awful task that presented itself to him and which, faithful unto death, he finally discharged before he died.

Lincoln's character is so attractive that no one reads his life, no one has an opportunity to speak of him, who does not attempt to portray in some way some phase of his character that is most attractive to that individual, and seems to be the secret

of Lincoln's success. To me the secret of Lincoln's success is that he was not only straight and sincere in his heart and in his soul, but there was the same straightness and sincerity in his brain. I don't know that I make myself understood, but I know lots of men who have good hearts and good souls but who are a little lacking when it comes to perfect sincerity and straightness in thought and consequent action. But Lincoln had a pure and limpid mind, a singleness in his perceptions and a certainty in his logical faculties that makes everything that he has written convincing and forceful, because of its simple sincerity.

Now, my friends, Lincoln and the Republican Party and The Union League are all together to-night and the question is, would Lincoln be with us in this meeting and share the sympathy and spirit of it if he were alive.

[A voice: "Yes."]

Well, of course he would. Why? It is because Lincoln understood popular government as few men have understood it; it is because Lincoln loved the Constitution as few men have loved it; and understood the basic principles that enter into that fundamental compact as principles essential to the permanence of Democratic representative government. Now that is what the Republican Party stands for. And it is not a mere abstraction, it is not a mere declaration of principles that have no part in the political issues of the day; it is one of the most

important issues that we have; and on that issue, no one who has read Lincoln and knows his character can be doubtful where he would stand. And therefore we come to the question—what of the future of the Republican Party? We have had a division and we have had a beating, and we are going to have a Democratic administration. We are a great strong people and we can stand a great deal, and sometimes those lessons have the healthiest effect. It may be that those who have left us for the time being, when they see the result of their experiment, will have the scales fall from their eyes and will come back to sound, constitutional principles of government and sound views of economic policies.

The history of the Republican Party of the last fifty years is the history of the greatest progress that any nation has ever made in the history of the world.

Government, if it is to be popular government, if it is to be successful, must be by parties, and parties have characteristics; and one of the characteristics of the Republican Party, as shown in that fifty years, is the capacity to get together, to sacrifice individual opinions on minor points and unite on the great principles, and then exhibit the capacity of organization to carry those great principles through. And therefore, all we ought to do is to make a declaration with reference to the basic principles that we cannot surrender—I refer to the

constitutional principles, the institutions of liberty regulated by law, the constitutional self-restraints imposed by a great and intelligent people upon themselves, in order that their government may be permanent, and in order that the government shall not yield and be overcome by the momentary passion of a majority of the people themselves. Now those principles we cannot depart from, and those who insist on tearing down the Constitution and destroying those institutions that represent self-restraint, are permanently out of the Republican Party.

But there is a great body of men who have left us who are yearning to come back, knowing the power of the Republican Party for good, knowing its power of organization, and its capacity for government. I hope that gradually they will be brought back, and that the compromise may be effected with respect to questions that may have vexed us in the Convention and otherwise, provided only that we shall not part with those foundation principles that are essential to free government.

Now there is a good deal that we are going to learn in the experiments that are being tried in the states from time to time with reference to the plan of getting the voice of the people more directly into the law and into executive action. They have said heretofore that the people have not been close enough to the governmental action and that they ought to be brought more closely by the referendum and the initiative. Now they can try that, but I prefer

them to try it in another state than that in which I live. I feel confident that we can stand the cost of the experiment for the benefit of the lesson that ultimately we shall learn. Those theories proceed on the proposition that the people of the United States will proceed at once to give their attention to political matters with three times more energy and more consumption of time than they have heretofore. If they do not, then the result is going to be that government by initiative and referendum is going to be a government by minorities only. That has been the result in most of the states where the experiment has been tried, and the five or eight per cent of enthusiasts (to call them by no more invidious name) who are constantly proposing nostrums, and who are given power under this system to keep the people voting on issues of varying importance five and six and seven times a year, will present the question ultimately whether the whole people desire to be governed by a small part of the people. You cannot reason and say that all the people ought to be present at every election, because they will not be; and you are dealing with people affected by human nature, with the defects of human nature. And that is the reason why the Constitution is so great, because it recognizes the defects of human nature and attempts by the checks that are there to meet those defects. But your initiative and referendum assume a virtue on the part of all individuals that they do not have. That is not complimentary

perhaps but it is better than complimentary, it is true. These experiments are all right in order to show that real popular government is much more effective—and if I may say so—much more possible by the representative system than by the direct pure democracy system. When you get a good suit of clothes, you get one that fits the peculiar outline you may have. You do not and cannot pare down the frame in order to meet the exigencies or the imperfections of the suit of clothes. And, therefore, your political system that you are going to adopt for practical purposes to accomplish practical results must be adapted to the material you have and to the people for whom you are expecting to form a popular government. It has always seemed to me that in advocating those new experiments, our friends who were strongly in favor of them put the cart before the horse. They are not looking for a form of government as an end—at least I assume they are not. Sometimes you think that they really do not look beyond the platform. But ordinarily the proposition is that we are changing the form of government if we change it to accomplish some good that is beyond that form of government and that is to be affected by it. I think that what they ought to do, if they have statutes, if they have aims that are to be realized through law, is that they should first attempt those results, and carry out those purposes if possible through the instrumentality of the government that we have,

and until they prove that that progress cannot be made through that instrumentality that we have had for one hundred and twenty-three years, they have not made their case for a change in that form of government.

Therefore, when they say, "Let us have the initiative and referendum," we have the right to say to them, "What do you want with the initiative and referendum? What are you going to do with it when you get it?" And when they tell us that with the initiative and referendum they are going to bring about necessary reforms, let us see if we cannot show them that through a conservative representative form of government, if the thing is a good thing to have, we can get it just as effectively, or perhaps more effectively than by the initiative and referendum.

I know there are Republicans who favor the initiative and the referendum in state governments. I do not think any of them have gone quite so far as to favor that in the general government, because there it would certainly strike down the representative system. But let them experiment with it. I feel quite certain that, for the reasons I have stated, those experiments will satisfy them, and that we will come back to the methods and requirements of a representative government, because it is more purely the government of the majority of the people than the initiative and the referendum can ever be. What we are after is definite results, not ephemer-

eral demonstrations, and not oratory that does not mean anything. I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking that Lincoln would look at these subjects in exactly that way. His mind was clear, his purposes high, but he knew the people with whom he dealt, and he understood what was practical in government as well as any man that ever lived.

Therefore, I do not resent the claim—because there is no use resenting anything. I simply differ with those who claim Lincoln as a trade mark for every nostrum that is offered to change the government necessarily based on the theory that human nature is different from what we know it to be.

Therefore, my friends, I am here with you a fellow Republican to say that there is no ideal too high for the Republican Party to strive for in the way of progress to better things in our National or State life. But we do not propose to be driven to destroy the things that have made it possible for us to reach the point of progress where we are, in order to attain something that is unattainable, at least something the value of which has not yet been demonstrated. We do not propose to re-enact the *Æsop Fable* of the dog with the bone in his mouth who saw another bone in the water, and drop one to get the other.

We have a government that has proved its strength. It has proved something that was not known before, the permanence and strength and power and force of popular government. Now having proved that

by that instrumentality, shall we throw that away, wipe off the slate and attempt new nostrums and take a retrograde step, for that is what it means, of one thousand years backward when we were fighting for those institutions of civil and religious liberty which cost so many lives, so much agony of effort to bring them about? Therefore, we invite people into the Republican Party, and say "make your propositions of reform. If we approve them, we will go ahead, (because if they are real reforms, we shall approve them). We will go ahead and carry them out with the government that we have, because we believe that this government as it is can be adapted to any reform that is useful to the people." And with that proposition, can not we go to those who have left us and invite them into the party again? Don't you think that as time goes on, and as we witness with an entirely charitable and hopeful eye the efforts of our Democratic friends in Washington to meet the responsibilities of a great government, with the dawning on those who have left us of the fact that perhaps the Democrats are not perfect administrators of a government either, that the wayward Republicans may want to come back to the old Republican Party and go ahead and show to the world again another half century of progress like the last half century, unequalled in the history of governments in all recorded time. I thank you. [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

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*MORTON McMICHAEL
February 19, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874

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1875, 1876

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1877, 1878

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1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884

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1885, 1886, 1887, 1888

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1912, 1913

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1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1879 to Feb. 5, 1880

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July 13, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886
1887, 1888, 1889, 1890

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1893, 1894

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1905, 1906

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1906, 1907, 1908

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1910, 1911

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1913

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1875

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1876, 1877, 1878, 1889, 1890

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1879 to September 22, 1880

*SAMUEL B. HUEY
September 22, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888

WILLIAM POTTER
1891 to November 22, 1892

*JOSEPH G. DARLINGTON
November 22, 1892, 1893

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1896

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April 13, 1897, 1898, 1899

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1900, 1901, 1902, 1903

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1908, 1909, 1910 to October 10, 1911

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October 10, 1911, 1912, 1913

*Deceased

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1863, 1864, to October 1, 1865, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874,
1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883 to August 25, 1884

*EDWARD S. CLARKE

October 1, 1865, 1866, 1867

*THOMAS COCHRAN

August 27, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890

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1891

*HARRY F. WEST

1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897

*EDWARD I. SMITH

1898, 1899

EDWARD T. STOTESBURY

1900, 1901

*M. RIEBENACK

1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909 to May 10, 1910

JAMES E. MITCHELL

May 10, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913

