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Lincoln

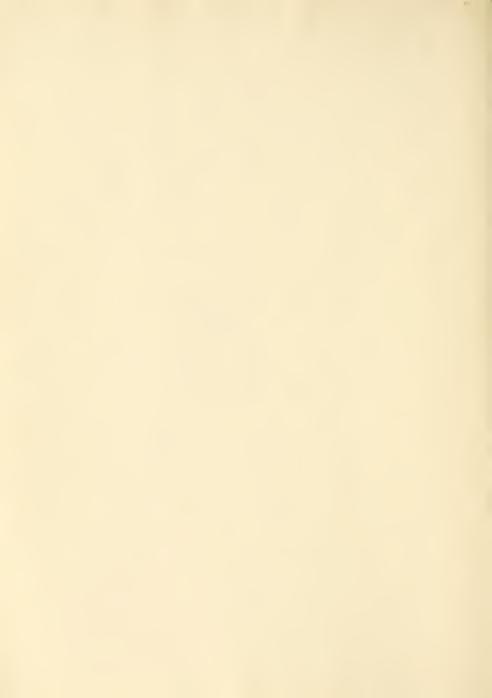


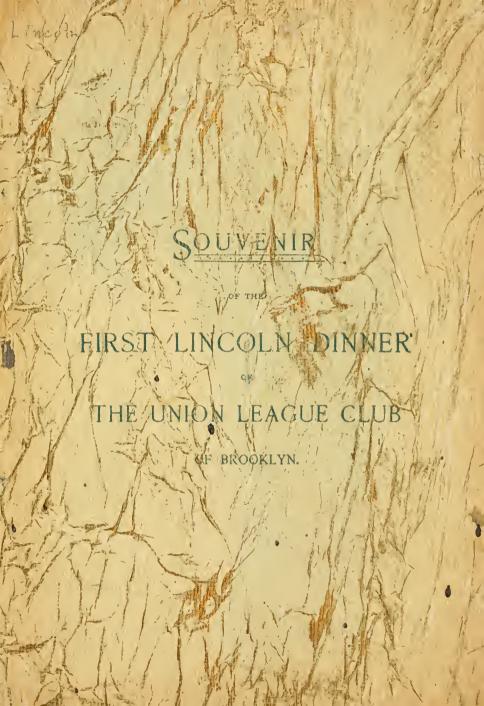


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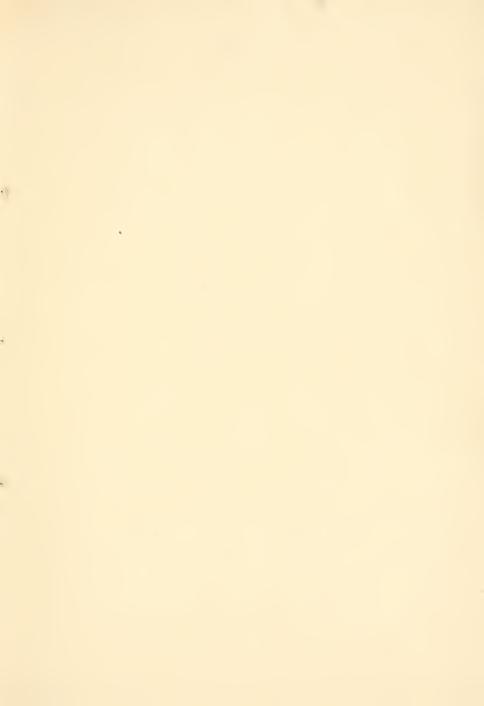


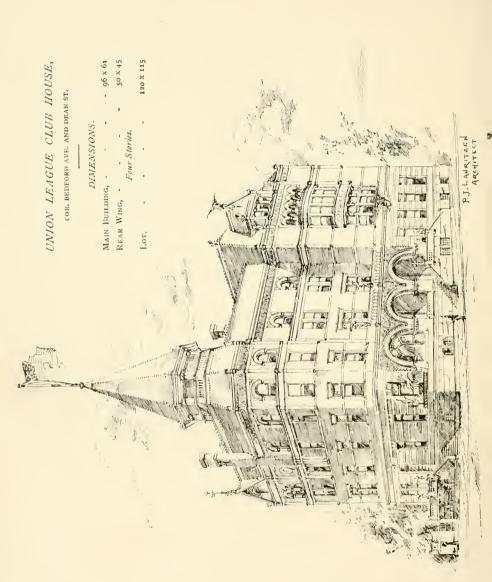












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## **PROCEEDINGS**

OF THE

## FIRST ANNUAL DINNER

GIVEN BY

# THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

OF BROOKLYN,

ΑТ

AVON: HALL.

ON THE EIGHTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY,

FEBRUARY 12, 1890.



## DINNER COMMITTEE.

## S. V. WHITE, CHAIRMAN.

F. M. EDGERTON,

A. G. PERHAM,

ETHAN ALLEN DOTY,

HOWARD M. SMITH,

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS,

CHAS, H. RUSSELL,

ROBERT D. BENEDICT,

A. J. POUCH,

WM. C. WALLACE,

F. H. WILSON.

## .. MENU..

#### SOUPS.

Consomme a la Royal.

Green Turtle.

#### RELISHES.

Celery. Olives. Sliced Tomatoes.

Radishes. Chow Chow. Bouchees au Salpicon.

#### FISH.

Boiled Kennebec Salmon, Sauce Portugese. Potatoes Dauphin. Cucumber Salad.

#### ENTREFS.

Chicken a la Française. Sweetbread Croquettes,

#### ROAST.

Filet of Beef, Mushroom Sauce. Vegetables.

Butter Beans.

Potato Croquettes,

French Peas.

#### SORBET.

Punch a la Florida.

GAME

Plover on Toast.

Boston Lettuce.

DESSERT.

Ice Cream.

Fancy Forms. Biscuit Tortoni.

Biscuit Glace. Charlotte Russe. Fancy Cakes.

JELLIES.

Lemon.

Maraschino.

Fruit. Flowers.

CHEESE.

Brie.

Roquefort.

COFFEE.

PYRAMIDS.

Liberty.

Glaces.

Lincoln.

Cannon.

African.

#### LINCOLN TABLE.

PRESIDENT FRANCIS H. WILSON.

#### GUESTS.

Stephen A. Douglas, Esq. Dr. J. B. Hamilton. Rev. Geo. P. Mains, D.D.

Hon. J. S. T. Stranahan. Rev. A. J. F. Behrends, D.D. Hon. S. V. White.

### GRANT TABLE.

#### HON. R. D. BENEDICT.

Jas, Brady.
J. J. Covington.
Geo. M. Eddy.
W. B. Eddy.
W. H. Leaycraft.
Chas. Small.
Jacob Morch.
F. W. Glenn.
John W. Harman.
John B. Green.

E. H. Hobbs.
B. F. Blair.
Theo. B. Willis.
Franklin Woodruff.
Jesse Johnson.
A. J. Watts.
J. A. Blanchard.
A. P. Blanchard.
H. D. Hamilton.
C. A. Barrow.

W. H. Beard.
A. C. Tate.
A. B. Catlin.
E. G. Benedict.
B. L. Benedict.
E. R. Kennedy.
W. H. Williams.
D. G. Harriman.
Mark Hoyt and friend.
Hon. Geo. C. Reynolds.

## GARFIELD TABLE.

#### Hon. C. H. Russell.

W. Smith.
C. E. Obrig.
B. C. Veach.
G. N. Gardner.
K. E. Bonnell.
C. Von Pustau.
C. D. Rust.
Frank Reynolds,
Henry C. Wells.
J. F. Hendrickson.
Wm. Coger.
A. L. Weaver.
Leonard Moody.

P. B. Armstrong and friend.
B. W. Wilson.
A. C. Hallam, M. D.
Thos. C. Wallace.
John S. McKeon.
Ludwig Nissen.
O. B. Smith.
E. Dwight.
W. E. Hill.
B. C. Miller.
J. H. Pittenger.
J. H. Watson.

N. W. Josslyn.
Rev. H. R. Harris.
J. F. Atwood, M.D.
J. F. Romig.
W. F. Herbert.
J. E. Searles, Jr.
Ethan Allen Doty.
W. S. Caster.
A. D. Wheelock.
Wm. Vogel.
T. L. Woodruff.
Hon, N. W. Fisk.
John R. Crum.

### ARTHUR TABLE.

#### A. J. Pouch.

F. H. Tyler.
H. L. Bartlett.
J. Burns.
O. P. Taylor.
Geo. Robertson.
Henry Walters.
D. C. Reid.
Austin Kelley.
H. M. Hoyt.
R. F. Mullins.

D. M. Munger.
E. V. Crandall
John H. Coon.
G. B. Tripler.
J. A. Burr.
H. D. Donnelly.
Wm. M. Sayer, Jr.
A. E. Barlow.
F. R. Leonard.
F. E. Kirby.

Walter Scott, Jr.

J. S. Ogilvie.
D. H. Fowler.
R. L. Woods.
E. M. Corbett.
N. S. Munger.
J. D. Ackerman.
G. W. Brush, M.D.
Benj. Estes.
E. E. Tripler.
J. H. Burris.

#### SHERIDAN TABLE.

#### HON. ANDREW D. BAIRD.

and

Thos. L. Wells.
A. J. Stevens.
D. W. Crouse and friend.
F. Angevine.
A. R. Baird.
A. D. Gripman.
E. T. Waymouth.
Hiram Jones.
G. V. Stoutenburgh.
W. O. Wyckoff

C. W. Seamons friend.
F. R. Moore.
P. J. Lauritzan.
John T. Sackett.
John W. Hussey.
Frank Rudd.
S. F. Weller.
Jas. W. Adams.
Geo. F. Finn.
W. D. Stewart.

M. T. Davidson, W. B. Maben, I. A. Lewis, Chas, J. Sands, F. M. Edgerton, Frank Bailey, Jos. P. Phillips, W. J. Rider, E. L. Spencer, Joseph P. Puels,

#### LOGAN TABLE.

#### A. G. PERHAM.

Wm. Adams.
Chas. Muns.
J. B. Mount.
H. C. Larowe.
E. C. Rice.
A. G. Bailey.
N. Barney.
J. W. Cronkite.
J. E. Hayes
J. S. Nugent.
Byron Nugent.

J. K. Wells.
Geo. S. Rockwell.
N. D. W. Prichard.
C. Olcott, M. D.
J. T. Story.
Alfred Romer.
R. O. Sherwood.
J. O. Bedell.
D. B. Carr.
L. P. Twyeffort.
E. M. Merrill.

T. A. Richards.
C. H. Simmons.
A. S. Haight.
A. S. Haight and friend.
David S. Wells.
W. P. Ræ.
G. H. Northridge.
W. L. Sanders.
D. A. B.idwin.
Jos. Aspinwall.
Ernst Nathan.

#### SUMNER TABLE.

#### W. H. H. CHILDS.

Wm. Jeremiah.
Chas. Pierce.
M. S. Allen.
H. R. Rawson.
C. T. Goodwin.
Mr. Taylor.
D. R. Morse.
H. R. Morse.
Wm R Adams

D. M. Ressigue.
J. B. Davenport.
A. H. Pate.
Alex. Robb.
Geo. F. Gregory.
A. D. Warner.
Isaac Pierce.
C. F. Hunt.
E H. Barnes.
W. A. Redding.

Fred'k Halsted.
J. J. F. Randolph.
A. F. Bellows.
R. S. Sayer.
Robt. H. Halsted.
Jas. E. Dean.
N. Townsend Thayer.
W. S. Silcocks.
Wm. C. Pate.

#### FARRAGUT TABLE.

#### Н. М. Ѕмітн.

F B. Keppy.
J. O. Horton.
Harry Moon.
Wm. Pitt Rivers.
W. J. Young.
T. P. Gilman.
Henry Carson.
F. E. Barnard.
Wm. H. Thompson.
John Wilson.
C. C. Ryder.

H. C. Alger.
T. J. Washburn.
W. E. Bidwell.
Albert Sibley.
A. Edmonstone.
C. B. Johnson.
J. O. McDermot
John Huston.
G. C. Brainard.
M. W. Morris.
J. W. Cooper.

Peter Gardner.
A. C. Brownell.
F. S. Cowperthwait.
F. H. Cowperthwait.
Wm. H. Lyon.
S. S. Peloubet.
E. G. Blackford.
A. H. Wagner.
J. O. Carpenter.
C. N. Hoagland.
J. G. Dettmer.

### RAYMOND TABLE.

Members of the Press.

## THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

OF

## BROOKLYN.

THE first banquet given by The Union League Club of Brooklyn, in honor of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, was held in Avon Hall, Brooklyn, on the evening of February 12th, 1890.

The hall, in itself attractive, was adorned for the occasion by a liberal use of the National Colors, while the stage, immediately behind the guests' table, was decorated with a profusion of tropical plants, interspersed with cala lillies and flowering shrubs, which formed a background to the famous life-sized portrait of Abraham Lincoln from the brush of William E. Marshall.

At the left of the stage, half concealed by the palms and ferns, the orchestra, under the direction of A. D. Fohs, roused the guests to song by their spirited playing of patriotic airs.

The table, at the right of the stage, reserved for the Press, appropriately bore the name of "Raymond." Each of the other tables bore the name of some noted Republican in gold letters on a ground of blue silk in the form of a stand banner.

At the guests' or "Lincoln" table, were, besides the President of the Club, the guests of the evening: Stephen A. Douglas, Esq.; Surgeon General John B. Hamilton, of U. S. Marine Hospital Service; Hon. J. S. T. Stranahan; Rev. Drs. A. J. F. Behrends and George P. Mains; and Hon. S. V. White.

About 6:30 o'clock, after Dr. Mains, of the New York Avenue M. E. Church, had asked a blessing, the dinner was served.

It was just 8 o'clock when F. H. Wilson, President of the Club, called the company to order, and inaugurated the speech-making as follows:

### THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen, and fellow members of the Union League Club: Our National celebrations during the past few years have made prominent the fact that our country, brief as our history is, is rich in the names of illustrious men.

We meet here this evening, on the anniversary of his birth, to express our gratitude for the life of one of these, whose career illustrates the highest type of the true American citizen, whose eminent services to his country and to his race have placed the name and the fame of Abraham Lincoln among the patriotic traditions of our country and of mankind.

The proper celebration of the anniversary in this city has heretotore been in the keeping of the Brooklyn Republican League; and it is at the suggestion of an officer of that organization that the Union League Club of Brooklyn has accepted this office. Let us congratulate ourselves, gentlemen, that we have assumed the office with so much enthusiasm and under circumstances so auspicious.

After four years of "innocuous desuetude" the party of Lincoln is inside the breastworks at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, not only at the White House and in the Senate, but also in the House of Representatives. We have resumed a foreign policy that challenges respect for the national name wherever the national flag is seen, and our own city has given a hostage to the nation that it shall be seen and respected on the sea. But, however gratifying these things may be to us as Republicans, we should not be in full sympathy with the true spirit of this occasion were we to dwell merely upon partisan victories.

The life of a truly great and patriotic man—one who has stood forth the wise and successful leader in a great crisis, when liberty and country were in peril—is far above mere partisan praise. Such a man is an example to the generations that succeed him. He moulds their character, instructs and inspires their patriotism. He is a tower of strength to the State. We honor ourselves in paying the tribute of our respect to the memory of such a man.

Shortly after the battle of Chæronea, which virtually ended that heroic struggle for the liberty and the independence of the Greek Republics, and left them in subjection to the power of Philip of Macedon, it was proposed, at Athens, to bestow a golden crown upon the greatest leader of the day in Grecian politics—that consummate flower of Attic oratory. It was the theme that has given to the world that great master-

piece of all eloquence, Demosthenes' oration on the crown; and it has given to us another, second only to that, the oration of his great rival and accuser against the granting of the crown. In it Aeschines charges that Demosthenes had fled from battle and that his counsels had reduced his city from her proud position as leader to a dependency of a foreign Power, and he warns the Athenians that, in paying such tributes, they are passing judgment upon their own character and are moulding the character of their children. "If," said he, "vour young men ask whose example they shall imitate, what will you answer? You know well it is not music, nor the gymnasium, nor the schools that mould young men; it is rather the public example. If you take one whose life has no high purpose—one who mocks at morals, and crown him in the theater, every boy who sees it is corrupted. Beware, therefore, Athenians, mindful that posterity will review your judgment, and that the character of a city is determined by the character of the men it crowns." The Athenians, mindful of the heroic efforts of their great orator and statesman for the independence of Athens and for the liberties of Greece, denied to the accuser the necessary votes to sustain his indictment. It was the last worthy tribute of Athens to the expiring voice of liberty in Greece.

But, my friends, the great man whose memory receives to-night this tribute of our gratitude, our respect, our love, wears his crown with no dissenting vote. He wears it by the unanimous judgment of his country and of mankind. It is the tribute paid to those rare qualities of true greatness. For a man to be great, says a critic of the reign of Louis XIV., "must be generous and just; he must be unselfish, and he must have respect for his fellow man." This is an exacting definition. It excludes, not only the French monarch, but nearly every man that fills so wide a space in history. But it does not exclude our Abraham Lincoln. Generosity, justice, unselfishness, respect for his fellow men, were his distinguishing characteristics.

If, in expressing our gratitude for his services and in paying these tributes to his character we are judging ourselves and moulding the character of our children, it is good for us to be here. And, in behalf of the members of the Union League Club of Brooklyn, I express our cordial welcome and return our cordial thanks to these distinguished guests who are here, at so great inconvenience, to add to the occasion the encouragement and the dignity of their presence.

The principal speaker of the evening was Stephen A. Douglas, Esq., of Chicago, who spoke to the toast "Abraham Lincoln."

In introducing Mr. Douglas, who is a son of Senator Stephen A Douglas, Abraham Lincoln's great contemporary and rival, reference was made to the interview between Lincoln and Senator Douglas, on the evening of the attack upon Sumpter and to the effect produced throughout the North when the dispatch that conveyed the President's call for troops conveyed, also, the intelligence that Senator Douglas, the leader of the Northern Democracy, had cast the weight of his great influence in support of the National government and for the preservation of the Union.

Nothing could exceed in warmth the welcome given as Mr. Douglas rose to speak. He spoke deliberately and with telling emphasis, and the utmost interest was manifested throughout the speech, which was frequently interrupted by prolonged applause.

#### SPEECH OF MR. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Union League Club of Brooklyn: Since receiving your kind invitation to be here my mind has gone back to the days when I knew as a child may know a President, the great man the anniversary of whose birth we to-night celebrate. I knew not then that he was a statesman, but even then I knew he was a patriot, for my father who had but lately died had told me so; and that in that great struggle all men must be either patriots or traitors. But this much I did know that whenever and wherever I met him he always knew me and always found the time to pull my ear or muss my hair and greet me kindly. He was tall and awkward and ungainly, and possibly a homelier man never lived; but his huge hand rested upon my head so gently, and his eyes were tender, his voice was low, and he smiled so sadly and yet so sweetly as he spoke gentle, kindly words of the father whom I had lately lost.

And thus I remember Abraham Lincoln, and thus I learned to love him as a child. Maturer years brought with them the study of my father's career, inseparably interwoven with which I found the career of Mr. Lincoln. I studied the two together and sought to analyze the character of each, for each, though in different degrees, was dear to my memory. And thus was formed the view of the character of Abraham Lincoln which I shall present to you to-night. My view of him may differ in some things from that held by others. Indeed, I believe it will vary widely from the generally accepted view of Mr. Lincoln's life and

character. I believe I am right, but I may be wrong; but right or wrong, it is conceived in love and kindness, for, apart from my father, there is no name in all the world's annals which I reverence as I do the name of Abraham Lincoln.

I hope I may be pardoned for saying that in the generally accepted view of Mr. Lincoln's character there is a tendency to glorify his heart, to exalt what may be called the child qualities of his nature, while reducing to a minimum what may be called his man qualities. Briefly he is described as a dreamy, poetic nature, a man of reverie and not of action, a man almost incapable of saying no, whose great heart often ran away with his judgment, a man whom all loved and respected, but none feared. Politically he is described as a child of destiny, a creature of circumstance. We are told hy one great authority, the late Leonard Swett, that he was "no politician," a man who in politics would neither do anything for himself nor permit his friends to do anything for him. We are told that he never sought for himself position or fame or honor, but simply sat and dreamed and drifted and drifted and dreamed, until almost despite himself he became the savior of a nation.

Again, others have described him as a man with practically but one aim in life—the freeing of the slave—which he pursued in season and out of season; and that this was the sole, or at least the first, object he sought as President. These I believe are the generally accepted views of Mr. Lincoln. To them all I dissent, respectfully but emphatically, because they dwarf him of his manliness, because they make him a dreamy drifter, moulded into shape by circumstances, instead of a clear-headed, kind-hearted, strong-handed man of iron will, who moulded circumstances and compelled success.

Politics proper is defined to be the science of government, while party politics is often found to be the science of misgovernment. A statesman is one skilled in statecraft, but in the proper meaning of the word a politician is even more. He must know not only the strength and weakness of the government, its needs and its superfluities; he must know the strength and the weaknesses of the people. He must know their varying humors, their whims and their prejudices. He must know their methods and habits of thought, and, above all, he must be in perfect and constant sympathy with the great mass of the people. And insomuch a man falls short of this knowledge and this sympathy he falls short of being a perfect politician. The brain of the statesman may conceive the acme of governmental wisdom, but without the sympathetic

knowledge and skill of the politician it will remain but a golden dream.

Bismarck, the great German statesman, is perhaps more skilled in statecraft than any other man now living, and yet not even our prohibition friends would consider him enough of a politician to lead their infant party. He knows nothing of the wishes and the whims of the people. He cares only for the wishes and whims of his master. With his hand upon the helm of the German empire he is great. Here he would be without a vocation, for, thank God, this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, which shall not perish from the earth.

In this, its proper sense, Abraham Lincoln was the clearest headed and the shrewdest, as well as the cleanest-handed and the purest politician this country has ever produced. He knew that the world was made better and happier not by the greatest good that man could dream, but by the greatest good that man could do. In his soul he heard, no doubt, the music of wonderful melodies that none but angel harps could sound, but his hands sought only such work as human brain and brawn could do. He sought only the known attainable, and he sought it only by the best attainable methods. In the sick-room he used the methods and the services of the most skilled physicians; in the court-room, the methods and the services of the most skilled jurists. And he sought political results by the best approved methods of the most active and skillful politicians. Let me say right here, for the benefit of those to whom the word politician suggests something disreputable, that a ward bummer is no more a politician than a quack is a physician or a shyster a lawyer.

Yes, Mr. Lincoln was a politician, the ablest as well as the purest, the keenest as well as the grandest, the world has ever known, and it is because of his skill as a politician that this undivided nation lives to bless his memory.

Mr. President, the time which 1 may properly occupy to night will not permit my going into any extended detail of Mr. Lincoln's career; and yet something of detail is necessary. In speaking of Mr. Lincoln as an Illinoisan I must perforce refer to another Illinoisan whose career fate has inseparably interwoven with that of the martyred President. That Illinoisan was my father.

A regard for the proprieties of this occasion will prevent me from discussing his career and from setting forth his side of the public questions upon which he and Mr. Lincoln differed. At the same time, a proper regard

for the truth and for my own self-respect requires me to say this: My father's career needs no apology at my hands, or at the hands of any living man, and in all his life's history, whether as public servant or private citizen, there is not one act which I regret or which I would change. More than this I must not say. Yes, be it proper or not proper, I will say one thing more. It is no merit of mine that I am Douglas' son, and were it not necessary I would not mention the fact, but I am proud of that fact; proud that this nation honors his memory; proud because I believe that if Abraham Lincold were here in other than spirit form to-night he would say to you as he said to me with his hand resting gently on my head and his eyes looking kindly down into mine: "My son, your father was an honest man, who loved his country better than he loved himself."

I have said that Mr. Lincoln's skill as a politican formed one great element of his usefulness to this nation. Early in the fitties the aggressive attitude of the South began to cause an uneasy feeling throughout the North. The whig party had practically disappeared and the republican party had not yet been formed. The political field in Illinois was occupied by the democratic party and a discordant opposition united in nothing but their opposition to the democracy. In 1854 a legislature was elected which would elect a successor to General James Shields, then in the senate from Illinois. The opposition practically united on Mr. Lincoln to lead their forces in that campaign, and in event of victory he was promised the succession to Shields' seat in the senate. The brunt of the campaign was thrown upon him. He canvassed the state and succeeded in securing an opposition majority in the legislature. One component part of the majority was five or six followers of Judge Lyman Trumbull, known as "free soil democrats." While the other members of this majority stood by Mr. Lincoln and insisted on sending him to the senate, the few Trumbull men would vote for no one but Trumbull, and finally succeeded in forcing Mr. Lincoln from the track and sending Judge Trumbull to the senate. So you will see, that Ohio is not the first state where the man who was the weakest before the people, proved the strongest before the legislature.

Of course, Mr. Lincoln was bitterly disappointed, and out of this disappointment grew the memorable campaign of 1858 and the famous Lincoln and Douglas debates. The most curious thing about that campaign was that it should ever have occurred. Never before or since have two men been the acknowledged and declared candidates of their respective parties for the United States senate before the election of the legislature

with which rested the choice. In every other instance, both before and and since, the legislature has been first elected and then the legislative party caucuses have selected their senatorial candidates. The reason why Mr. Douglas was the candidate of his party was simply that his leadership was absolutely unquestioned and he was the sitting senator. But the reason for Mr. Lincoln's authoritative candidacy is not so plain, for, remember, he was not then the Lincoln of later days. Tradition gives this explanation of the unique circumstance. Tradition says that the party managers came to Mr. Lincoln and said: "We believe that with your great ability upon the stump you can carry the legislature against Douglas. If you will take up the fight and succeed we will make you senator." The same tradition further says that Mr. Lincoln replied: "Methinks I have heard that siren voice before. I have a faint recollection that if I carried the legislature against Shields I was to succeed him in the senate. And yet I am not a senator."

The upshot of the matter was that the republican state convention nominated Mr. Lincoln for United States senator, and instructed and pledged all republicans who might be elected to the legislature to hissupport. Having thus become the official and unquestioned leader of the republican party in Illinois he was in position to demand recognition as such from Mr. Douglas. The famous Lincoln-Douglas debates followed and thus came Mr. Lincoln's opportunity to become known to the nation. He may have dreamed of this opportunity, but most certainly he did not drift into it. He hewed the opportunity out of adverse circumstances. From the gloom and sore disappointment of one disastrous defeat, by the sheer force of will and political sagacity he forced himself from a position of local leadership into a position of personal rivalry with the most noted northern leader of the opposite party. Having thus made his opportunity most brilliantly, most wonderfully did he use it.

The uneasiness with regard to the aggressive attitude of the South had grown more and more pronounced. So arrogant had the South become that it carried the fight into the northern states and sought the political death of every democrat who did not bow the knee to the Moloch of slavery. Notably in Illinois, they waged a bitter warfare on Mr. Douglas, and a curious spectacle was presented—the slave power seeking to elect Abraham Lincoln to the senate. Every federal office-holder in that state was given his choice of resigning or of assisting in the defeat of Mr. Douglas. In every country where sufficient timber could be found out of which to construct a ticket a bolting administration

legislative ticket was run to take off votes from the Douglas ticket, and thus assist in the election of republicans to the legislature. The result of all this was to increase the anti-slavery sentiment throughout the North; but this sentiment, while general in its existence, was local in its intensity and in the methods advocated in opposition. These methods ranged from the temperate designs of the the free soiler seeking to restrict slavery to its then existing limits up to the fever heat of absolute abolition. No one of the national republican leaders had enunciated a principle or laid down a platform upon which these diverging and discordant elements could meet or could be united; and without the union of all these elements success could not be hoped for.

Thus matters stood when Mr. Lincoln forced himself upon the attention of the country as the personal rival of Senator Douglas. With this wonderful political sagacity he chose his ground, a ground no other man had been able to find, where those who sought to oppose slavery by constitutional methods could stand shoulder to shoulder with those who sought to overthrow it by revolution. Planting himself squarely upon the platform of the non-extension of slavery and disclaiming any intention to interfere with it where it already existed, he added: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this country cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

The solution of the vexed question was reached, and the newly found western leader had in a sentence enunciated the principle upon which, two years later, he led the republican party to its first victory. Following up the record briefly as far as we have gone, we find that Mr. Lincoln forced his nomination for United States senator by the state convention, a nomination never sought before and never obtained since; that thus he became the official leader of the republican party in Illinois and the personal rival of Mr. Douglas, and could and did demand recognition as such from Mr. Douglas; that this position, so skillfully yet so quickly secured gave Mr. Lincoln the ear of the whole country; that he utilized his opportunity with the nation as an audience to enunciate a doctrine which, while upon its face was but the idle dream of a philosopher, was yet so cunningly contrived and skillfully phrased as to not alarm the most conservative sticklers for strictly constitutional methods, and yet filled with joy and hope the souls of the most rabid revolutionists.

No man ever hewed his path from private life to the head of a government, the leader of a nation's hopes, as did Abraham Lincoln in the

two short years from '58 to '60, and every foot of that path he hewed with his own hand. Does any one believe that it was by chance, without effort or wish of his own, that he was nominated for United States senator by the state convention—a thing that never happened before nor since? And yet without such nomination he could never have had his debates with Mr. Douglas, who would most properly have refused to debate with every or any man who simply hoped to be a candidate against him,

Without the place in the mind of the nation he made for himself by these debates, Mr. Lincoln might have repeated "a house divided against itself cannot stand" until his voice were gone, and it would have found no echo outside the State of Illinois. He may have dreamed of all this, but certainly he did not drift into it. He trod the path from Springfield to Washington, from private life to the presidency, in two short years, and never in the world's history has one man, in so short a time, shown so much political genius, so quickly, so magnificently to conceive and so brilliantly to execute.

And thus Mr. Lincoln came to the presidency. His first act was the act of a consummate politician. He built his Cabinet out of his republican rivals for the presidency. His Cabinet reminds one of his platform; it was an impossible combination to any one but him, and it meant different things, according to the standpoint from which you viewed it. I believe the country outside or Illinois then thought that Mr. Lincoln would be a figurehead, Ohio looking to Chase as the real President, New York believing in the supremacy of Seward and Pennsylvania never doubting the ascendency of Cameron. This would annoy some men: it amused Mr. Lincoln. He was fond of saying that he had no influence with his administration, and yet no man was ever more absolutely President than Mr. Lincoln. Imagine a weak, gentle man, of a shy, poetic nature, with a heart full of kindness, but with naught of sternness or of character, overruling Chase and Seward before breakfast and tackling Edwin M. Stanton for lunch. No, gentlemen, no man on earth knew better how to say no when necessary than did Abraham Lincoln. was gentle and kind, and patient and long suffering but still he was the master, and when it was necessary he made it emphatically known and thoroughly understood. When he was at the helm his hand often rested lightly there, but this only happened when the ship of state was straight upon the course he had mapped out for it. Even when he was most patient and long suffering a careful analysis will discover more of political skill than of gentle weakness.

When a man was in the army, and was really a fighter, Mr. Lincoln would stand pretty nearly anything from him, and when he was a democrat. even though not a fighter, Mr. Lincoln was very, very slow to anger. Does any one believe that if George B. McClellan had been a republican Mr. Lincoln would have permitted him to have occupied the semi-menacing attitude to the administration he did for so many months? Does any one doubt that if Secretary Stanton could have controlled matters when McClellan left the army he would have been headed toward the old capitol instead of toward the presidency?

Mr. Lincoln recognized at the outset that to suppress the rebellion he needed the services of every loval democrat in the North. He recognized the fact that while it took only the Lincoln men to make him President, it would take both the Lincoln and the Douglas men to keep him President. Therefore he did everything to show the world that no democrat was proscribed and that all democrats were welcome. Where a democrat would do as well as a republican the democrat got it. Lincoln thought it was politics to do this then, though I doubt if Mr. Lincoln would think it were politics to do it now. His task was different from that assigned Jefferson Davis-different and infinitely more difficult. Mr. Davis had a united people behind him and nothing to do but to supply his defensive army with men and munitions. To provide for his army was the least of Mr. Lincoln's troubles. His greatest trouble was to keep the North quiet long enough to permit him to whip the South. To do all this required all the skill and all the arts of the most skillful and artful politician, and I sincerely believe that it was only the unapproachable genius as a politician that he displayed in those trying days that saved this nation.

We do not readily appreciate the conditions with which Mr. Lincoln had to deal. We practically have forgotten that from the beginning of the war to its close he was continually harassed and annoyed by a hostile and stubborn minority, which was always respectable in numbers and at times assumed enormous proportions. We do not remember, or at least do not appreciatively remember, that within six months of the close of the war 1,802,000 men voted for a platform in which was the declaration, "Justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities," while only 2,213,000 men voted for the vigorous and unrelenting prosecution of the war. To bring the matterh ome, you have almost forgotton that on that issue the Empire State gave 5,000 majority against the continuation of the war.

It is necessary to recall these things to do full justice to Mr. Lincoln's care, patience and skill in handling the malcontents at home. He had to be all things to all men. Here he used a gentle hand and there a hand of iron. One complaint was met with soft words and another with the bayonet. To have gotten the soft words and the bayonets mixed and misapplied would have been serious, probably fatal, and yet only the greatest political skill could prevent such misadventure. But political skill alone could not have made Mr. Lincoln so wonderfully successful during the war. To my mind the secret of his success was his absolute singleness of purpose. As President he had but one object in life, and that was to save the union. All other things were simply considered as means to that end.

In regard to slavery, he wrote in answer to an open letter of Mr. Greeley's in the autumn of 1862: "My paramount object is to save the union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slaves I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."

All other questions, questions of foreign policy, questions of finance, questions of readjustment and reconstruction were all relegated to a time when the paramonnt question of national existence should have been settled. With any duality of purpose success would have been impossible. If Mr. Lincoln had sought to have preserved both the union and slavery the union would have perished, or if he had sought to preserve the union and destroy slavery, the union would have been destroyed and slavery would have beed preserved. We can all see that clearly now. No one but Abraham Lincoln saw it clearly then.

The wonderful success of that great man was built upon these two qualities: First, an absolute singleness of purpose, and second, a political skill and sagacity amounting to genius in the carrying out that purpose. He was, under all circumstances, the strong man without weakness. His heart was tender and kind, but his head controlled his heart, and in political matters harshness replaced gentleness when harshness was best for the country. He used the same iron will to govern himself as to govern others. He did not permit others, he did not permit himself, to do anything that would interfere with the success of the cause.

Had he been a bad man his intellect, his will and his sagacity would have made him a scourge to the world. But no purer patriot ever lived

than he, no warmer, kinder heart ever beat than his. He loved the ways of peace and gentleness. He loved his country. He loved his fellow men. He lived and moved and had his being that the world might be better and purer and happier. He died to live forever in the memories and hearts of freemen, the high priest of liberty, slain at the altar. He stands in all coming time as a rainbow of promise that a "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

As the last words fell from the speaker's lips, cheer after cheer rang out from the crowded room, the band and the audience lending all their energy in the expression of their approval.

When quiet was restored Mr. F. M. Edgerton, Secretary of the Dinner Committee, read the following letter from Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio, who was to have spoken on "The Duty of the United States in the Extension of our Foreign Commerce." Its sentiments were greeted with applause.

#### MR. BUTTERWORTH'S LETTER.

House of Representatives, U. S. Washington, D. C.. February 10, 1890.

Mr. F. H. Wilson:

We are endeavoring to settle the controversy over the rules, and pending the action of the Honse in the matter of the adoption of the report of the majority of the committee it is important that every Republican member should be in his place. It seems now certain that we shall reach a vote Wednesday evening. This, as you will readily see, compels me to send my regrets for Wednesday night. You realize, of course, that I can do more service to the cause here in an emergency like this than I can in partaking of the cheer and hospitality of my friends in Brooklyn. I regret exceedingly my inability to be with you and exchange views touching the duties that devolve upon the Republican party at this time.

If I had been permitted to bear witness on Wednesday, I should have said that it is incumbent upon this Congress to do two things in order to deserve and have the confidence of the American peo-

ple. One thing is to revise the Tariff, and by revision I do not mean a mere transposition of unjust exactions, but a revision that will revise, that will relegate the tariff system to the discharge of its proper function, which is to equalize conditions and impart to industrial competition the quality of fairness and humanity, Beyond that it ought not to go, and must not unless we desire to run upon the rocks. We must remove the restrictions which hamper our trade with Canada and the South American States.

Nothing is more absurd and more ruinous to the interests of the mass of people than to erect a wall along our northern border and turn back the sweeping tide of our commerce upon ourselves when it reaches an imaginary line running east and west through Detroit. The Republicans must learn that the tariff deals with conditions, not with boundary lines; that its office is not to destroy competition, but, as I have said, to impart to it the quality of fairness.

Our trade with Canada can be quadrupled, and our commercial intercourse with Mexico and the South American States be so extended as to prove of immense value to our people. I am well aware that both of these methods will be opposed by certain individuals, by certain firms and corporations, and the reason is clear. "The ox doth not low over his fodder, nor the wild ass bray when she is fed." The individual firms and corporations that will oppose do not touch shoulder with the interests of the public.

We have just succeeded, as you are aware, in throwing the shackles of absurd rules from us, and can now legislate, the majority being responsible to the country for the laws enacted, so that it is in our power to adjust the tariff schedule with direct reference to the irregularities to be corrected; and I hope we may be able, by our course of conduct as legislators, to make it clear that our protective system is more in the interest of American workmen than it is in the interest of so-called pauper labor of Europe. What we witness to-day as to the effect of unlimited immigration raises a doubt as to where the greater benefit is bestowed.

The voters of the country are the power behind the legislative throne, and Congress will do what seems to be demanded by a consensus of public opinion. Let us hope that we will read your will aright, and fairly respond to what the country requires for its prosperity.

Thanking you for your courtesy, etc.,

BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH.

#### REV. SYLVESTER MALONE'S LETTER.

BROOKLYN, Feb. 8, 1890.

Gentlemen of the Union League Club:

I appreciate fully your invitation to join you in honoring the President to whom we owe the preservation of the Union and the accomplishing the most Christian work done in this century, namely, the liberation of the slave. I can only promise to be with you in spirit. For some years a condition of health has compelled me to avoid all evening gatherings and assemblages of my fellow citizens, and this must plead my excuse for not accepting your kind invitation.

When in 1861 I conversed with Abraham Lincoln and General Scott, my soul was fired with enthusiasm and patriotic ardor. It was the time for action, and the sacred cause of the American Union had all the best efforts I could give to strengthen the majestic hands of a majestic President, whom your patriotic club will honor on the 12th prox. With best wishes to all the members of your club, I am,

Very sincerely yours, SYLVESTER MALONE.

Mr. Peter Ryan, who had been selected to speak on "Our Friends and Neighbors," telegraphed his inability to attend, and the Rev. A. J. F. Behrends, of the Central Congregational Church, was introduced with the remark that the reverend gentleman had full permission to choose subject for himself.

Dr. Behrends said, among other things:

When I accepted the invitation to be present this evening I was assured it was to be only as a guest, and to listen and be edified by the gentlemen invited to do the talking. With this belief I went to bed Tuesday evening and slept the sleep of the just, with no bad dreams. I had just eaten my breakfast this morning when a member of the club called on me and suggested that if I had any loose material lying around my study that would be suitable for a speech I might as well get it ready. I really do not know what to talk about. As I have the choice of a subject, I may, so to speak, spread myself over the whole world. I might talk to you about the World's Fair, but that seems almost past talking of, or I might talk about the revision controversy in the Presbyterian Church. I won't, however; I'll talk a little about Lincoln.

My political education began during the first Presidential campaign

of Abraham Lincoln. Great men are the gifts of God to the nation and the world, living examples for imitation. I shall always look back as on the proudest moment of my life to the day when I was able to cast my first ballot for Lincoln. As Mr. Douglas saw him so did I see him. The thing that struck me most forcibly about him was the wonderful simplicity of his mind. I do not mean by that that he was childish. His simplicity enabled him to strip off the husks that covered the kernel of truth and get at the heart of things. He appealed to my immature understanding.

I am sure that all who knew Lincoln must be impressed by the manner in which he retained his mental simplicity. Who does not remember the few words he spoke at the dedication of the battlefield of Gettysburgh? He was unprepared with a speech, and when told on the train that he would be expected to say something, he just scribbled down a few notes on a loose piece of paper he had. Mr. Everett had a speech prepared that filled one hundred pages. When Mr. Lincoln had finished his brief oration, Mr. Everett said he would sooner have written those twenty lines than twice one hundred pages. Mr. Lincoln gauged the heart of the nation, so that the very first words went home to all who heard them.

Another feature of the man was the absorption of his mind and heart to secure the preservation of the national life and the good of the commonwealth. Never were sweeter words spoken since the utterance of the angel messenger, "Glory to God in the highest, goodwill to men," than those of Lincoln, "With malice toward none and charity to all."

I believe the time has come for a political revival. No one is more fit to lead it than Lincoln. Eulogies are cheap. It is easy to scatter flowers over the heroes' graves. It is another thing to imbibe their glorious spirit and march forward in the path they have pointed out.

I may liken Lincoln to Panl. Paul was the most remarkable Christian politician who ever walked the face of the earth. He was a consummate leader. He always said and did the right thing at the right time and place, was all things to all men. There, I am talking away. When you get me on Paul I don't know when to stop. I want to tell yon, you must do the best you can with the material you have. I am not going to make a speech; I am just drifting on. I should like to see something done. Let our words be put into deeds. Nothing can be accomplished without a good deal of fighting. Do not hold up your

hands in holy horror. Take off your coats and go to work. Knock out the evil and put the good in its place. This alone will save the nation and send its salutary power to the ends of the earth.

Dr. Behrend's words were received with marked approval.

Dr. John B. Hamilton, of the United States Marine Hospital Service, was the next speaker. His subject was "Lincoln and His Chosen State—Faithful to him and to his country, she rejoices in his achievements, and is proud of the unfading laurels with which history crowns him."

### RESPONSE BY SURGEON-GENERAL HAMILTON.

Mr. Chairman:

I am more accustomed to other pursuits than that of making speeches, and yet, as a native of Illinois—the State of Lincoln—I cannot repress the emotion called out by this toast,

Lincoln was no ordinary man, and he lived in no ordinary times. He became the arbiter of the destiny of millions of men, and well he performed the trust. Rising from an environment that would, through life, have kept down an average man, he to his contemporaries became successively the companion, the aggressive leader, and the benevolent prophet. When almost the last of the ten million bullets of the war laid him low, the civilized world mourned his death, and it was reverently noticed that the flag of his country, as if to avenge his death, had ensuared the feet of the murderer and made capture a foregone conclusion.

Illinois had been settled by the French in 1673, yet when Thomas Lincoln entered the land which Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks fenced with the now historic rails, it was still on the frontier. Life in the new State was primitive indeed. The young lawyer imbibed the spirit of freedom when he breathed the air of the prairies, as he "rode the circuit" with his legal brethren.

We may imagine those everlasting conceptions of the rights of man, which in after life he so eloquently expressed, were here formulated. It was thus early he announced his intention to speak against slavery until "the sun shall shine, the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

Loyalty to the Union was contained in the organic ordinance of the Northwest Territory, which set forth that such territory "was to remain forever a part of the Confederacy of the United States." Lincoln, taking an active part in all the schemes of internal improvement of the State, early saw that the inhabitants of this great food-producing area could never consent to send its products to the Atlantic or to the Gulf through a foreign country. In any conflict the Prairie State must be true to the Union, and when the fate and perpetuity of the Republic depended largely upon the faithfulness of its President, what I venture to call the composite spirit of his State helped to strengthen and sustain him.

It was this spirit that shone from the face of Douglass when he, at Lincoln's inaugural, grasped his rival's hand and assured him of his firm support.

It was this spirit that animated the breast of Logan and his brave troops on every battle-field.

The State of Lincoln, and Douglas, and Logan has a right to be proud of those, her children, whose virtues are acknowledged of all men, and whose fame is now the common heritage of our great Republic.

Lincoln lies buried near the shores of the Sangamon; Douglas by the limpid lake; Logan's dust will shortly be borne to its last resting-place near his favorite city, in soil made sacred by the memory of its illustrious dead; and for ages to come it may seem to the living that the sighing winds, passing from their resting-place on the lake to his on the beautiful river, are carrrying tender messages of sympathy and love.

Mr. Wilson then introduced Hon. J. S. T. Stranahan, who, he said, had consented to say a few words.

Mr. Stranahan received a cordial welcome as he arose to speak. He said that at so late an hour he could hardly be expected to say more than a few words. "I was your delegate," he said, "to the Convention at Chicago that nominated Abraham Lincoln when he first ran for President, and I was also a delegate-at-large to the Convention in Baltimore, four years later, that renominated him for a second term." He was, he said, in the people's service then, and was so still.

Mr. Stranahan made a brief review of the conditions of Lincoln's time and the conditions of to-day, and said that then there were only four States along the Mississippi, and now there were fourteen joined together by bands of steel in the shape of 20,000 miles of railroad tracks. In conclusion, Mr. Stranahan said that this country was now an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States, and that such a condition existed all honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

When the applause which testified how well Mr. Stranahan's words

had accorded with the feelings of his audience had ceased, Mr. Wilson, said that the exercises of the evening would not be complete without a few words from Hon. S. V. White.

Mr. White said, in part:

At this meeting in honor and commemoration of virtues let me add one word of practical advice to the Republican party. It is that that party, in the face of the smoke and dust raised by Democratic newspapers should understand its duty. The Democratic papers say there is an attempt to throttle the minority in the House of Representatives. Nothing of the kind. An attempt is being made by men whose names wil long be remembered to relieve the country of the tyranny of a minority which has not its par in the history of the world. If there are 300 men present in the House of Representatives and 155 are ready to vote for a given measure, and the 145 will not vote, it is the most absurd proposition in the world that the 145 can block all legislation by refusing to vote when, if even 12 of them voted "no," there would be a quorum voting and the measure would carry. If the 155 vote to further legislation they do their duty, and those who hinder the work should be held up to the execration of men. What Mr. Carlisle did by indirect means Mr. Reed has done directly. When we honor the men of Lincoln's day don't let us forget Reed and McKinley and Butterworth.

Somebody called for three cheers for Reed, and they were given with a will. After a rising vote of thanks to the speakers and to the Dinner Committee the party broke up. Mr. Douglas held an informal reception for about a quarter of an hour after the exercises were completed, everybody pressing forward to shake hands with him and say how much they had enjoyed his speech.





