



*Portrait 1880*



# REPUBLICAN CLUB

*2nd*

◆ DINNER ◆



SEVENTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

11TH FEBRUARY, 1888





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PROCEEDINGS AT  
THE SECOND ANNUAL DINNER  
OF THE  
REPUBLICAN CLUB

OF NEW-YORK CITY

HELD AT DELMONICO'S ON  
THE SEVENTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FEBRUARY 11, 1888



NEW-YORK  
THE DE VINNE PRESS  
1888



INVITED GUESTS.

Honorable JOHN SHERMAN.  
Honorable WILLIAM B. ALLISON.  
Honorable WILLIAM M. EVARTS.  
Honorable JOHN C. SPOONER.  
Honorable CHARLES F. MANDERSON.  
Honorable WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.  
Honorable WARNER MILLER.  
Honorable PHINEAS C. LOUNSBURY.  
Honorable JOHN M. THAYER.  
Honorable THOMAS C. PLATT.  
Honorable ALONZO B. CORNELL.  
Honorable CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.  
Honorable FREMONT COLE.  
Honorable HENRY R. LOW.  
Honorable FRANK HATTON.  
Honorable FRANCIS A. MACOMBER.  
Honorable CHARLES H. GROSVENOR.  
Honorable NATHAN GOFF.

JAMES M. BUNDY, Esquire.

A. THORNDIKE RICE, Esquire.

ROBERT B. PORTER, Esquire.

JOHN A. SLIECHER, Esquire.

R. B. HEFFORD, Esquire.





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# MENU.



## HUÎTRES.

## POTAGES.

Consommé hongroise. Crème d'asperges.  
Variés. Hors d'œuvre. Variés.  
Timbales á la Reynière.

## POISSON.

Saumon du Kennebeck, sauce homard.  
Pommes de terre Viennoise.

## RELEVÉ.

Filets de bœuf à la matignon.  
Haricots verts.

## ENTRÉES.

Poulets sautés à la finnoise.  
Petit pois au beurre.  
Ris de veau au chancelier.  
Tomates à la Trevisé.  
Sorbet Imperial.

## RÔTIS.

Canvasback duck. Pigeonneaux au cresson.

## FROID.

Terrines de foies gras à la gelée.  
Salade de laitue.

## ENTREMETS DE DOUCEUR.

Pouding aux bananes.  
Gelée aux mirabelles. Cornets à la crème.  
Pièces montées.  
Glace Fantaisies.  
Fruits. Petit fours. Café.

THE REPUBLICAN CLUB.  
*Le 11 Fevrier, 1888.*

DELMONICO'S.





*W*  
*ub*  
*York*

*os, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1888.*

*Sam Brookfield.*

*COMMITTEE*  
*Cephas Brainerd.*  
*Joseph Pool.*

*Lee Bank Not. Co. N.Y.*

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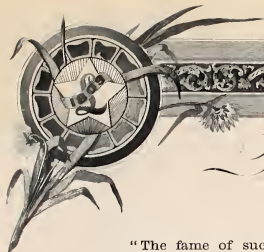
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THE REPUBLICAN CLUB.  
*Le 11 Fevrier, 1888.*

DELMONICO'S.



CELEBRATION OF

79<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF

LINCOLN'S



# Toasts

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"The fame of such a character, brightening with the progress of humanity, can be measured only by the limits of a world's gratitude, and the bounds of time."

## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Summoned into existence at the call of freedom, trained in the school of unparalleled responsibility, it stands to-day with a past that is glorious and a future filled with promise.

## THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

The imperial commonwealth of the Union,—an undisputed leader in all that has contributed to our national greatness.

## THE UNION SOLDIER.

The Republic that he saved in war, he serves in peace.

## THE TARIFF.

To be adjusted according to the needs of the Government, and so imposed as to protect and encourage domestic manufactures while it promotes alike the interests of the wage-payer and the wage-earner.

## THE SURPLUS.

The Republican Party smote the rock of the National resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. Could it now speak the word of command the flowing tide would cease.

## A FREE BALLOT AND A FAIR COUNT.

Unless secured to the whole country the Constitution is set at naught, the suffrage impaired, and the Republic imperiled.



# Second Annual Dinner of the Republican Club OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

at Delmonico's, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1888.

William Brookfield.

A. C. Cheney, Cephas Brainerd,  
James L. Lehmanier, Joseph Pool.

The House of Frank Meib. Co. N.Y.

	N. Y. Post	
	N. Y. Graphic	
	N. Y. Com. Adv.	
Carson Lake	<b>SUPPLEMENTAL</b>	M. R. Crow
Henry Gleason		G. B. Deane, Jr.
Henry L. Stodard		Percival Kuhne
	United Press	
	N. Y. Journal	
	N. Y. Star	

24	23	James S. Lehmaier	H. W. Albro	24	23	William H. Bellamy
25	22	H. H. Leavitt	Frank H. Ballard	25	22	Logan C. Murray
26	21	Albert Hoysradt	C. W. Ballard	26	21	David Mitchell
27	20	H. M. Wynkoop	C. M. Benedict	27	20	Alphonse de Riesthal
28	19	C. N. Tennant	Knight L. Clapp	28	19	Alexander Caldwell
29	18	U. W. Tompkins	C. W. Bonfils	29	18	E. R. Lyon
30	17	E. Kilpatrick	W. H. Patten	30	17	C. H. C. Beakes
31	16	New York Tribune	W. H. Hegeman	31	16	A. B. Bell
32	15	New York Herald	City Press	32	15	C. W. Roxbury
33	14	E. O. Perkins	N. Y. Press	33	14	J. R. Doudge
34	13	<b>D</b> Chas. H. Patrick	Newton Churchill	34	13	<b>E</b> Horace F. Ayres
35	12	William Leary	W. A. Hull	35	12	N. Y. Mail & Express
36	11	E. N. Erickson	Daniel Lewis	36	11	N. Y. Times
37	10	William Linn	M. B. Bryant	37	10	John F. Reynolds
38	9	J. A. Greene	E. D. Hawkins	38	9	Donald McLean
39	8	L. H. Blakeman	P. V. R. Van Wyck	39	8	Job E. Hedges
40	7	George R. Cathcart	William Scott	40	7	Richard J. Lewis
41	6	Jacob Hess	Mahlon Chance	41	6	Thomas R. Harris
42	5	Solon B. Smith	Simon Stevens	42	5	James W. Perry
43	4	Edward Mitchell	John F. Baker	43	4	Charles A. Hess
44	3	S. V. R. Cruger	Cyrus Bussey	44	3	Marvelle W. Cooper
45	1	2 Wm. H. Elliott	Elihu Root	45	1	2 William L. Strong

iam Brookfield

John F. Plummer



## REPUBLICAN CLUB.



### SPEECH OF PRESIDENT EDWARD T. BARTLETT.

*Gentlemen* : It now becomes my pleasant duty, as President of the Republican Club, to call you to order. (Laughter.) I know full well you are impatient to partake of the feast of intellectual good things that has been spread for you by our able and painstaking dinner committee, so I shall not detain you long. The guests of the club, and the stranger that is within our gates to-night, will kindly bear in mind that, so far as the club is concerned, this is a family dinner—the only night in the year when all the boys are at home (laughter); so, if I manifest a fatherly interest and talk a little of family matters, I am sure you will overlook it, and congratulate yourselves that you have been received into the confidence and fellowship of so harmonious and happy a family circle. (Voice—"Good.") Now, it is true that the Republicans of the country know something of this club and its work, but it is equally true that some of the plans of its founders have not been thoroughly understood by the party at large. Some features of our work have attracted attention. The scheme of national organization that assembled in this city in December last, a national convention of enthusiastic workers, has stimulated party zeal everywhere, and the result of that convention was a genuine Republican revival. (Cheers and applause.) That work goes bravely on. Clubs are being

## NAMES OF GUESTS AND MEMBERS.

A. Thornbrite Rice  
 Nathan Goff  
 Francis A. Mendenber  
 Frank Hatton  
 Henry R. Low  
 A. B. Cornell  
 John M. Thayer  
 Wm. McKinstry, Jr.  
 John C. Spooner  
 William R. Allison  
 Edward T. Bartlett,  
*President*  
 John Sherman  
 William M. Evans  
 Chas. F. Manderson  
 Warner Miller  
 P. C. Lonsbury  
 Thomas C. Platt  
 Channey M. Degeer  
 Fremont Cole  
 Chas. H. Grosvenor  
 Jonas M. Bundy

### GUESTS AND PRESIDENT.

N. Y. Post  
 N. Y. Graphic  
 N. Y. Com. Adv.

**SUPPLEMENTAL**

United Press  
 N. Y. Journal  
 N. Y. Star

Carson Lake  
 Henry Gleason  
 Henry L. Stodard  
 M. R. Crow  
 G. B. Deane, Jr.  
 Percival Kuhne

ENTRANCES.

Elmer Smith	24	23	Geo. A. Bowman	C. H. Applegate
Chas. St. John, Jr.	25	22	Robt. L. Stanton	Cephas Brainerd, Jr.
J. J. Flynn	26	21	H. C. Sommers	Walter Hughson
Wm. Strauss	27	20	Wm. R. Montgomery	J. L. Wandling
L. J. Reckendorfer	28	19	G. W. Weid	J. G. McMurray
Mathias Rock	29	18	Wm. Tucker	John A. Grow
Samuel Goodman	30	17	Edwin Tucker	T. M. Ives
Judah L. Taintor	31	16	Wm. Rowland	John W. Jacobus
Chas. N. Taintor	32	15	Geo. E. Weed	A. J. Campbell
Dudley R. Horton	33	14	John H. Wood	J. R. Rand
J. M. Mayer	34	13	Joseph H. Emory	A. C. Rand
R. B. Hight	35	12	T. A. Wetmore	B. W. Green
J. G. Gardiner	36	11	A. B. Price	James F. Lewis
E. A. McAlpin	37	10	James G. Cannon	C. H. Townsend
Wm. J. Easton	38	9	J. Edgar Leaycraft	Philip Carpenter
A. L. Merriam	39	8	Joseph Dowd	John K. Cilley
J. V. V. Olcott	40	7	Geo. N. Messier	Robt. M. Gallaway
J. D. Sinclair	41	6	Chas. Schwacofer	A. R. Whitney
S. Huntington	42	5	W. M. K. Olcott	Fred'k E. Camp
Scott Foster	43	4	M. M. Budlong	William F. Shaffer
John O. Mott	44	3	Ira H. Brainerd	S. B. Elkins
Richard C. Morse	45	1	A. T. Clearwater	John W. Vrooman

Cephas Brainerd

24	23	E. Putnam	James A. Blanchard
25	22	A. P. Ketcham	Joseph G. Gay
26	21	G. Bruce Brown	Wm. L. Findley
27	20	G. W. English	S. M. Milliken
28	19	H. I. W. English	John E. Brodsky
29	18	W. H. Dyer	Duncan H. Currie
30	17	H. S. Paul	E. H. Moon
31	16	H. H. Byram	Associated Press
32	15	John Beattie	N. Y. Sun
33	14	A. Carmichael, Jr.	W. H. Chapman
34	13	A. B. Humphrey	Horatio G. Knight
35	12	E. C. James	Chas. H. Langdon
36	11	F. G. Geidney	A. B. Knapp
37	10	Otis B. Boise	John Davidson
38	9	Jas. A. Robinson	Geo. C. Batcheller
39	8	John C. Hatch	J. R. Tressider
40	7	Jesse H. Lippincott	Noah C. Rogers
41	6	Howard M. Smith	John S. Smith
42	5	Eugene G. Blackford	J. D. Campbell
43	4	William M. Isaacs	Thos. F. Wentworth
44	3	George H. Robinson	Robert P. Porter
45	1	Jas. H. Breslin	Charles E. Coon

A. C. Cheney

24	23	Geo. A. Nourse	R. R. Hefford
25	22	C. Von Witzleben	Lucius C. Ashley
26	21	Wm. A. Freeland	Frank M. Leavitt
27	20	Henry Melville	Ralph N. Ellis
28	19	J. E. Kendrick	Walter B. Tufts
29	18	James P. Foster	C. H. Cromwell
30	17	W. W. Farmer	George Fairman
31	16	Homer Lee	New York World
32	15	C. H. Dennison	J. J. Little
33	14	Joseph Ullman	Floyd Clarkson
34	13	Ira B. Wheeler	Charles F. Homer
35	12	Hai Bell	R. A. Kathan
36	11	D. Kensett Wheeler	Orson Adams
37	10	A. J. Cammeyer	Henry R. DeMilt
38	9	Henry W. Hayden	D. B. St. John Rosa
39	8	Henry L. Sprague	E. F. Coe
40	7	Harwood R. Pool	Nicholas L. Cort
41	6	T. H. Evans	E. R. Holden
42	5	James Stokes	Jay O. Morse
43	4	Jefferson Clark	Samuel Thomas
44	3	J. W. Hawes	J. Milton Goetichius
45	1	S. L. Woodhouse	W. W. Flanagan

Mortimer C. Addoms

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John F. Plummer

William Brookfield



## REPUBLICAN CLUB.



### SPEECH OF PRESIDENT EDWARD T. BARTLETT.

*Gentlemen* : It now becomes my pleasant duty, as President of the Republican Club, to call you to order. (Laughter.) I know full well you are impatient to partake of the feast of intellectual good things that has been spread for you by our able and painstaking dinner committee, so I shall not detain you long. The guests of the club, and the stranger that is within our gates to-night, will kindly bear in mind that, so far as the club is concerned, this is a family dinner—the only night in the year when all the boys are at home (laughter); so, if I manifest a fatherly interest and talk a little of family matters, I am sure you will overlook it, and congratulate yourselves that you have been received into the confidence and fellowship of so harmonious and happy a family circle. (Voice—“ Good.”) Now, it is true that the Republicans of the country know something of this club and its work, but it is equally true that some of the plans of its founders have not been thoroughly understood by the party at large. Some features of our work have attracted attention. The scheme of national organization that assembled in this city in December last, a national convention of enthusiastic workers, has stimulated party zeal everywhere, and the result of that convention was a genuine Republican revival. (Cheers and applause.) That work goes bravely on. Clubs are being

formed in almost every township; the clubs of each State are under the control of a State League, and the State Leagues are subordinate to a national league, and the general result is a degree of organization and efficiency surpassing anything in the party history of this country. (Applause.) Gentlemen will bear in mind that these clubs do not interfere with or antagonize the regular organization in any locality, but are its efficient allies in all that is honorable, straightforward, and manly in politics. (Applause.) The mission of the clubs, gentlemen, is to proclaim the principles of Republicanism, to instruct the voter in political knowledge, and to bring organization to that degree of efficiency that every man on election day casts his vote, if physically able to leave his house. Now this work of the club is not confined to the campaign, but is continued throughout the whole year. But of course I have not time for details now. We were of opinion that this national plan would give us the opportunity not only to do a work that was of unspeakable advantage and benefit to the Republican party, but would tend to introduce us as a club to the Republican workers of the country, thereby giving force and effect to the warning cry which we now give to the party at large: that work is to be done here in the city of New-York (applause) and that the real field for the exertion of this club is here, to do what we can to build up and strengthen the Republican party in this Democratic stronghold. Dwelling as we do habitually under the shadow of defeat, so far as our local ticket is concerned, the tendency has been to neglect that perfection of organization that is found in localities where victory is the normal condition of the party. But, gentlemen, we can suffer this thing no longer. The result of the solid South has been to make the State of New-York the political battle-field of the Union; and, impressed with that idea, this club, in December last, resigned its national undertaking to the leagues organized for that purpose, and has made haste to resume its city tasks. Two weeks ago we raised, as many of you know, a committee here of twenty-five, to be known as the Committee on Club Organization in the City of New-York. That committee has been selected with great care, and those methods of organization that are working so admirably throughout the country at large, we propose to apply here to



the city of New-York vigorously and at once, and we hope with telling results. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, the plan that I have spoken of as not appreciated by the party at large, is this: We propose, if possible, to found here, on the basis of the club that we now have, a great national Republican Club, whose political influence shall be felt not only here but throughout the entire country; while we hasten to disclaim the intention of trenching upon the ground now occupied by any existing club.

We propose to enter upon a field of labor entirely new and uncultivated, and we desire to place upon the rolls of this club from 2000 to 3000 names of leading Republicans residing here and throughout the country, selected from official and private life. We should realize, gentlemen, that the city of New-York is the political as well as the social and business center of the country. It may well be said that all roads lead to New-York, and under this system of National club organization that we have adopted, a central point of control is absolutely essential, and that point is naturally the city of New-York; and so we come, gentlemen, to the distinction existing between this proposed club and any existing club. We would make this proposed club a part of the working machinery of the party, and the rallying point of Republicans everywhere, both politically and socially. We have given this matter careful consideration, and believe if this great club can be organized that it will become a most important factor in the working machinery of the party. Of course, details cannot be dwelt upon here. Suffice it to say that we would confer upon this club one of the best political libraries in the country, and install it in a house, which for appointments and location would be second to no club in this city. (Applause.) I realize, gentlemen, that our present organization is but the nucleus for all this, and it rests with the wealthy and influential Republicans of this city and the country to determine whether this dream of ours shall ever become reality. But, gentlemen, we may well profit by the example of our friends in the Democratic party in this matter of organization. In no part of the country is the Democratic party so splendidly organized as here, in this city of New-York. You are all familiar with the names of its working organizations, and you all know that its party dis-

cipline is equal to that of an army in the field. Who ever heard of such a thing as a Democratic Mugwump? (Laughter.) Why, if such a thing existed it would be taken out and shot at sunrise. (Applause.) And furthermore, gentlemen, the Democratic party never goes outside of its own lines for candidates. (A Voice: "Good.") Now, let us resolve from this time on that the way to make the Republican city ticket win here is to nominate it straight every year (applause), and work for it through evil report and good report, realizing that defeat within party lines is better than success outside. (Applause.) But I am quite free to admit, gentlemen, that some of us have not always followed this good advice, and that the party itself has nominated Democrats as candidates on the city ticket when they supposed they were acting in the interest of reform and good government.

But we have recently been taught the lesson that the average Democrat votes his own ticket at all times and under all circumstances. Those of us who waited for a tidal wave of reform last autumn are waiting yet. (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, reform in the Democratic party is good enough material for newspaper editorials and declamatory campaign speeches, but on the morning of election day reform is folded up and laid aside for use next year, and the boys all vote the ticket. (Laughter.) We are told that at the present time we have a reform national administration in Washington, and that while the question of the surplus may be a little too much for its financial ability, yet morally it is truly good. (Laughter and applause.) Now, gentlemen, we ought not to be too severe in this matter of the surplus, for it has been a very long time since the Democratic party has had to deal with such a thing. (Laughter.) When we came into power in 1861 we were confronted by many and serious difficulties, but the question of the surplus did not trouble us. (Laughter.) This administration, with all its pious proclivities, has succeeded in preaching the gospel of civil service reform, and at the same time removing, in a little over two years and a half, eighty per cent. of the office-holders of the Government, and is now wrestling diligently with the other twenty per cent. (Laughter.) The cares of state, gentlemen, did not prevent the Chief Magistrate of this great country from shamelessly interfering in our local canvass last autumn, and

throwing the weight of his great office against the cause of reform and good government. (Applause.) But possibly, gentlemen, we ought not to be harsh with one to whom we owe so much as a party, for he has abolished the thimble-rigging, "now you see us and now you don't" policy of the Democratic party (applause), and has succeeded in nailing them to the free-trade plank of their platform (applause), and there they are to-day, gentlemen, a spectacle to angels and to men (laughter), and there we propose to keep them, and join issue with the President in his message, rejoicing that we are at last to have a political campaign fought out on the basis of great principles, without descending to personal abuse and slander. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we may well leave the question of the protection of the industries of this country to the American people, and any party that stands in the way of their righteous verdict will be ground to powder. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen of the Republican Club, permit me in concluding to congratulate you on your having assembled again at this board to commemorate the birth of Abraham Lincoln. (Cheers and applause.) I know of no more fitting act for you to engage in after a year of successful and unremitting labor on behalf of the Republican party than to celebrate the historical event that has called into being this brilliant scene. The result of your work is that to-night, on the eve of the greatest political struggle that has ever taken place in this country, we behold upon every mountain-top the blazing watch-fires of the clans kindled by you, summoning all able-bodied Republicans to the conflict. A year ago you went forth to a field of untried and anxious labor, but to-night, gentlemen, crowned with success, you come here to do homage to the babe whose feeble cry seventy-nine years ago was first heard in the humble home of Thomas Lincoln, of Kentucky, to the statesman and ruler who stood at the helm of State in the crisis of our history, to the martyr whose soul went up to God amid the sobs and the prayers of a stricken people. If there be a spot on earth where the sincere Republican worker can renew his strength as the eagle, it is here in this presence, resting under the shadow of a great name, and recalling the heroic incidents of a life that have become the precious possessions of a free people. (Applause and three cheers for President Bartlett.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, the next order of business will be to listen to the reading of letters by Mr. James S. Lehmaier, of the Dinner Committee, from gentlemen who are unable to attend to-night.

## LETTERS OF REGRET.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 28, 1888.

MR. JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

*Dear Sir*: I am greatly obliged to the Republican Club for the invitation it has so kindly extended me to be present at its second annual dinner on Saturday, February 11th, but it is quite impossible for me to accept. Our court is in session and I cannot be away. Saturday, unfortunately, is not an off day with us, as that is the time taken by the justices for consultation. I shall look with interest for the report of your gathering.

Sincerely yours,

M. R. WAITE.

MR. JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

FREMONT, January 31, 1888.

*My Dear Sir*: I thank you for your kind invitation to attend the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of New-York City, on the anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, and regret that I cannot be present.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

BANGOR, February 6, 1888.

*My Dear Sir*: I was in due receipt of your favor of the 1st inst. in which you honor me with an invitation to attend a dinner to be given by the Republican Club of New-York at Delmonico's, on February 11th, the anniversary celebration of President Lincoln's birthday.

Being in full sympathy with your Club and deeming the event eminently worthy of commemoration and that it should be made a national holiday, it is with deep regret I have to say that I am so situated that I cannot be with you upon the occasion. I cannot control the reasons which compel me to decline your invitation. I would be truly glad to be at your dinner, but it will not be possible.

Yours truly,

H. HAMLIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, January 28, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*My Dear Sir*: I received yesterday your letter of the 18th instant, inviting me on the part of the Committee of Arrangements to dine with the Republican Club of the city of New-York on the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday.

It would have given me pleasure to join in your tribute of gratitude and respect to the first President of our great party in its successful struggle to fulfill the promise which this country made to the world when it took its place among nations. But I have to regret that I cannot have the pleasure to be with you on this interesting occasion. I sincerely thank you for the kind expressions in your letter which do me so much honor. But not only the huge breadth of country which intervenes, but also considerations of health, for which I came to this climate, forbid my returning to the East at this season.

Yours truly,

JOHN C. FREMONT.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1888.

*My Dear Sir*: I have withheld for some days an answer to your courteous invitation to attend the dinner of the Republican Club of New-York, hoping to accept it. But I find it will not be in my power without neglecting other duties.

I am, faithfully, yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1888.

MR. JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

*My dear Sir*: I acknowledge receipt of an invitation to attend the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New York, at Delmonico's, on February 11, 1888, and regret that duties here compel me to decline your cordial invitation.

Thanking you for the courtesy, I am, with great respect,

FRANK HISCOCK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 18, 1888.

MR. JAMES LEHMAIER.

*My dear Sir*: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation to attend the second annual dinner of the Republican Club at Delmonico's, on the evening of February 11th.

In reply I would say that it would give me very great pleasure to be present were it possible; but I regret that my public and social duties here are such that I shall be unable to attend.

With thanks for the courtesy of your invitation, very respectfully yours,

JOHN J. INGALLS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*My dear Sir*: I thank you very much for your kind invitation to the dinner on Lincoln's birthday, though I shall not be able to attend. Nevertheless, I would like to be heard for a moment.

The Republican party is not greatest in its history, however illustrious, but in itself. It has the same capacity for great achieve-

ments which it always had, for it is made up now, as it always has been, of men who believe in progress. In the past we established and maintained sound ways of doing things. The Government to-day is running on the impetus of our twenty-four years' rule. The Treasury is, for the most part, conducted on the very principles for the denunciation of which no Democratic tongue could be blistering enough only three years ago.

When you catalogue the great deeds of our party, do not forget one of the greatest, the education we have given the democracy in finance.

But nothing can run long on impetus. Education soon fades out when confined to a few chiefs. Conrad Jordan has departed, and Manning is dead. Already the President has concentrated his whole message capacity on the industries of the country, and only the severest pressure last year made the Secretary pay out the surplus for the national debt. He thought it better to use it in the conspiracy against protection. Some real force, born of sound sense, has got soon to be again applied to keep both Government and business in motion. That force must come from the party which supported Abraham Lincoln while he lived, and carried on his work after his death.

Very truly,

T. B. REED.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 28, 1888.

MR. JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

*Dear Sir:* Accept my thanks for your letter of the 23d inst., inviting me to the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New-York, on the 11th of February next, on the occasion of observing the anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

I would be delighted to be present on the occasion, knowing from a personal participation on a similar occasion last year how delightful and interesting it will inevitably be. The truth is, however, unavoidable engagements will compel me to remain at home and regretfully forfeit the pleasures of the day, and the company of the men who are to be present, whom I should delight to see eat, and hear speak. Yours respectfully,

R. J. OGLESBY.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, BRANDON, VT., January 30, 1888.

MR. JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

*My Dear Sir:* Your letter and card by which you extend to me an invitation to be present at the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New-York, on February 11, 1888, has been received, and I beg to assure you that were it possible for me so to do, I should avail myself of the opportunity offered to meet the members of the club and other distinguished gentlemen. That the cause of the Republican party may be advanced, and the memory

of the lamented Lincoln honored by this proposed meeting is made certain, and I would gladly be with you to give to it the approval and best wishes of the Republicans of the Green Mountain State, but present engagements prevent.

I am, very truly yours,

EBENEZER J. ORMSBEE.

HARRISBURG, January 30, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*My Dear Sir* : Your kind letter of the 24th instant, inviting me to be present at the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of New-York on Saturday evening, February 11th proximo, has been received. I have already accepted the invitation of the Ohio Republican League to be present at their gathering at Columbus on the 13th of February, to celebrate the birthday of Lincoln, and do not see how it will be possible for me to attend both. It would give me very great pleasure, I assure you, to join with you in the commemoration of the birth of one so illustrious as Abraham Lincoln, and to meet the distinguished gentlemen who will gather about your table. My previous engagements, however, will prevent this.

I hope the custom which you inaugurated a year ago, and which you intimate your determination to continue, will become general throughout the country, and that Lincoln's birthday will be celebrated hereafter in a manner befitting his character and services to the country.

With thanks for the invitation extended on behalf of the Club, I am, very cordially yours,

JAMES A. BEAVER.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, COLUMBUS, OHIO, February 9, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir* : Other engagements make it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation for Saturday evening. I can assure you, however, that the Republicans of this part of the country are ready for the approaching contest with respect to which they will reject all advice that comes to them from those who claim to be Republicans, yet vote with the Democrats; they are without qualification or apology for a protective tariff, a free ballot, the Constitution as it is, and the flags where they are.

Yours truly,

J. B. FORAKER.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, LANSING, MICH., January 30, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir* : I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of an invitation from you in behalf of your committee to attend the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of your city, to be held on February 11, 1888.

The same is highly appreciated, and would be accepted, were it not that Ohio, with its usual moving proclivities, were ahead with an invitation to be present with their Republicans at Columbus on the 13th of February, and which I have already accepted. The proximity of the two dates will prevent my attending at New-York.

May the party from the people, of the people, and for the people of the United States continue to sound notes that will bring to them contentment and prosperity, and may the mufflers be removed from the free-trade clappers that are now sounding a menace, and would toll a death-knell to American industry and enterprise.

Our country and its homes, first and forever, is the sentiment of yours, sincerely,

C. G. LUCE.

CHICAGO, January 31, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir*: I have your kind favor of the 24th instant transmitting to me the invitation of the Committee to be present at the annual dinner of the Republican Club on the evening of February 11th next. I very much regret that my engagements here, at so great a distance from New-York, make it impossible for me to accept the invitation. As I have had occasion to say before, I appreciate highly the compliment which is done to the memory of my father in distinguishing his birthday in this marked manner, as is done by the New-York Republican Club and several other prominent associations in the country, and I very much hope that I will have the opportunity at some time of expressing this appreciation personally to the members of the Club. Believe me, very truly yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

DETROIT, MICH., January 30, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER.

*My Dear Sir*: Will you please convey to the Committee of Arrangements of the Republican Club my sincere thanks for the invitation to be present at the second annual dinner on the 11th prox., and regrets that I cannot accept the same, as I have arranged to leave for California on the 13th. Yours, very truly,

R. A. ALGER.

CHICAGO, January 30, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir*: I am just in receipt of your letter of the 27th inst., inclosing an invitation from the Republican Club of the City of New-York to attend its second annual dinner to be held on Saturday, February 11th, at Delmonico's.

I shall be busy at that time hearing cases which have already been assigned, and which could not be postponed without serious inconvenience to counsel, and am, therefore, obliged to decline your polite



invitation. Appreciating the courtesy, and hoping that the meeting will be agreeable to all present and that it will result in good to the party,  
 Yours, very truly, W. Q. GRESHAM.

PITTSBURGH, February 3, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir*: I regret that I cannot accept your kind invitation to attend the second annual dinner of the Republican Club of New York, in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

While we cannot emulate the great and good Lincoln, may we not with honor to his memory and with profit to ourselves bear in mind and repeat his wise sayings; and, in view of the recent acts and utterances of those in high places, which threaten the peace and prosperity of our country, by the attempt to foist upon us the vicious fallacies of free trade with rival nations, what can be more appropriately repeated than his declaration regarding the protection of American industries, when he said, "If we are to be a better fed, better clothed, and better educated people than those of other nations, and if we are to have more of the comforts of this life, we must be better paid. I can conceive of no other defense against the invasion of our territory by the products of cheap labor of other countries than a protecting tariff that will make up the differences in cost, and reserve our markets, thereby enabling us to enjoy our marvelous heritage."

Very truly yours, B. F. JONES.

NEW-YORK, February 1, 1888.

JAMES S. LEHMAIER, ESQ.

*Dear Sir*: I am extremely sorry to find that before the receipt of your courteous invitation of January 27th for the second annual dinner of the Republican Club, to be held on February 11th, another engagement for that evening had been made, and with sincere regret that I am thus unable to accept the invitation with which you have honored me, I am, very truly yours,

WHITELAW REID.

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, the first regular toast of the evening is "Abraham Lincoln; the fame of such a character, broadening with the progress of humanity, can be measured only by the limits of a world's gratitude, and the bounds of time." Gentlemen, in reading this toast, things present fade away, and we look once more upon a scene enacted nearly a generation ago in the National Republican Convention assembled in Chicago, in 1860. A Republican

delegation, led by one of New-York's most brilliant sons, had made a gallant fight in the interests of William H. Seward for the presidency, and they tasted the bitterness of defeat when the presiding officer of that convention announced that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was the choice of the delegates. Then it was that the chairman of this delegation with knightly courtesy stepped forward, and in eloquent sentences moved that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous. Gentlemen, what could be more fitting than that the mover of that resolution should respond to the toast of Abraham Lincoln to-night? (Applause.) Such is the case, and I have the honor to present to you one who needs no introduction here, the Hon. William M. Evarts, of New-York. (Applause and three cheers for William M. Evarts.)





## SPEECH OF MR. EVARTS.

*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Republican Club:* I am quite sure that you will allow me to count myself with the Club, and as one of its members, and not as a stranger by invitation entitled to the special courtesies we pay to our invited guests. We are all at home here in New-York, we honest and earnest Republicans of this Club, and we rejoice to have the opportunities and the means of spreading an inviting feast to eminent public men of our party to join in the celebration of that party in its homage to the name and the fame of Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) Your overflowing tables and your animated faces and exuberant spirits teach me as well as our visitors to look upon you as the examples and the leaders engaged in a renovation of the Republican party, and not in any lamentation at any of its disasters. (Applause.)

How great a thing it is that in our generation a political party should have furnished to the admiration of the world so great a character, so great a conduct, so great a fame, so great an influence in this wide world of ours as Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) Accustomed to look upon the overspreading fame and influence of Washington as incapable of appropriation, in our later politics, to the just pretensions and pride of any one party, how great a thing it is for our party,—an actual living, leading party of our day,—that we have produced in the secular order of time a name to match that of Washington, and to give a new word to conjure by for American liberty and American independence. (Applause.) The great State of the old thirteen had claimed, perhaps, as the chiefest glory of its own greatness, that it was

the birthplace of Washington; that its great son, the Father of his Country, slept on the banks of their own river, the Potomac. Now one of the new States since added to the old thirteen, the great State of Illinois, has been lifted up out of the whole body of the thirty-eight States and put on the same plane and height with old Virginia as the home and growth and scene of the triumph of Abraham Lincoln; and Illinois, in the long ages, shall stand out as the State identified with him, as Virginia is with George Washington. (Applause.) This glory of these two great names, thus now diffused over the whole nation and shared between the old and the new States, is to become henceforth, let us hope, a new security against discords between North and South, East and West, for all alike shall worship at these shrines of liberty and justice. (Applause.)

I cannot, Mr. President, speak as in narrative, nor even as in illustration, of the wonderful career of this most remarkable American. I can only ask your attention to the very brief span of years which covers his first introduction to the general knowledge of his countrymen, and the great stages, so few and so vast in their upward rise, to the last solemn culmination of his life in our sorrow at his death. Mr. Lincoln, in 1856, was spoken of in the Republican party as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and received, I think, something over one hundred votes for that place; but I do not think it is saying too much, as to the country at large, that, except among his neighbors in his own State and in the neighboring States, this was the first mention of that name on the wide theater of public fame of the United States. Two years afterward he was made a candidate, in the purposes of the Republicans of Illinois, as their leader and champion in the campaign then opening, to send him to the Senate of the United States to displace the power and favor held by Mr. Douglas with the people of Illinois. Out of that great contest, in which this somewhat new champion of Republican principles, and of the great principles of liberty and of duty, was matched against the Democratic purposes represented by Mr. Douglas, came the name of Abraham Lincoln to be known almost as fully, and as clearly, and as warmly throughout the land, as was the young stripling David throughout Judea, after the smooth stone from his sling had smitten the giant Goliath. (Applause.) And from that step forward you will

find in sacred or profane history no more wonderful and no more rapid advance in human affairs, than this of Abraham Lincoln's, since the elevation of the young shepherd to be king of Judea, the king that this religious people honor and admire as the great king of ancient times.

Now, wonderful, is it not, that from that first step taken in 1858, but two years afterward he became the leader and the candidate, not of a party in the ordinary contests and competitions of our politics, but as the leader of an aroused, and indignant, and resentful nation against the evil shames into which we had been plunged by the Democratic party; and thus he was made the leader, not of a party, but of a nation that was rising in its power to shake off the manacles and fetters that had bound its limbs. (Applause.) Then, from the opening of his authority of rule under the Constitution, see how everything that he had to do and everything that he did was great and noble, and wonderful and new. In the first month following his inauguration what more wonderful bugle-note was ever blown by human breath than that which called up the people of the United States who loved their country and were loyal to its institutions to come out in arms to suppress a rebellion that expected to be triumphant by our negligence and indifference! (Applause.) Upon this same great summons, behold how swiftly, covering this great coast of ours from the capes of Delaware to New Orleans and Galveston, and on the Pacific coast the whole sea was crowded with ships to enforce a blockade that the world had never dreamed of as possible of enforcement. And so on, step by step, the great army of citizen soldiers grew, and the zeal and the fervor and the patriotic sacrifices of the nation marshaled the manhood of the country, and marshaled the wealth of the country, all to be poured into the lap of the great Government and placed at its service to preserve for all this people, the American nation, with its constitution unpolluted and its territory unutilated. (Applause.) Great occurrences in the history of the world! The example is set, and hereafter the people may rest secure without an army and without a navy when it is known that a people like this, when their honor or their interests are struck at by intestine or by foreign foes, is able to array on battle-fields and to display on the wide ocean enough of warlike power to meet the warfare of

the world. (Applause.) But see how all this material pride and power was but the attendant and the servant, as it has been from the beginning, but the minister of the great design of Providence, of whom Abraham Lincoln was the trusted instrument. Then we come to the greatest act in the history of our world of personal influence in its affairs, the emancipation, by the pen of a ruler, of the millions of the enslaved fellow-countrymen of ours. (Applause.) And to crown all, to make that fact permanent and constitutional, that had been justified and was needed as a step in the war, he lived to see a proclaimed peace not over a subjugated people, but over a suppressed rebellion. (Applause.)

By a happy inspiration given to few orators, Abraham Lincoln did what no orator since Pericles's time has been able to do — that is, to add one exhilarating and ennobling thought to the ever-memorable oration which Pericles delivered over the dead of Greece that died for Greece. Every scholar that has read that perfect piece of patriotic feeling and eloquent truth of the Greek orator, must admit that Abraham Lincoln's single phrase, at Gettysburg, "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here," will live with the splendid rhetoric of Pericles. (Applause.)

Now, what was there, in the future of his life, of great historic fame, of great and arduous yet completed and triumphant duty, left for Abraham Lincoln to live for and to do? There might be much else for this country that he should have survived for, but who that looks at a rounded and complete character and fame but must recognize that there was nothing left for him in the stages of human greatness and of grades of perpetual homage from mankind, but that this great chosen and triumphant leader should be made a martyr. Was there anything left in the rôle of human glory to crown that of Abraham Lincoln after he had received the surrender of the rebellion and the acclaim of the nation as its savior, but that he should receive the consecrating crown of a martyr? (Applause.) And this consecration came about, this blow of malice and of treason struck down Abraham Lincoln, on the day of all the year, the day which we celebrate as Good Friday, the day the Saviour fell. Can we then fail to associate — who in Christendom, in the hearts of the religious and

Christian people of the world but must associate—this death of Lincoln, the martyr for liberty and the hopes of civil institutions for man, with this dreadful day of the crucifixion. That was a sad night for this country to be sure, when, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, he lost all consciousness to things of earth. He slumbered through that long, sad night,

“ But when the sun in all his state,  
 Illumed the Eastern skies,  
 He passed through Glory’s morning gate,  
 And walked in Paradise.”

But it is not wholly to-day that we are to celebrate the *memory* of Lincoln. This marvelous history of an American boy, ended at the age of fifty-six, tells a story that belongs to the whole world. For us, gathered here, his example, his lessons are to be accepted for practical duties and practical objects by the great political party that shares with him the glories of his achievements as he did of ours. It is in that name and by that sign that the Republican party expects now to take up and carry forward the great and continual, and let us hope perpetual, growth and elevation, and exaltation of the American people (applause), purged of all that human nature below the skies may hope to miss, as it goes on step by step; but not, let me remind you, Republicans of New-York, by belittling or explaining away the greatness of Lincoln and the greatness of the Republican party. Who would think that, under the exigencies of political agitations and political aspirations, we should come to find in great numbers of our countrymen a disposition to belittle and defame the greatness of those achievements and the wonderful credit that attends them all? Or, that the nation in the next following generation should think that it was irksome and tedious to renew and perpetuate those feelings, which arouse and animate us in the discharge of our duty?

Let us then be true to ourselves. By our next election we are to launch our Government, with a new President for the first term, upon our second hundred years. We are bound to trust it only with men and with principles, and with courage, and with patriotism that can be followed in the coming century, and long after, in the path that is illuminated by the

public virtues of Washington and of Lincoln. (Applause.) Does not every Republican that deserves the name, kindle with new feelings and with new purposes whenever the name and the birthday of Lincoln is mentioned? Have we anything to explain or to explain away? Do we want to put any new glosses and any new interpretations on the triumphant period of the Republican party and the culminating fame of Abraham Lincoln? Do we wish to send it out to European nations that the sober second-thought of the American people is a little disposed to call that a period of *enthusiasm* which all Republicans know was, from the beginning to the end, and from the common soldier and the common voter up to Abraham Lincoln and the great generals and the great statesmen about him, an honest, and a noble, and an unflinching, and an inflexible purpose that this country of ours should be independent and free, able to take care of our industries, our prosperity, our character, and our conduct in the face of the world? (Applause.) Where are those idle and frivolous trumpeters of the subsequent fame of another party? (Cries of "Nowhere," and laughter.) Some unwise but apparently well-wishing friend of the President has thought it a good thing to bring the two names of the President of the day and the great President of our time, Abraham Lincoln, together, for comparison. Who raised this comparison? Did any Democrat ever think it worth his while to put those two names together? (Laughter.) Did any Republican ever wish to do it? (Cries of "No, no.") Who under Heavens dared to do that injury to the living President, thus to rekindle the enthusiasm for the great dead whose birthday we celebrate? (Cries of "Good, good.")

Now, the solemn character of Lincoln, shown by his pious phrases and his sober reverence, brings us to this as the wisdom of the sacred Scripture: "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps." Abraham Lincoln, in his honest heart, devised his way that he would serve his country — that he would serve humanity, that he would serve it in peril, serve it in prosperity, serve it for the country, serve it for the world; but the Lord directed those steps that he could not foresee, could not imagine; the Lord directed his steps, and there was no crown for him but that which should lift him into the higher sphere of nearness to the God whom



he revered and worshiped. (Applause.) And, now, the undiscovered country which the steps of Abraham Lincoln now traverse, and toward which all our steps tend, is crowded with heroes and martyrs, servants of their time, prophets and great captains in the service of truth; but we must all reverently feel that among those majestic shades there is found, and not the least among them, the august form and glory of Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, there could be but one toast immediately succeeding that of Abraham Lincoln, and that is the toast of "The Republican Party. Summoned into existence at the call of freedom, trained in the school of unparalleled responsibility, it stands to-day with a past that is glorious and a future filled with promise." (Applause.) The sentiment of this toast, gentlemen, is brief, but it conveys in a sentence the past and the future of the Republican party. We listen to the story of its magnificent achievements and illustrious deeds with increasing interest. Our Committee to-night have summoned here to respond to this toast one of the brilliant orators of the North-west. I have great pleasure in presenting to you one of the United States senators from Wisconsin, Hon. John C. Spooner. (Three cheers for Senator Spooner.)





## SPEECH OF MR. SPOONER.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club :* Coming to you to-night a stranger (Cries of "No, no"), I am quick to recognize with grateful sensibility the warmth which pervades your welcome. An unmarred tribute on such an occasion to the memory of Abraham Lincoln must inevitably include the sentiment which you now propose to the party whose flag he carried, and at whose head he fell. (Applause.) Measured by what it has wrought for the public weal, the Republican party is centuries old. Tested merely by the lapse of years, it is still young. Think of it. Only thirty-three years ago its first convention assembled in Ohio (applause), declaring its principles in ringing words that still stir one's blood; it placed its standard and its fortunes in the hands of one whose name is very dear to us, and the record of whose life is one of our jewels — Salmon P. Chase. (Applause.) I refer, gentlemen, to that convention partly to remind you of the pleasant fact that it is well represented here to-night. Its presiding officer, a brave and devoted leader, everywhere honored for wise and consummate statesmanship, happily still clothed with vigorous manhood, is a guest at this banquet board and sits at the right of your president. (Prolonged applause at this reference to Senator Sherman, and three cheers for John Sherman.) Its secretary, carrying with him to a frontier state the spirit of that convention, and the principles which it adopted, has long been the pride of Republican Iowa and lives very near to the popular heart. He, too, is your guest to-night. (Referring to Senator Allison). (Applause.) Over two centuries before the organization of our party there had been planted on this continent two ideas predestined to

eternal conflict. The one proclaimed from the "Mayflower" at Plymouth Rock the civil and religious liberty of all men. The other proclaimed from the Dutch ship on the James the right of the white man to own the body and the labor of the black. The battle between these hostile forces, insidious but alert, unseen but always existent, went on, each seeking and finding in the land its natural abiding place, and strange to say, the evil one finding at last a home in the Constitution. By the indulgence given to the slave traffic and the recognition of slave ownership as an element in the basis of representation, the framers of the Constitution set the squadrons of freedom and slavery in the field, and projected between these forces a political conflict to end only with the survival of the fittest. (A voice: "Good.") From that day forth that one must struggle to increase its power, and that the other must struggle to resist it, was but simple obedience to a law of nature. It is of no profit here to dwell in detail upon the great struggle which preceded the coming of the Republican party. This party sprang into life to obstruct the path of human slavery (applause) and to vindicate the dignity of human labor (renewed applause), and these central ideas of its being run like a golden thread through its whole career. From the day of its birth it stood God's instrument upon this continent to fight the battle of liberty. It found the slave power entrenched in the Constitution, dictating the policy of the country, controlling the administration of the Government, piling with insolent industry statute upon statute in derogation of human rights, degrading with the sanction of the Supreme Court the free people of free States into mere slave-catchers, until it tendered to the country at last the dreadful alternative to surrender the right of majority rule, or to submit to a dissolution of the American Union. With what sublimity of patient, prudent courage the Republican party met that test; with what splendid confidence it appealed to the people; with what superb fealty did the people respond. An empty treasury, a stained and dishonored credit, a scattered and disloyal army, a distant and weakened navy — these were trifles light as air. Animated by patriotic purposes, strong in national spirit, devoted to the Union of States, officered by members of the Old Guard, beset by enemies at the front, weakened by enemies at the rear, embarrassed by

the jealousy of hostile nations over the sea, the Republican party broke from its environment, and pressed onward to the end. (Applause.) It asked for no quarter; it sent out from its front no white flag of truce; it consented to no armistice; it recruited from the ranks of the people over two millions of citizen soldiers, and sent them forth under the leadership of Grant, and Sherman (applause), and Sheridan (applause), and Thomas, and Logan (applause), and the long line of illustrious heroes who gathered about them to defend the life of the Republic; and amidst the shock of contending armies, in the molten fire of battle, the shackles of slavery melted forever away, and the Union of States stood redeemed, regenerated and perpetual. (Applause.) The capacity of this party for government acknowledged no limit. In the midst of the tumult, and waste, and trouble of war, it trod with phenomenal energy the paths of peace. It organized new territories, it added new stars to the flag, even while the army bore it from Atlanta to the sea. (Applause.) It promoted education among the people; it encouraged immigration; drove back the frontier, and filled the North with prosperous homes, free gifts out of the public domain; it inaugurated public improvements; it protected and dignified American labor. (Applause.) It built up and diversified American industries; it won and declared the industrial independence of this nation. Then, in the flush of victory, crowned with the wonderful success of its policies, it turned with a magnanimity and charity never known in any other land, or among any other people, to bring back a scattered family into the house which the fathers had builded, and to repair the waste and ravages of war. It maintained the national faith; it burnished the public credit, dear to a nation as honor is to a man, or chastity to a woman, until it shines as bright as the stars in the sky above us. (Applause.) It wrote in the Constitution the proclamation of freedom, and made all men equal before the law. In short, it crowded into the years from 1861 to 1885 — only a day in the life of a people — more of devotion to liberty, of wise legislation, of perfect administrative methods, of creative statesmanship, of military glory, and of magnanimity and forbearance, than the world had seen in a thousand years. (Applause.) And among other things it did which ought not to be forgotten, in its own good time and in its own way, it gave to our truculent neighbor,

Mr. John Bull — always the industrial enemy of this country — an excellent opportunity to settle or fight. (Prolonged applause.) And he settled. (Laughter and applause.) In 1884, in the midst of a campaign the like of which for cowardly detraction and slander I hope may not come again, marshaled by leaders as gallant as any whose plumes ever waved at the front of a column (Great cheers again and again renewed), the Republican party encountered its first defeat in a quarter of a century. (A voice: "That was done by the Mugwumps.") Yes, and the alliterative oratory which from that time forth ought to be punished by imprisonment for life. (Laughter and applause.) The Democratic forces marched back into the citadel, and to-day this ancient adversary of ours which has had a look at the books (laughter), which has counted the money (renewed laughter), which has turned on the light — a Pan-Electric included (laughter and applause) — stands before a deluded people, daily fulfilling Republican prophecies of its governmental incapacity, and bearing dumb, unwilling, but unimpeachable testimony to the rectitude of Republican administrations, and to the perfection of Republican methods. (Applause.)

But, gentlemen, the bugle call of duty never rang out more clearly to the Republican party than it does this night. (Cries of "Good.") Its work is not half done. We may linger lovingly over its shining past only to gather inspiration for the conflicts yet to come, as the soldiers in the war time used to sing around the camp-fires the sweet songs of home to nerve them to higher effort in the next day's fight. (Applause.) Before this anniversary day shall come again a supreme battle is to be lost or won. (Cries of "Won.") Won it shall be. (Applause.) Great issues challenge the party's best effort, and demand the party's best leadership. One of the parallels of history confronts us. Minority rule has come again into the Government. By a strange fatuity the negro race, always kindly and inoffensive, is still, in the hands of a Southern democracy, a factor of danger and outrage in our political system. The Republican party clad the former slave in the raiment of citizenship, and placed in his freed hand our only badge of sovereignty, the ballot; with too charitable faith in the developments of the future it changed the basis of representation without adequate safeguards, and to-day its mag-

nanimity and trustfulness are turned like weapons of death against it. (Applause.) The Southern Democracy accepted with alacrity the enlarged basis of representation, and proceeded by fraud, and bloodshed, and threats to stamp out the franchise upon which it was based, and is back again to-day in control of the Government, stronger as a dominant element than ever before. Tell me what higher issue could summon the Republican party to a great effort than the protection of the ballot, the integrity of the suffrage, the enforcement of constitutional rights, the redemption of the pledges of the past, and the maintenance of constitutional equality among the States? Now and then some demoralized leader of the party sends out his note of warning that the people have grown weary of this issue; that we must take from our banner the legend, "A free ballot and a fair count," and fight the battle of 1888 upon economic issues solely. What does this mean? Is the Republican conscience to be quieted into slumber by the soothing spirit of profitable trade? Is this violent wrong upon the people, this gross usurpation of power no longer to inspire the party of freedom, because, forsooth, the men who perpetrate and those who profit cry with uplifted hand, "Bloody Shirt"; or because, here and there, an old-time Republican turns wearily and complacently away to worship at the shrine of a Civil Service Reform, which invented trial by affidavit upon charges of partisanship (laughter), which folded Eugene Higgins to its bosom (laughter), which has divorced the offices from politics by bestowing them all upon the members of one party (laughter), and which has thrown the great weight of executive influence into a county election, against the protests of decency? (Cheers and applause.) No, gentlemen, the people may well have grown weary of sentimental gush about the New South and the spirit of love and the era of reconciliation, as the basis of a demand which seeks to hush the Republican party into acquiescence in a national crime. We long for the coming of a New South; the Republican party has not been and will not be backward in aid to her up-building or in hastening her advent. (A voice: "Good." Applause.) But, sir, we can recognize no South as a New South in a political aspect when she comes to us with her heel upon the negro's neck, with a desecrated ballot-box in her hand, and usurping disproportionate power in the affairs of this Government. (Loud ap-

plause.) If there is nothing in all this longer to arouse the Republican party, to stir its blood, and quicken its heart-beat, then, Mr. President, turn the pictured, pathetic face of Abraham Lincoln to the wall and let his old party die. (Applause.) The protection of American industry, the elevation of American labor—who shall be the fit guardian of these but the Republican party? (Cries of “Good.”) But I beg you to remember that these issues of gravest concern are much involved in the vital issue of a pure, free, and honest ballot. (Cries of “Good, good.”) The spirit of Southern Democracy, dominant in control of its party, dictating the industrial policy of the Government, is the spirit incarnate of free trade. (Applause.) Is this not so? Professor Carlisle’s summer School of Philosophy at Red Top had scarcely entered upon its vacation when the hand of a Democratic President from New-York, amid the huzzas of all England, pressed the poisoned cup of free-trade to the lips of this people. (Applause.) The distinguished Democratic orator from Kentucky, speaking in this wonderful city of the Continent, amid the deafening plaudits of a complacent Northern Democracy, calls that the “painted harlot of protection,” which another distinguished son of Kentucky, whose name has given to that commonwealth more of fame than all else in her life besides, Henry Clay (applause), christened in glowing pride “The American System.” Glance over the “Congressional Directory” at the organization of committees of the House of Representatives in which body must originate all bills relating to the revenues, and tell me if the Southern Democracy be not again the potential factor in the legislation of that body. Glance at the make-up of the Committee on Ways and Means, charged with the preparation and given the primary control of tariff legislation. The great “manufacturing” State of Texas (derisive laughter) furnishes its chairman. Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Arkansas contribute to its membership (more derisive laughter); and the Northern Democracy is fitly represented in proportion to its independent political strength by one member. (Voices: “Oh, oh.”) The great State of New-York has no voice on that committee. Mind you, I do not say that these gentlemen and their colleagues from that section are not honest in legislation, loyal to the flag, and devoted to the union of States. I do not say that if

either were assailed they would not march with alacrity to its defense. I do not say that the heresy of secession comes again to any one of them even in his dreams; but I do say, and I speak a solemn truth when I say it, that by tradition, education, prejudice, and the teaching of their lives, these men are not fit men to take into safe guardianship the interests of our labor and the protection of our industries. (Applause.) Treason is forgiven; rebellion is well-nigh forgotten; it is well. But it is the blindest of folly for our people to forget that only a little while ago these men swore allegiance to another Government, and struggled to perpetuate its existence, which was based on degraded labor; which looked with hostility upon growing industries, a part of whose very organic law declared "but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry." It is for the Republican party to rescue the interests of our people from such guardianship as this. (Applause.) The census of 1890 will show the Southern basis of representation immensely swollen by the fecundity of the tropical colored race, and you will see that atrophy of the suffrage keeps pace with the growth in the basis of representation. There is but one remedy for this menace to our welfare. Statutes will not reach it. It is to be found only in a good old-fashioned Republican majority which will render such methods no longer efficient for national control in this country. This remedy we prescribe, and we propose to try to administer it. (Applause.) It is for the Republican party, once more restored to administration, to provide for the defense of your coasts, to improve your rivers and harbors, to enlarge and extend your commerce, to open the door to Dakota and the outlying territories, and to bring back into legislation that principle which the Democratic party never can learn — that true economy lies in the direction of liberal expenditures for wise public purposes; to teach the world again, what from 1861 to 1885 it was never permitted to forget, that the American flag means something, whether it floats over an army in line, or from the mast of a lonely fishing smack out on the restless sea. (Applause.) Our party is ready for the fight. Its lines are forming. Its drums are beating. Its flags are rustling in the air about us. It demands, and it will



have, a courageous and self-denying leadership that shall hold the interests of the party and the success of its principles infinitely above all other things. (Applause.) The logic of events makes New-York the battle-ground, and assigns to you the position of honor; and, with the position of honor, the burden of the battle. Be well assured that the Republican States of the West and the North-west will not fail you. (Applause. A voice: "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.") Lead on, New-York; lead on to victory! (Continued applause, and three cheers for Senator Spooner.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, owing to the slight indisposition of one of our distinguished guests, I shall vary the order of the toasts so that he may speak at once, and I call the last toast on the list—"A free ballot and a fair count: unless secured to the whole country the Constitution is set at naught, the suffrage impaired, and the republic imperiled." Now, gentlemen, when the Constitution is defied and the suffrage is assailed, we naturally look for some champion to stand forth and defend those sacred things that lie at the foundations of our political superstructure, and it is my very great privilege to-night to call upon one whose name has been for a generation a household word. As one of the great finance ministers of the Government, and as a defender of Republican principles, in Congress and out, he has endeared himself to the whole American people. I have great pleasure in presenting to you the Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio. (Three cheers for John Sherman.)





## SPEECH OF MR. SHERMAN.

*Gentlemen*: I thank you for your enthusiasm, but I admire more your courage. You demand an honest vote and a fair count. You seem not to have any fear of the Mugwumps. (Laughter and applause.) You do not fear the sneers of men calling themselves Democrats, who fly in the face of the first principle of democracy truly interpreted: equal rights impartially secured. In this great city you have been taught by your newspapers that a demand for an honest vote and a fair count is something terrible—so terrible as to be called Bloody Shirt. (Laughter.) Why, my countrymen, your demand is unreasonable. (Cries of “Oh!”) It is almost as bad as that of Oliver Twist, when he wanted more soup. When your secretary sent me this toast, I did not know but that you were all crazy—heedless of the “World,” the “Herald,” and the “Times.” Still, I believe in an honest vote and a fair count, and I trust in God I will always have the courage to express this opinion anywhere, North or South, East or West. (Applause.) What is this demand you make? I almost feared to utter it, lest it would shock you; so I thought I would fortify myself by looking into the books; and I found in every primer in our schools, in many statutes of all our States, in every law-book of our land, that an honest vote and a fair count was the very basis and foundation of Republican institutions. (Applause.) I looked a little further, and I commenced reading those wonderful documents called the Messages of the Presidents of the United States, and I found in every one of them, from the time of Washington, down, that an honest vote, and a fair count, and a ready acquiescence in the will of the majority was the fundamental law of the re-

public (applause)—not only of our republic, but of every republic that was formed by man, and that when the voice of the people was fairly spoken by an honest vote and through an honest count, it was the voice of God, and every citizen was bound to obey it as the supreme will of the people. I found even a faint reference to this old doctrine in one of the messages of Grover Cleveland—not the last message (a voice: “No.”—laughter and applause)—that was devoted to one topic—to an attack upon the industrial interests of our country. He had not time enough to say anything about an honest vote or a fair count in that message; but he took care when he expressed his opinion about the honesty of a vote not to make the application of his text, because if he had done so it is as plain as Holy Writ that the very foundation of his title to his office would have been destroyed. (Applause.) Because, gentlemen, if there had been a fair vote and a fair count in 1884, James G. Blaine would this day have been President. (Three cheers for Blaine.) Cheer again; no more gallant leader ever led the Republican party. (Applause.) But, the Democratic party has a patent right, an exclusive privilege to disregard an honest vote and a fair count. (Cries of “That is true.”) It is the only party in this country that ever did commit an organized fraud upon the elective franchise. (A voice: “That is so.”) And it has done it against the greatest and noblest men of our history. The first fraud was practiced in Louisiana, in order to defeat the gallant Harry Clay of the West, the man for whom I first cast my vote. (Applause.) There a few men gathered around a house, not more than 20 or 30 in number, polled over 500 votes for Mr. Polk, the Democratic candidate. That was called the Plaquemine fraud. The next case was brought to my attention very forcibly, and I thought a little too forcibly—I thought I was to be killed among them. It was when the border ruffians of Missouri went over into Kansas to control elections by force and fraud. Then for the first time those border ruffians were brought face to face with the stern courage of the Northern people, and they were told, “Thus far shalt thou go and no farther,” and the State of Kansas is an immortal exemplar of the power and benefit conferred by this demand for a free vote and a fair count. (Applause.) Another case that occurred within the

history and recollection of many here: in this very city of New-York, where in the election of 1868, under the régime of a man by the name of Tweed — whom I suppose you have heard of before (laughter) — a fraud was committed which changed the result of the vote of the State of New-York. That was proven by conclusive and absolute testimony taken by a Committee of Congress. And what was the purpose of that fraud? To defeat General Ulysses S. Grant (applause) when he first ran for President. That is not all, my countrymen. Only three years ago, when the greatest volunteer soldier of our army was running as a candidate for Senator of the United States in the State of Illinois, this same Democratic party organized a fraud to beat John A. Logan. (Applause.) Thank God there was virtue enough among the people of Chicago to arrest the men guilty of this crime, and to send them to the penitentiary, and they are now appealing to Governor Oglesby of Illinois to extend mercy to those true Democrats. We have had some little experience of this kind in Ohio. (Laughter. Voices: "Everywhere.") I want to give you instances so that no man will gainsay it. Two years ago, in the election in Ohio, this same Democratic party, operating through the criminal classes in Cincinnati and Columbus, endeavored to prevent my reëlection to the Senate of the United States. Well, that would not have been much loss. (Voices: "Yes, it would.") The result was that those frauds were exposed, the men charged with those crimes were arraigned, indicted, and convicted, and some of them are now in the penitentiary. (Applause.) A similar fraud was attempted in the city of Columbus, where, by absolute forgery of returns, they proposed to change the result of the election, and to-day, while I am enjoying your hospitality, some of the men charged with these crimes are now on trial, and, if guilty, I have no doubt will be convicted. I will say nothing in regard to them. But I wish to say that all Democrats have not been guilty of these things, and I am glad to say that there is one man in Ohio, as great as any man that ever sat in the Senate of the United States, called sometimes by the Democrats "The Old Roman" — too much of a Roman for them (applause) — who is now prosecuting these alleged offenses.

So, gentlemen, you see that election frauds have been committed by the Democratic party not only South but in the

North. But what shall be said of the greater fraud that has been practiced in the Southern States? I do not wish to discuss it at length, but only to bring before you the results of that fraud. It is admitted that in six of the Southern States there are less than 3,000,000 of white people, and considerably more than 3,000,000 of black people. It is known as absolutely as any demonstration in Euclid, that the colored people, from a sense of gratitude, from an instinct of what is right, always vote the Republican ticket, when they are allowed to do it. (Applause.) And besides that, there is a large body of men in the South, Confederate soldiers as well as Union men, who are Republicans — more heartily Republicans than probably many of us are — so that if there was a fair election in those six States (they elect forty members of Congress and forty-eight electors) it would reverse the majority in the House of Representatives, it would reverse the vote in the electoral college, and the Republican party would in 1884 have been triumphantly successful. (Applause.) I have a list of thirty-nine Democratic members of Congress who are now serving in Congress from districts that are as thoroughly Republican as the State of Iowa — thirty-nine districts in which the blacks are in the majority, and they are reënforced, if there was a fair vote and an honest count, by a large portion of the white people. It is these thirty-nine votes that now threaten your industrial interests, will endanger your tariff, break down your protection, involve us in new questions of finance; and the question is, whether the Republican party has courage enough to meet this difficulty and danger. (Voices: "We have.") The remedy, I know, is difficult to point out, but I know also that the Constitution of the United States declares that Congress may regulate the mode and manner of electing members of Congress. The Republican party has been kind and forbearing, but I believe that in not exercising this power in the past it has done wrong. (Voices: "It has.") Every man of sense must see it. It may be difficult now to repair that error. Again it is within the power of each House of Congress to pass upon the election returns and qualifications of its members; and here again I believe the Republican party has been somewhat derelict in its duty. When these cases of palpable fraud are brought to them, as they have been by proof as clear as can be made in

any court of justice, Congress ought to have exercised that power, but it has not done it. But, gentlemen, there is a more hopeful view of this matter. There is a remedy that I believe will yet correct this evil, if the Republican party is only true to its principles. There is a growing feeling in the Southern States among men engaged in new industrial enterprises, especially in Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and perhaps in North Carolina, where there is a rebellion against the old Bourbon Democracy (voices: "Good"), where the white men of the South, if they had a fair chance, and the honest support of the Northern Republicans, and had the benefit of a fair vote and a fair count, each of those States would be added to the Republican column. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, this is only one, but not the least important, of the issues that are presented. I do not want to say anything more about it except to emphasize what has been said by Mr. Spooner, that if the Republican party has not got the courage to repair this wrong and injustice to the negro, let them do it for their own protection, for if they do not, this political power wrongfully usurped will undo all that has been done by the Republican party, will break down our protected industries, and add new troubles to the future life of the Republic. Now, I have the courage to say that to you, and you know that what I say is true. The only question is, how shall we go about it, and that I will not discuss to-night. Perhaps I ought to confine myself to my text — but there are other questions of great importance. The question of the surplus will be fully discussed by my friend here on my left (Mr. Allison), our duties to the Union soldier by my friend on the right (Mr. Manderson), but there is one vital question that is supreme at this moment, and that is, whether the Democratic party shall tamper with our industrial system and invite into this country the products of foreign nations, produced by unpaid or poorly paid labor, into competition with the labor and capital of our own country. This city of New-York is more interested in that question than any other. I have been amazed that in this great city of New-York — which has now more manufacturing industries than Philadelphia, and is the largest manufacturing as well as commercial city on our continent — why you have not taken this question of the tariff home to the people, discussed it in their

primaries, in their wards, and in their assemblages, let them understand the length and breadth of this great question ; and I do believe if that is done we will no longer have any doubt about the success of the Republican party in New-York. (Voices: " Good.") Indeed, I believe it is fore-ordained ; we have been punished by one term of Democracy, and I think that God will forgive us from any further punishment on that score. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, with these remarks, I will close, as you see I am somewhat broken in voice and strength by speeches up in the cold New England, in Boston and Providence, and I am not in a very good condition to talk to you longer. (Continued applause, and three cheers for John Sherman.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, the next regular toast is the " State of New-York : The imperial commonwealth of the Union, an undisputed leader in all that has contributed to our national greatness." In selecting a gentleman to respond to this toast, our Committee have called upon one who has recently represented us in the United States Senate, and who long ago not only demonstrated his ability to defend his native State against all comers, but to stand in that galaxy of statesmanship that we as a commonwealth delight to honor. I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Hon. Warner Miller, of New-York. (Three cheers for Warner Miller.)





## SPEECH OF MR. MILLER.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club :* Some one has said that neither the character nor the acts of a great man can properly be judged until at least a century has passed, in order that the light of events may test whether they were great and whether his achievements were such as to bring good to his race. However true that may be, the American people, within less than a quarter of a century of the death of Abraham Lincoln, have passed a judgment upon his character and career which untold ages will not reverse. That judgment is that no more unselfish man and patriot ever gave his life for the good of his country. (Applause.) Mr. President, your Club has done well in being first to recognize and to establish in this country the observance of the birthday of our great liberator (applause); and, when this club, having accomplished its purposes and its organization, shall have passed into history, this one act will remain through all time to come; for I do not hesitate to predict that another generation will not pass by when the 12th of February, like the 22d of February, will be a national holiday wherever our flag floats. (Applause.) You have asked me to respond to the toast of the "State of New-York." I scarcely know why you have done so, Mr. President, unless perhaps it should be true that I am the only native-born New-Yorker at this board. (Laughter.) But, Mr. President, our State is so generous and so great that it adopts its children from all other countries and from all other States. Why, sir, we permit our senior senator to live in an adjoining annex at the north, in Vermont, and we find no fault with that, for if he can live there during the summer solstice we know that he can better repre-



sent the greatness of New-York during the winter at Washington. Mr. President, I cannot speak of the physical characteristics of our State; I cannot portray its wonderful growth and progress, or the beauties of its landscape. Orators have grown eloquent upon this subject; poets have sung of it; painters have attempted to delineate its beauties upon canvas, and all have failed. Ours is called the Empire State. Before Henry Hudson had turned the prow of his good ship, the *Half Moon*, up the great river which perpetuates his name and daring, or Champlain had penetrated our northern boundaries, the territory now occupied by the State of New York was the seat of empire. The Five Nations occupying the center and the interior of this State, upon a plateau which gave the only natural communication between the sea and the great lakes, were a people who by their prowess had conquered more than half this continent; and, coming down the waterways which flowed to the ocean here at New-York, and into Chesapeake Bay, and into the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, they had demanded and received tribute from a vast majority of their brethren who occupied this country. They held the sources of power in holding the courses of intercommunication. Those natural advantages which they enjoyed have been to us the sources of our great growth and prosperity, and added to by the wisdom of our early fathers who gave us the water communication between the ocean and the great lakes, they have made us the Empire State of the Union and have given us to a great extent the control of the commerce of this country. But since engineering skill has found out other means of intercommunication by tunneling the Alleghenies, whether we shall be able in this great industrial and commercial contest which is upon us to hold the supremacy which our fathers bequeathed to us, or no, is to be the paramount test of our worthiness of the inheritance which has come to our hands; but so long, Mr. President, as we shall number among our native sons a man (Mr. Depew) who is able to control and manage two great arteries of trade through our State, where an ordinary individual would think one was sufficient, and to make them successful, Mr. President, I think we may congratulate ourselves that we shall forever hold the supremacy. (Applause.) A people and their institutions are of far greater interest and importance than the mere

physical surroundings of their habitation. As a people we are a mixed race—principally Dutch and English, but we have drawn our blood from all the races of the civilized world, and I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, that in lineage if not in politics, we are naturally all half breeds; but the Dutch imprint put upon our institutions during the time that Holland held control of this colony was of such a character that no amount of immigration from other nations, or any of the revolutions or changes which have taken place in our government have been sufficient to efface it. (A voice: “Good.”) Indeed, sir, we owe to our Dutch ancestors the chief institutions of our civil and religious liberty as we know them to-day, and these remain as the chief glory of our State and nation. (Applause.) Holland, at the time that she established the colony of New Netherlands, was a nation famous for the ability of its citizens for self-government, for religious tolerance, for education, for skill in handicraft and manufactures, and especially for their renown in maritime and commercial success. These qualities were bestowed upon this colony at its settlement, and they remain to-day the chief characteristics of our people. Although New Amsterdam was established as a trading colony, yet the good Dutch people brought with them their love of civil and religious liberty, and they at once proceeded to establish schools, and churches, and the ordinary forms of free civil government. History tells us that when one of the early Director-Generals of this colony called upon his good people for men and money to carry on a war against the Indians, that the sturdy burghers met in convention and demanded of their ruler that they should have a representative assembly, and that neither money nor men should be used save it was first voted by a free assembly. (Applause.) This was the essence—this was the fundamental principle upon which years later all the colonies united in their opposition to the aggressions of England, that was “No taxation without representation.” (Applause.) It may not be amiss at this time, Mr. President, to remind these worthy descendants of those Dutch settlers and to call the attention of my worthy friend from Ohio who is to address us upon the tariff question that, so far as history tells us, the first movement in this country for a protective tariff was made by our Dutch ancestors. At the same time, sir, that they de-

manded a free legislative assembly they also demanded protection against Connecticut, whose governor I have here at my right (Governor Lounsbury). Those Dutch farmers had found that our Yankee friends then occupying the foreign country of Connecticut were interfering with the production of live stock in their colony, and they called upon the Director-General to prohibit their importation from Connecticut. He assented; but history tells us that smuggling at once became a fine art. Our Yankee friends were too much for our Dutch forefathers. They drove their cattle across the line upon Sunday, when our ancestors believed that under the laws of Connecticut they were quietly at home attending church. (Laughter and applause.)

When this colony passed from the control of Holland to that of Great Britain, the spirit of our people, for the maintenance of civil liberty, in no way abated, and the contests between the colony of New-York and the royal governors were very frequent. Many of the safeguards which are now thrown around our legislative assemblies, both at Washington and in the several States, owe their origin to the Legislature of the colony of New-York under English rule. When the royal governor undertook to say who should sit in the assembly of New-York, the New-York Assembly put forth this doctrine, which is in the Constitution of our Federal Government and of all our States, that a legislative assembly shall be the sole judge of the qualification of its own members. (Applause.) And when the royal governor of this State would have interfered with the liberty of the representatives of the people, they went further, and they proclaimed another doctrine, which remains to this date, and that was that no legislator should be called in question for words spoken within an assembly chamber, save by the legislative body itself. To-day, when we read these words in our Constitutions, we may not pause to think that they were the result of the fortitude, of the courage, and of the perseverance of our forefathers.

But New-York, sir, has a greater claim still upon the liberty-loving people of this country. In this city was first achieved the absolute freedom of the press. In 1737, by the trial and acquittal of Peter Zenger, the then publisher of the "Journal" of this city, the doctrine was forever established, so far as this country was concerned, that it was no longer a

crime to print the truth regarding the Government. That doctrine, sir, went very far toward giving us our liberties, as we have them to-day; for if the press had then been suppressed, who can tell how many more years would have rolled by before the colonies, scattered along this Atlantic coast, without any ready means of communication, could have been united in one body, and could have achieved their liberties. Our young friends of the press here to-night should give thanks to the old burghers of New-York. (Applause.) To-day they have full liberty not only to publish the truth about the Government and about its public men, but, sir, they have full liberty to publish anything they please. (Laughter and applause.)

New-York has still another claim upon our people. It was the Assembly of New-York — and, sir, we give full credit to Massachusetts and to Virginia, and even to little Connecticut, for all their glorious work in the cause of achieving our liberty; but I must claim for New-York, sir, the honor of having originated the first movement for the union of the colonies. By an Act of the Assembly of New-York, in 1764, a committee was appointed, whose duty it was to correspond with the Assemblies of all the other colonies, to impress upon them the danger of submitting to taxation under laws passed in England, where we had no representation. That was the beginning of the glorious cause which led on to the achievements of our liberties, and which sees us to-day the perfect Union and Republic that we are.

In the war of the revolution New-York bore its full share, if not more. Its soil was never free from the tread of the army of the invader, and when the captains of the British host planned a strategic campaign which would have crushed us by dividing all New-England from the South, by holding the line of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, New York, by the glorious victories of Oriskany and Saratoga, thwarted that stratagem and saved the nation. (Applause.)

Passing over the intervening time, let us come down to the war of the rebellion. The State of New-York was second to none in its efforts and its labors to sustain the cause of the Union. I need not go into any lengthy remarks upon that; its history is known. We put into the field during those four bloody years nearly five hundred thousand able-bodied soldiers. (Applause.)

We were constantly singing that old song, which I cannot repeat, but which contains certain words addressed to Father Abraham, that "we are coming, three hundred thousand more." We not only furnished those men, but we furnished other sinews of war. New-York poured out her treasure in untold millions as free as water, and I believe that Abraham Lincoln leaned more thoroughly and more securely upon the statesmen and upon the people of New-York during that long and bloody conflict than he did upon any other equal number of our people. If we were to turn, Mr. President, to the political history of our State, we would find it equally interesting, but I shall not presume upon the time or patience of this Club to go into any lengthy discussion upon that topic. But it may not be out of place that I should refer to the position of the Republican party during that struggle, and during all the years that have followed. Although, sir, we cannot claim to have within our borders the birth-place of the Republican party, yet we do confidently claim that we furnished the man who by his brilliancy and by his power of intellect did more to mould the forces of liberty into one coherent mass which became the Republican party, than any other man. I need not say that I refer to that matchless politician and wise statesman, William H. Seward. (Applause.) As I read our history, it seems to me providential that he came upon the stage of action at the time he did. You will remember that Mr. Webster, who had given his whole life to the maintenance and defense of our Constitution, had finally, in his declining years, so far yielded to the opposite forces that he was prepared for compromise. You will also remember that that brilliant son of America, Henry Clay, who had never cherished but one love, and had never known but one enthusiasm — that was a love and enthusiasm for the union of the States — had spent the later years of his life in attempting to bring about a compromise between the forces of liberty and slavery, where there could be no compromise; and when these two giants had laid down their arms and had put off their armor, William H. Seward came to the front in the Senate of the United States and took up the fight; and it was his word, his proclamation to the people of a higher law, of a law of justice and right, of a divine law — it was his summation of the case, when he pronounced the conflict between

liberty and slavery to be irrepressible (applause), that the forces of liberty throughout the length and breadth of this country recognized that they had found a leader who was competent to organize them and to lead them to glorious victory; and he did it, Mr. President, most gallantly. (Applause.) Along with him, sir, there was a host of giants who were aiding in this wonderful work—day by day in the public journals of this country, two men were forging the thunderbolts of liberty and hurling them at the forces of slavery. Those men were Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond. (Applause.) At last, when the struggle came, it found a sturdy Roman at the head of this State, in the person of our great war governor, Edwin D. Morgan. (Applause.) But, Mr. President, time fails me to even rehearse the names of the galaxy of heroes who were in the Republican party in those days. We were a united party then; we stood upon a common platform; that was the preservation of the Union and the destruction of slavery; and so long as we stood shoulder to shoulder fighting the battles of liberty, we were invincible; and if defeat has come to us in any of the later days, perhaps it is not surprising. Our party was made up from all the parties; we had gathered into our hosts all liberty-loving Democrats and Whigs of the past, and all other questions and issues were put aside. As that one great issue has passed out of politics, it has been but natural, perhaps, that we should divide upon some of the minor questions, and division has sometimes brought us defeat; but I appeal to the Republicans of this Club, and through them to all the Republicans of this State, to say whether we are not now confronted by a danger second only to the danger which confronted us in 1860 down to 1865, and to say whether or no we should not close up the ranks, and regain by united effort that which we have lost by division in the ranks. (Applause.) If there have been jealousies and rivalries in the past, is there not enough of patriotism to put these one side, and to declare that the good of the country and of the cause is greater than the success of any man? (Applause.) I believe it can be done, and I believe it, because I believe that the danger now threatening us of the breaking down of our great industrial system, which, as the senator from Ohio has told us, has come to a higher development and a broader range in this

State than any other State in the Union, is one that carries with it such terrible results to our people that if we are all patriots we will all be found fighting in the same ranks and under the same flag. Since the war has closed, in the development which has taken place in this country, and particularly in this State, in our diversified industries, and in our carrying trade and commerce, we have come to a condition of affairs, Mr. President, which, if the men who are now in control of this Government, and who still hold on to the false philosophies of Calhoun and his coadjutors, are to enact their theories into law, the loss which will come to the American people will be greater than the entire cost of the late civil war. (Applause.) I believe that can be proved as clearly as can any problem in mathematics. If our protective system shall be broken down and shall be made a free-trade system — I do not hesitate to say, Mr. President, that the suffering which will come to our people, in their impoverishment, by the breaking down of their industries, will not be surpassed by all the woes which came to our people by the waste and destruction which took place during the late war; for I can imagine nothing more terrible than that 60,000,000 of people, who have been lifted up to a scale and standard of living never yet equaled or reached by any other people in the world, if they shall be cast down from that height to the depths of degradation which are to be found in other portions of the world — no man can measure it, and I have no desire to lift the veil and look upon it.

I say then, finally, to the Republicans of this club and of this country, we are in the face of an issue and of a danger which should make us as one man in the coming contest, and which I believe will make us as one man and will give us a glorious victory. Finally, Mr. President, I trust that the strangers who are within our gates to-night will not think for a moment that we are boasting of our greatness and of our imperial strength. I am very sure that my worthy friend at the right, the governor of Connecticut, will forgive us New-Yorkers for boasting a little, for I know he has not been in the habit of hearing any boasting, save such as referred to New England; and these other strangers who come from the land of the setting sun.— Ah, Mr. President, they do not begrudge us any of our greatness; they do not begrudge us any of our history, for they are our children, one and all. (Applause.) The Western States

have borrowed more of their Constitutions, more of their jurisprudence, more of their institutions of civil and religious liberty from New-York than they have from all of the other thirteen colonies combined. (Applause.) And in addition to that, Mr. President, we have given them our best blood and our best enthusiasm; only those who did not dare to go out and venture in the broad world have remained at home (laughter), and here to-night we have examples of what I esteem to be the most wonderful development of the human race ever known in the history of mankind—that is, an original New-Yorker by blood, turned into a Western man. (Long-continued applause.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: While we have yet the pleasure of listening to two United States senators and one member of Congress, I am requested to announce to the guests who may tarry in town over to-morrow, that the Club-house, 32 W. Twenty-eighth street, will be open, and all will be very welcome there. The next toast of the evening is "The Union Soldier: The Republic that he saved in war, he serves in peace." The committee, in looking after a gentleman to respond to this toast, felt that he must have very peculiar qualifications. They wished a man who had heard the bullets whistle on the field of battle, and who had occasionally stopped one with his own person; and so it happened that they found a grave Senator, sitting in the United States Senate, who went to the war from Ohio, who was desperately wounded on the field of battle, who recovered by reason of his indomitable pluck, and moved west, and is now engaged in governing the country he helped to save. I have great pleasure in presenting to you one of the United States Senators from Nebraska, Hon. Charles F. Manderson. (Applause and cheers.)





## SPEECH OF MR. MANDERSON.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of New York:* The toast is "The Union Soldier: the Republic that he saved in war, he serves in peace."

No sentiment more fitting could be devised for this, the celebration of the natal day of Abraham Lincoln. Prior to April 15, 1861, the Union soldier had no existence. Revolutionary soldiers there had been, soldiers of 1812 and of the Mexican war there were, but no soldiers of the Union. No impious hand had been raised to strike at the existence of the Republic until the first Republican president had been inaugurated. In his wonderful inaugural address, on that momentous March 4, 1861, Lincoln said :

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it." (Applause.)

The dissatisfied became the aggressors. There came the insult to the flag, and the marshaling of the armed hosts of treason and rebellion. The pen of Lincoln signed the call to arms. The electric wire carried it to every town and hamlet in the broad North land. It proclaimed the birth of the Union soldiery. (Applause.) They sprang to arms, all eager for the fray — determined to save the Republic from the hand of treason. From the fertile fields of the farm they came :

" They left the plow-share in the mold,  
Their flocks and herds without a fold."

From storeroom and counting-house, from factory and workshop, from school-house and office they came. (Applause.) Their wonderful uprising has been told in story, and sung in song; needless to repeat it here. Nor need I tell the story of their prowess. In camp and in field, on the march and in battle, amid disease, and wounds, and death, they did their full duty — actuated by no desire for conquest, true to the cause for which they fought, “pressing forward to the mark of their high calling” — they saved the Republic. (Applause.)

They added to the list of the world’s great battles Vicksburg and Shiloh, Antietam and Gettysburg; but, beyond this, they saved the Republic. They inscribed high upon the roll of fame Sedgwick and Hancock, Thomas and Logan, Sherman and Sheridan (applause); but, beyond even this, they saved the Republic.

They seated in the highest place in the world as worthy successors of Abraham Lincoln the martyr of liberty (applause), Hayes (applause), and Garfield (applause), and their great leader, chiefest of earth’s captains, Ulysses S. Grant (long-continued applause); but, beyond all this, they saved the Republic. Oh, that Abraham Lincoln could have lived to see the great results of their labors, the rich fruitage of the seed sown by himself! He was the volunteer soldiers’ best friend. When others detracted, he was quick to commend. When others condemned, he was apt to defend. When others doomed, he came to save.

I love to dwell on the language of his first message to Congress, on July 4, 1861. He said: “So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. But, more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the whole world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a president, a cabinet, a congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself.” (Applause.)

Let the modern detractor of that grand old Union Army say what his small soul may prompt him to say, this meed of

praise from the martyred chief is enough for the Union soldier who, having done his share toward saving the Republic, yet survives. (Applause.)

As I listened when the orchestra played those patriotic tunes, the old war songs, to that involuntary accompaniment that came from you, when, notwithstanding the tempting viands upon the table, you joined in singing the battle-hymns of the Republic, I felt that in this presence there was no need that anyone should apologize for the part he may have taken for his country, in the war of the Rebellion. (Applause; Voices: "Good, good.") I felt that in your hearts there was the living conviction that the men who fought to destroy the Government were eternally wrong, and those who fought to defend it were forever right. (Applause.)

If the springing to arms of this host, numbering in all two and a half millions, excites remark, their quiet, peaceable return to civil life excites our wonder and admiration. The world stood amazed at the spectacle, while these vast armies disappeared as does the morning mist before the rising sun; their work performed, their warfare o'er, the Union restored, the Republic saved, the bronzed and worn survivors crowded all the avenues and haunts of civil life. (Applause.) The Union armies achieved their last and greatest victory—they conquered themselves. The hand that carried the musket soon grasped the plow or held the plane. The deft fingers that had gripped the saber and wielded it with destructive force seized the pen, which in the counting-house, the office, and the councils of the nation, was to become mightier than the sword. As citizens tried and true, in the language of the toast, "They served in peace the Republic they had saved in war." (Loud applause.)

Not to all, however, has been vouchsafed the privilege of service. Over half a million of the soldiers of the Union perished during the four years of strife. Many killed upon the fields their heroic deaths had made holy ground; many, many more dying from wounds and disease at home, in camp, in hospital, and in the prison pen; hundreds of thousands of others doomed to a living death. Sorely disabled by wounds and disease contracted during the war, or by that which came after its close to their worn and enfeebled bodies, the struggle to exist has been a hard one.

It has become a habit of the times, especially in this great metropolis of the nation, to which all parts of the country pay daily tribute, to speak flippantly of these disabled veterans. The increase of the pension list is denounced, and the metropolitan press gives bitter denunciation or sneering slight to the man who demands fair fulfillment of the Republic's pledges to those who have fought its battles. True, they have high example and abundant precedent in the action and the words of him who, filling the highest station to-day, was in the past patriotic by proxy (laughter) and by purchased substitute only followed the flag, and who from very inability from personal experience to appreciate true patriotism, sneeringly says of the wretched ex-soldier who had received a pittance through a private pension bill, "Whatever else may be said of this claimant's achievements during his short military career, it must be conceded that he accumulated a great deal of disability" (laughter), and who from very ignorance of war's experience, slightingly says, as to another disabled veteran, "The number of instances in which those of our soldiers who rode horses during the war were injured by being thrown forward in their saddles indicate that these saddles were very dangerous contrivances." (Hisses.) Could the force of heartlessness further go?

Is it matter for surprise that the high Democratic official who could thus willfully and thus ignorantly write should, in another cold-blooded and vindictive veto message, one of those strange exhibitions of lack of appreciation of the Executive duty, in which he seems to consider himself in the nature of a third house for the performance of legislative power, declare, speaking of pension legislation: "I am thoroughly tired of disapproving gifts of the public money to individuals who, in my view, have no right or claim to the same, notwithstanding apparent Congressional action."

Gifts, indeed! The pittances fairly voted and cruelly vetoed were in correction of that general law which, by reason of its universality, was deficient, and were the paltry sums that might save the widow of some dead soldier — or the disabled veteran, unable to prove his case under the strict rules of law — from becoming objects of public and private charity. (Applause.)

Time will not permit me to speak of the Executive action that destroyed that beneficent piece of legislation, prayed for

by 300,000 ex-soldiers, known as the "Dependent Pension Bill," the effect of which would have been to take the 12,000 or 15,000 Union soldiers out of the almshouses of the country they helped to save. (Voices: "Hear, hear.") The pension list of the nation is its "Roll of Honor," and constitutes its only patent of nobility. (Applause.)

It is a long list, but it does not contain the names of as many men as were killed or died during the four years of bloody war. There are upon it not 12 per cent. of those who served, and less than 30 per cent. of those who yet survive. The survivors seek nothing unreasonable. They do not ask a service pension, but they do demand that when a comrade is disabled he should be fairly cared for by the Republic he saved and served. (Applause. Voices: "That is right.")

My friends, I close by presenting for the sharp contrast it affords with the utterances of the first Democratic President since the rebellion, and I hope the last (applause), the closing sentence of the last inaugural address of the first Republican President:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we have commenced, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." (Long-continued applause. Three cheers for Senator Manderson.)

PRESIDENT BARTLETT: Gentlemen, the next toast is "The Tariff: Adjusted according to the needs of the Government, and so imposed as to protect and encourage domestic manufactures, while it promotes alike the interests of the wage-payer and the wage-earner." Gentlemen, this toast brings us face to face with the vital issue of the next campaign. The President of the United States has thrown down the gage of battle, and the leaders of the Republican party have picked it up with alacrity. Our committee have selected to-night a gentleman who long ago won his spurs in Congress as the defender of American industries and American wage-earners. I take pleasure in calling upon Hon. William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio. (Applause.)



## SPEECH OF MR. MCKINLEY.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of New York :* Having heard now for more than three hours just and well-merited reflections upon the Democratic party, I have become satisfied that that party needs revision a good deal more than the tariff does (laughter); and I am satisfied, too, that there will be no reduction of the surplus revenues now in the treasury, and the surplus revenues now collected, until the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives shall be reduced to a hopeless minority (applause); and to secure that gentlemen of the New York Club, is one of the great duties devolving upon the Republican party to-day. We have some very singular exhibitions of inconstancy among the people touching this question of the tariff, and the relation of the Congress of the United States to this important subject. We have petitions immediately after each Congress is elected from Democrats praying to be saved from the work of the Democratic Congress (laughter), and there is in the Ways and Means Committee to-night thousands of petitions from merchants, from laboring men, from farmers, from our fellow-citizens generally, who contributed to make the Fiftieth Congress Democratic—their petitions are now on file in the Committee of Ways and Means, praying to be saved from the work of their own hands. The way to save themselves from the necessity of petitioning against a Democratic Congress is not to elect one—that is the place to begin (laughter), and I would not assume to speak here to-night upon the subject of the tariff at all, and I am only going to speak a moment—I am going to take my watch out at the beginning (laughter; one of the speakers had drawn out his watch after speaking half an

hour); I say I would not assume to speak upon the subject of the tariff to-night except that there is a good deal of ignorance upon that subject everywhere, and a good deal of it in the Congress of the United States. (Voices: "Good.") A gentleman rose in his place on the floor of the House less than ten days ago, reporting back a resolution for the investigation of the strikes in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, and the strike of Reading railroad employees, and he confessed there in open House, that he had had to revise his speech; that he had originally prepared it to show that the iniquitous and oppressive tariff upon coal had been the cause of the strike, and that fortunately he had discovered that very morning that there was no tariff or duty upon anthracite coal at all. (Laughter.) Now, I say, if there is so much want of knowledge upon that subject in the House of Representatives, among the gentlemen chosen to make your industrial laws, then I must assume that even in the great city and State of New-York there may be some little want of information even among Republicans. Now, these gentlemen have all talked to you a good deal about the tariff—the fact is, they have poached on me—all of them. (Laughter.) They knew I was sick (for I have been suffering all day). I have been following Senator Sherman for three days, and I want to tell you it is as difficult to follow him as it was to follow his illustrious brother, old Tecumseh, during the war. (Applause.) He sweeps everything before him, and leaves nothing behind for those who follow. (Laughter.)

Now, what is the exact line of difference between the Democratic and Republican parties upon this question of the tariff? The Democratic party is in favor of a revenue tariff—that is, a tax or a duty put upon foreign goods imported into the United States which do not compete with what we produce here. That is a revenue tariff; a tariff which dismisses all other consideration save and except revenue, and selects out from the group of imported articles those which with the smallest tax will raise the largest amount of revenue, and upon those they put the duty. Now, that is a revenue tariff. What is a protective tariff? It is a tax or duty put upon foreign merchandise and foreign products, whether of the field, or the factory, or the mine; upon those articles which come in competition with what we produce here; and the

Republican idea is to let everything from abroad, save and except luxuries, come in free, if we cannot produce them in the United States, but put the tax or the duty upon the competing foreign product, and thus encourage our own industries and our own people in their chosen avocations (applause); and that is the way we impose duties under the policy of the Republican party. The fact is, that it is the national policy, and has been from the foundation of the government to collect revenues from import duties, and if we would to-day repeal all our internal revenue laws, or so much thereof as might be safely spared, the question of the surplus which now faces us would vex us no longer, and we could raise all the revenues needed for the current expenses and obligations of the Government easily from customs duties, and I believe that is what the Republican party ought to do. (Voices: "Good; good.") That is, to repeal so much of the internal revenue laws, or all if not needed, and let the protective tariff stand. (Cheers and applause.) Now, who are they, gentlemen of the Republican Club, who complain against this iniquitous tariff? It is not the farmer; it is not the wage-earner; it is not the manufacturer; it is not the capitalist, whose money is invested in protected enterprises; it is not the consumer. The complaint comes from some other source. I say to you here to-night that there is not a single American interest, or a single American citizen injured by the protective policy of the Republican party. (Voices: "Good.") Not one. Who in New-York is complaining of our protective system? (Voices: "Mugwumps — importers.") Importers — yes, and Mugwumps. This agitation comes from the importers and from the foreign merchant and foreign manufacturers, as Henry Clay put it fifty-six years ago. He said the opposition came from British factors; came from the reviewers, came from the literary speculators — just the kind of Mugwumpery we have now. (Applause. A voice: "Good.") This agitation comes from the school, so called, from the poets (laughter), whose poetry may be good enough, but whose political economy we must decline to accept. This opposition comes from the dilettante and the diplomat, from the men of fixed income — from those "who toil not, neither do they spin" (applause), "nor do they gather into barns" — following up the quotation.



This agitation comes from that class of people — those men who want everything cheap but money; everything hard to get but coin; who prefer the customs, the civilization of other countries to our own, and who think nothing so wholesome as that which is imported, whether it be merchandise or whether it be manners (applause); and they want no tariff to prevent the free and unobstructed use of both. They want their clothes a little cheaper; they want their hats a little cheaper; they want their French boots a little cheaper. A college-bred American — not a New-Yorker — whose inherited wealth had enabled him to gratify every wish of his heart, who had spent very much time abroad, said to me a few years ago, with a sort of listless satisfaction, that he had outgrown his country. (Laughter.) What a confession! Outgrown his country! Outgrown the United States! Think of it. (Laughter.) I thought at the time it would have been truer had he said that his country had outgrown him, but he was in no condition of mind to have appreciated so patent a fact. (Laughter.) He had had no connection with the progressive spirit of the country; he had contributed nothing to her proud position, and to the uplifting and welfare of her people; he had had no share in the onward march of the Republic; the busy, pushing American boy, of humble origin, educated at the public schools, had swept by him, as effort and energy always lead, and left the laggard behind. His inherited wealth was not invested in protected enterprises, nor was his heart located where it had any sympathy with the people with whom he was bred and reared. The fact is, his country had got so far ahead of him that he was positively lonesome and out of line of the grand procession. He was a free-trader, for he told me so, and he complained bitterly that the tariff was a trammel upon the progressive men of the country, and that it severely handicapped him. When I pushed him to say in what particular the tariff was a burden upon him as one of sixty millions of people, he raised his hand — which had never been touched by honest toil (laughter) — which had never been soiled by labor, and said to me, “Mr. McKinley, these gloves come enormously high by reason of your tariff; the duty of 50 per cent. is actually added to their foreign cost, and it falls heavily upon us consumers.” What answer could I make? (Laughter.) Life was too short.

(Laughter.) If I had pointed him to the trophies of the protective system he would not have understood them, and I could only gaze upon him in speechless silence, with a feeling of mingled pity, sorrow, and contempt. And, gentlemen, I learned later that he became a Mugwump. (Laughter.) That was the newest manifestation of protest against our iniquitous tariff law. And, then, it was not a large company, nor a promiscuous one; he had opportunity of leadership in that organization, for all are leaders, and in the companionship of congenial spirits he found a restful home, a suitable asylum for the man who had outgrown his country. (Laughter.) There is another class of our citizens, and then I am through. (Voices: "Go on; go on.") What time do you close your performance? (A voice: "Morning.") There is another class of our fellow-citizens who are free-traders; who have been so long out of the country that they have so lost the aims and purposes of parties that they have not been able for twenty years to cast a vote which expressed their views, or even a fraction of them. I believe I quote correctly from Mr. Lowell. (Laughter.) There have been no ideas; a perfect absence of ideas, for which these gentlemen could give their support or their suffrages for a period of twenty years. Think of that. The honest payment of the public debt against threatened repudiation — that was a great issue less than twenty years ago; you will remember the battle that we fought. That was beneath their thoughtful concern. (Laughter.) The resumption of specie payment, led by the distinguished financier, Mr. Sherman, who sits at this table (applause), who put our finances upon a solid foundation, and who made that old greenback lift its head in its pride and glory and declare that it knew "its redeemer liveth." (Applause.) That issue was wholly unworthy of these gentlemen. And not only have there been no ideas worthy of their support, but there have been no statesmen; there have been no representative Americans; there have been no typical American citizens since Lincoln was snatched from us — snatched by a cruel bravo from the theater of things, to become a saint of nature in the Pantheon of kings (applause), and there has been nobody like Lincoln until we got Cleveland. (Voices: "Oh, oh.") That is what Mr. Lowell said. There has been an absence of representative Americans. If so, what a national

humiliation! Grant, who closed his lips on the word victory at the Wilderness and refused to speak, but fought it out on that line and in that spirit until the final grand surrender at Appomattox Court House (applause); General Sherman, who delved into the mountains of Cumberland, and made that magnificent march from Atlanta to the sea (applause); that gallant little Irishman, Phil. Sheridan (applause), who never stopped to unbuckle his spurs from Harper's Ferry to the rebel rout at Cedar Creek, and who made the scene of Stonewall Jackson's fame his field of glory (applause)—those three grand men, in the estimation of Mr. Lowell (hisses), belong to the lower type, or else have been entirely forgotten. We have come to regard those gentlemen as representative Americans, whose matchless courage and intense Americanism had saved America to the world, the freest and best government to mankind, forever and forever. (Applause.) Garfield and Sumner, Wilson and Wade, Hayes and Arthur—the latter your own fellow-citizen, who made one of the best Presidents we ever had—(applause) John Sherman and James G. Blaine (applause, three cheers for James G. Blaine, and three cheers for John Sherman, of Ohio), ex-Senator Warner Miller (applause) and Senator Evarts, and Senator Allison (applause), any one of whom lightning may strike, God only knows whom (applause); and it does not make any difference which one it does strike, for whichever one it does (voices: "We will stand by him") he will lead the grand old Republican party to victory, and this New-York Club will stand by him and follow him to glorious triumph. These gentlemen, Mugwump gentlemen, cannot find any ideas that suit them; and I thank God it is so; I thank God that such ideas cannot thrive and live on free soil and among free men, and that it is so is the proudest monument of our intelligence, our civilization, and our patriotism. I wish I might talk the tariff to you to-night, but I cannot. (A voice: "Go on.") I can only appeal to you to stand by the protective system (voices: "Amen"), and thus preserve the dignity and independence of American labor, and maintain the American schoolhouse, and the American home, and American possibility, to the present and to the future generations. I thank you, gentlemen. (Continued applause, and three cheers for Mr. McKinley.)

*President Bartlett* : The last toast of the evening is, "The Surplus : The Republican party smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth ; could it now speak the word of command, the flowing tide would cease." I will not, owing to the very late hour, detain you with any extended introduction, but will present to you Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. (Applause and cheers.)





## SPEECH OF MR. ALLISON.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of this Club:* I thank you as others have, for the cordiality of your greeting. At this late hour of the evening I shall occupy your time only for a few moments. I would take out my watch if I chanced to have one, but I assure you that I shall not ask you to break the Sabbath for me.

It gives me pleasure to have an opportunity of meeting the Republicans of the city of New-York on this occasion, made sacred by the tributes to our great leader of a quarter of a century ago. With you I wish to add my tribute of veneration to his memory. My friend, Warner Miller, seems to think that Senator Manderson and myself live near the setting of the sun. He is greatly mistaken. We dwell in the heart of the continent,—in that broad and expansive region of our country called the Mississippi valley. We rejoice in your prosperity as, we are sure, you rejoice in ours. (Applause.) Ours is a broad land —

“No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,  
For the whole boundless continent is ours.” (Applause.)

The sentiment just read, originally uttered by Mr. Webster as respects that great citizen of New-York, Alexander Hamilton, is now aptly applied to the Republican party as paraphrased in the toast. When Alexander Hamilton took the place of Secretary of the Treasury under George Washington, the finances of our country were in a deplorable condition. By his skillful management ample revenues were soon flowing into the treasury, and the credit of the United States was established upon a permanent and enduring basis. It is a

curious commentary upon our present situation, that by his advice the second act passed by Congress, in its preamble stated that it was "necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures," that duties should be levied upon imports. (Applause.) Now, it is not only unconstitutional but unwise to encourage and protect manufactures. No constitutional scruples then, as respects the power to protect American labor and American industries. By advocating this protection "he smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth," as, also, abundant prosperity to the people. The principles thus enunciated by the fathers of the Republic, under the lead of Mr. Hamilton, and followed by the first Congress that assembled under the constitution, were maintained substantially by this Government, with infrequent and brief intervals, of approaching free trade, from that time until Grover Cleveland took the oath of office in 1885, or I should say rather until the last annual message. The task of the fathers, so successful and beneficent, was comparatively easy to that imposed upon the Republican party when it came into power, in 1861. At that time there was not a dollar in the treasury for current expenses, and the United States was practically without credit as it had borrowed money during the last month of Mr. Buchanan's administration, at a rate of interest in excess of ten per cent. per annum. It was necessary immediately to place in the field a large army to suppress the rebellion and to organize a navy sufficient to blockade thousands of miles of sea-coast, so that our expenditures, immediate and pressing, were greater than had been dreamed of before. President Lincoln had called to the Treasury that great citizen of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase, whose recommendations as respects financial legislation were practically adopted by Congress, and thus was inaugurated a system of revenue and credit which carried us safely through the war, though often strained to the utmost. It is the marvel of our history that the second year after the close of the war the system of taxation thus inaugurated yielded a revenue of \$558,000,000, a sum equal to more than half of our public debt of to-day. These measures so necessary in the midst of war yielded abundant streams of revenue after the war closed, and thus

enabled our Government to rapidly reduce the war debt and maintain unimpaired the public credit. It was the Republican party through its splendid leadership supported and sustained by the people that "touched the dead corpse of the public credit" and caused it again to spring to its feet; so that finally on the 10th day of January, 1875, the resumption act was passed which later on by the masterly hand of the then Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Sherman), now an honored guest with us, specie resumption was accomplished quietly and without disturbance of our great business interests. These achievements, interesting in detail and highly honorable to the Republican party, have resulted in a prosperity and growth such as no nation has ever achieved before. It is a curious incident in this history of the restoration of the public faith and the public credit that, just after it was accomplished by the legislation of 1875, the Republican party partially surrendered its power, our opponents having secured by the election of 1874 a majority in the House of Representatives, which majority twice tried to repeal the resumption act without success. The House is recognized as the popular branch of the legislative power and which has committed to it under the constitution the sole right, in the first instance, to inaugurate measures relating to the revenue, whether for reducing or increasing taxes. This great power of taxation has, through the House, been under the control of the Democratic party continuously from 1875 until now, with the exception of two years, from 1881 to 1883, or for a period of twelve years. During all this time we have heard continuous denunciations of our tariff system, of its injustice, and of its oppressions; and yet during all the time of their power in the House they have not sent to the Senate from the House of Representatives a single measure or bill looking to the reduction of taxes or changes in our tariff laws. In marked contrast with this failure on their part is the record of the Republican party during the years of its power. As soon as the pressing necessities of the war had passed away, the Republican party began to revise our tax laws so as to reduce taxation, and during nearly every recurring Congress afterwards some reduction was made. None, however, was made from 1875 to 1881 during the six years of Democratic control in the House. In 1881 the Republicans again secured a majority,

and during these two years, 1881 to 1883, reduced taxes to the extent of fifty millions of dollars, considered our internal revenue system, as also our tariff system, and reduced both. In 1883 the Democrats again came into power in the House, and they hold that power now. They were prolific in promises in 1884 of reductions and changes, because, notwithstanding the reductions of 1883, the prosperity of our country was so great that our revenues were kept up to such a point as to yield each year a considerable surplus beyond the necessary expenditures of the Government. But, now, three years of this administration have passed away and one Congress passed into history, and these promises are as the passing wind—gone forever, and nothing has been done upon the question of surplus. So, I ask, who is responsible for the situation of to-day? Certainly it is the Democratic administration and the Democratic House of Representatives. They both have clearly shown that they cannot reduce revenues, and do not know how to manage the surplus or deal with these questions. (Voices: "Good.") Does any one doubt that if the Republican party could speak the word of command "the flowing tide of this surplus would cease"? Does any one doubt that this surplus in the treasury should be reduced? No Republican has expressed such doubt.

This large surplus in the treasury may fairly be separated into two classes: one an accumulating surplus that has run on from year to year and remains in the treasury, not being expended during the year; the other is that surplus which comes from an excess of revenue over the expenditures of the Government for any given year. Grover Cleveland, great man as he is according to Mr. Lowell (laughter), seems to have confused this accumulating surplus with the ordinary excess of receipts over expenditures during each year. This confusion in the public mind arises from the fact that all prior administrations had applied the annual surplus regularly to the purchase or redemption of the interest-bearing debt during each year, so that *this* accumulation is of recent growth. The true way to get rid of this accumulating surplus is to apply to it the common sense of every-day life, that is, use it in the purchase of the interest-bearing debt. When that is done and the accumulation thus disposed of, it is not difficult to ascertain to what extent taxes may be reduced in order to prevent another



accumulation. This should be done by such change of our revenue laws as that our receipts will be substantially equal to our expenditures for every lawful purpose.

What should that reduction be? Taking the statements of the message and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, a reduction can be made equal to fifty-five or sixty million dollars, although we must bear in mind that in the reports to Congress this year the necessary appropriations for next year have been largely under-estimated and the receipts have been over-estimated, so that expenses will be greater and our receipts will be less than the estimates. This is the situation to-day. Now who has the responsibility? The Democrats have a majority in the House of Representatives and control of its committees—it is their duty to formulate a measure. Nearly three months of this session have passed away and no such measure yet appears. When it will appear I do not know; nor can any one tell when such a measure will pass the House even if reported soon, and be sent to the Senate for its consideration and action.

You naturally ask why this condition has so long continued and who is responsible for this failure for so long a period. I answer, Because the controlling majority in the House insists that when revision and reduction is made, it shall be done upon a theory which would disturb all the great industries of our country, and put our public financial policy, as respects tariff taxes, on the path-way toward free trade. That is what they insist upon; and that is the pith and substance of President Cleveland's last message; and because the sentiment of the country is against this theory; and because the people favor the protection and preservation of our industries, the controlling majority of the House do nothing. The magnitude of the interests involved is shown when it appears that we annually produce of manufactured articles in this country \$7,000,000,000 in value. It is not a light thing to enter upon a change which may involve the great interests engaged in this production, whether of labor or capital. Does any one doubt if the Republican party was in power, in both Houses, that there would be delay in reducing this surplus, or difficulty in so reducing it as not to create a disturbance in our business, and our manufactures, and in our railway transportation, and in our agricultural productions, all involved more or less in

the changes now proposed, or that may be proposed? Surely there would be no such disturbance if we had a majority in both Houses, because the country would know that the Republican party would reduce this revenue without disturbing a single industry in our country, and the manufacturers as well as the laborers in the shops and in the fields, would go about their work without any feeling that their representatives at Washington were secretly plotting to disturb, if not destroy, the great fabric of industry and of production in our country. The remedy for this just cause of alarm is the sure reliance of the Republican party, and a firm determination that the small Democratic majority now in the House of Representatives shall, in the elections which are to take place this fall, be swept away, and that there shall be a Republican House of Representatives elected this year, and with that Republican House, a Republican President. Then whatever changes are necessary in our revenue laws will be so made as to promote, encourage, and protect our diversified industries and employments and, at the same time, reduce our revenues to a point equal to our expenditures, from year to year, as nearly as may be.

If the Democratic party in the House of Representatives shall awaken to the importance of this question and, within a reasonable time at this session, send to the Senate a bill reducing taxes, so that the Senate can take up this question during this session of Congress, I will promise you on behalf of the Republican Senate, that we will promptly and fairly deal with it, and we will reduce the revenues so as to stop their accumulation and at the same time we will so treat this subject as to protect and preserve our great industries, and see that labor engaged in production shall receive ample reward. In the mean time, it is for this administration to get rid of the existing accumulation. They have ample authority of law for the purpose, notwithstanding the doubt expressed by the President in his message. I have yet to hear of a single Republican, or Democrat except the President, who expresses a doubt as to the power and authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the markets and purchase bonds of the United States. This should be done, because I cannot conceive that any holder of a United States bond can afford to hold it at a price beyond that which the people of the United

States can afford to pay for it rather than pay interest upon the debt with money lying idle in the treasury, or in the hands of pet banks of the treasury, drawing no interest.

I ought however to mention another incident or factor in this problem of the surplus, that is, our expenditures from year to year. The Republican party for many successive years, and especially in Presidential canvasses, has been charged with extravagant expenditures of public money, and the Democratic party promised when it came into power that these extravagant expenditures should cease and the Government should be placed upon a footing of economy as respects the expenditures of public money. Now three years of experiment in this direction of economy discloses that our expenditures are increasing from year to year, and in no branch of the service have expenditures been reduced. Look at the situation to-day. The estimates of this year are made out on the basis of the appropriations of last year, and yet this Government to-day is running on deficiency bills, practically. They have introduced three already in the House, and how many will follow before July no one knows, to make up deficiencies for the failure of necessary appropriations last year to carry on the Government this year; small appropriations having been made in the regular bills, so they might show that the expenditures of the Government have not been largely increased under Democratic rule. They spent twenty-three millions last year more than in any year during President Arthur's administration, and for this current year we appropriated more than they expended last year, and as I have said we are already burdened with deficiency bills amounting to many million dollars. The Republican party is not a cheese-paring party—it believes in expending whatever sums may be reasonably necessary to carry on the operations of a great Government of sixty-five millions of people, not in an extravagant way, but so as to develop our internal growth and our commerce both domestic and foreign. This policy will inevitably require from year to year an increase of appropriation and expenditure, as with the growth of our country will come the necessity for increased expenditure in carrying on the affairs of the Government. It is probable that our revenues on the basis of any system of taxation will keep pace with these necessary increasing expenditures, so that what-

ever reduction is made on this basis will continue for some years.

Now I believe that this great question of the revenue can best be treated by the Republican party and on the basis of protection to American labor and American industry, rather than upon the basis of approaching free trade under the guise of a "tariff for revenue only," whereby our markets will be opened to the cheaper labor and cheaper capital of other countries. This question cannot be discussed now. I wish I could go, as Senator Sherman and my friend Spooner have gone, into the question of relative power and influence of the different sections of our country as respects these great questions as shown by our production in these sections. This imperial State of New-York, as my friend Miller calls it, in 1880, manufactured more than four times as many articles of utility, having ten times the value, as were manufactured in the eleven States lately in rebellion. They manufactured one thousand millions in this State, in 1880, and undoubtedly have increased largely since that time. It so happens that in the eleven States of the South which were in rebellion, manufacturers have made but little progress until recently. I am glad to see now a revival and growth of manufactures there, and I believe the time will come, and that not very long in the future, when this region will be filled with manufactures of iron, of steel, of cotton, and of wool. In the mean time these questions will be discussed and will be settled, whether this year or next, as I believe, upon the theories advanced by the Republican party. No man can certainly tell how the Democratic party will deal with these questions this year in the House of Representatives, or whether they will deal with them at all. Why, think of it for a moment, President Cleveland's message was delivered on the day after the assembling of Congress in December. You would have supposed from that message and from the imperative requirements of it that the Democratic party would not give sleep to its eyes nor slumber to its eyelids until they had removed the great burdens complained of by the President. Speaker Carlisle took a month to appoint committees, and now if the Ways and Means Committee having charge of this question are having any meetings at all they are meetings, not in the committee-room but somewhere else, and in this way they are dealing with indus-

tries producing seven thousand millions in value and extending over nearly all the States of the Union. Is that a fair, open and manly party way to deal with these questions? It was my misfortune to be for six years a member of the Ways and Means Committee in the House, and during all that time the committee-room was open to hearings to any great interest to be affected by proposed legislation, but now such opportunity, I am told, is not given. So that whether any measure, or if so any just measure, will be presented to the House no one can say.

Taking all these questions into consideration as respects our material interests it seems to me that the Republican party should be restored to power, not only for the protection of these material interests but also for the protection and preservation of a great republican principle that in a republic every man shall have opportunity of casting his ballot without molestation and hindrance, and when cast that it shall be fairly counted. That may be now, and doubtless is, so far as Congressional legislation is concerned, a mere sentiment, but it is a sentiment founded upon a principle which lies at the very foundation of republican government.

I have faith that we will be successful this year. I see upon yonder walls an old banner of '60 declaring that "it is written in the book of fate that Abraham Lincoln shall be the next President of the United States." So I believe that this year it is written in the book of fate that the nominee of the 19th of June next shall be President of the United States. (Cheers and applause.) It is for you here, men of New-York, guided by a just Providence, to make that prophecy certain of fulfillment, and if you will do it in this imperial State, I repeat what was so well said by my friend Spooner, we in the west will rally to you and to the banner of that nominee from every State west of the city of Chicago until we reach the Pacific Ocean.

*Mr. McKinley:* You can move that line further east.

*Mr. Allison:* We will not only move it east but move it north as well. If we carry this State we will carry the States that surround it; and if we cannot carry the country upon the principles of the Republican party, I say, God help us. (Applause and three cheers for Senator Allison.)

*President Bartlett:* Before I declare this banquet closed I desire to express to our distinguished guests the thanks of the Club for their presence here to-night, and we can only express the hope that in the campaign next fall when we lift up the Macedonian cry, we shall see them under very different circumstances. The banquet is closed. (Continued cheering.)



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