

Lincoln Club Dinner
Cincinnati Ohio
Feb 10, 1949

"Too often in recent years liberal governments have been wrecked upon the rocks of a loose fiscal policy."

"Taxes are paid in the sweat of everyone who labors."

These words are as true today as when they were uttered by Franklin Roosevelt in 1932.

In the '32 campaign the opposition proposed to cure the depression by reducing the Federal Budget by 25% and by reduction in Federal employees. The Budget was then \$5,000,000,000.

At the end of eight years and \$48,000,000,000. there were still 8,000,000 unemployed. The Federal Budget was doubled to \$10,000,000,000. a year and the national debt had increased to \$50,000,000,000. with large and continuing annual deficits.

Then came war. Eight years again have passed. The Federal Budget is well over \$40,000,000,000. The national debt is \$250,000,000,000.

In the campaign of '46 the idea of balancing the Federal Budget was ridiculed as impossible by the party in power.

The Republican 80th Congress balanced the Federal Budget for the first time in sixteen years and turned in a surplus of \$8,000,000,000. along with a tax reduction of \$4,000,000,000. -- 70% of which went to those with incomes under \$5000. a year.

May it not be time to try the remedy urged by the opposition in 1932 in the forgotten platform? Perhaps they were right in their diagnosis.

Perhaps confidence will come from fulfillment of the pledge of the '32 campaign.

Noone knows because, as was said of Christianity as a cure for human ills, it has never been tried.

In the grab-bag theory of elections approximately fifty million Americans ignored Santa Claus. They did not choose to vote. Their votes were equal to the votes of both the old parties and would have easily swept the election. Mr. Nobody was easily the Presidential choice of the electorate.

Here is the American gold mine. Here is the answer to the preservation of the American way of life. This vast group of fifty million adult Americans have obviously not fallen for the lure of a socialized state. The Republican alternative has also not made sufficient impression to bring this vast group to the polls.

The battle for the mind of man is at its height. America spent \$40,000,000,000. in the '30's to learn government spending would not cure a depression. Let us not forget this most expensive lesson.

Under free enterprise America has developed a system that produces more steel, more automobiles, more telephones and more of everything else that contributes to human comfort and security than all the rest of the world put together.

The average American produces and consumes twice as much as the average Englishman with his semi-socialized economy and four times as much as the average Russian with his totalitarian regime. The rest of the world isn't even in the running.

Why swap a record for a theory?

The 80th Congress balanced the Budget; reduced taxes by \$4,000,000,000.; accumulated an \$8,000,000,000. surplus to reduce the debt; provided for the greatest national defense program ever developed by any nation in time of peace; provided the greatest program for veterans ever known; established the European Recovery Program and forced the inclusion of other areas of the world; enacted a long range bi-partisan farm program approved by the Secretary of Agriculture and the President of the United States; and took a long and courageous step toward the solution of the most pressing problem of industrial relations.

No Congress in history ever did so much in time of peace.

The Republican Party may well go to the people on this record again and again and on the record of the Republican minority in the 81st Congress which is not in process of unfoldment.

Last July the President insisted fifteen days was an entirely adequate period for the 80th Congress to enact his entire revolutionary program.

the 81st Congress has now been in session forty-five days and so far has raised the Presidential salary and extended the allocation and export control programs of the 80th Congress.

America learns slowly but it learns. Let no American despair. Fifty million Americans have not yet been heard from and their voice will be decisive as the battle lines are formed.

Lincoln Club Luncheon
San Diego, Calif
Feb 12, 1949

Fifty million Americans can't be wrong. The outstanding fact of the last election was the utter indifference of one-half the electorate. America cannot continue half-ruler and half-ruled.

Talk of a mandate to make over America is poppy-cock when the Truman administration has the support of less than one-quarter of the eligible electorate.

75 out of 100 Americans refused to swallow the Truman bait of a socialized state. Let us be perfectly fair and frank and recognize also that 77 out of 100 Americans refused to approve the Dewey doctrine of sweetness and light.

Where then does this leave us? Both old parties are faced with a challenge to define issues in the 81st Congress that shall reawaken 50,000,000 Americans to the significance of their birthright.

Compulsory voting is not the answer. A drafted ballot is of no value to anyone.

Millions of Americans obviously thought it made no difference in their lives which party won.

In the words of Washington let the Republican party raise a standard to which the wise and just may repair.

Under the impulse of a decade of depression and a decade of world wide war the nation has moved more and more rapidly toward a socialized state.

The swift currents of a world wide totalitarianism threaten to carry us over Niagara Falls into the whirlpools of world chaos and another Dark Age with human freedom once again engulfed by a mesmeric mastery of the mind of man.

America alone offers hope of preserving the great traditions of ten centuries in the struggle for individual liberty.

How can Republicans despair when twice as many Americans stayed home as voted for the successful candidate? Never was such a challenge to gird on our armor and go into battle.

There is scarcely a state in the Union where the stay-at-home vote could not have altered the result of the election.

Waste little time on those whose minds are already made up when there is a golden harvest of obviously unconvinced and unfortunately as yet uninterested Americans waiting to be awakened to the great issues now facing America and the world.

Not Santa Claus in all his glory attracted fifty million Americans to the polls.

Not an army of bungling bureaucrats bulging billions tempted these fifty million Americans to vote away their birthright.

Obviously America is ready for a crusade for human freedom such as Abraham Lincoln wisely guided a century ago.

To this cause let free men everywhere dedicate their lives, their fortunes, and their most sacred honor.

Let us defy alike the tyranny of the classes and the masses. Let us allow no subtle doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat to put mankind once again in chains.

Eternal principles are at stake. Out of the ferment of the present will come ultimately a purification and a clarification of our thinking that will restore the faith of the world in America as the leader of mankind,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND A
SELECTION OF QUOTATIONS FROM HIS WRITINGSShort Biographical Sketch of Abraham Lincoln

Our sixteenth President (February 12, 1809 - April 15, 1865), "born in the most humble walks of life," to use his own words, is now a symbol of American democracy and the Union. His birthplace was a log cabin about three miles south of Hodgen's Mill on what was known as the "Singing Spring Farm" in Hardin (now Larue) County, Kentucky. Although he could trace his line no farther back than to certain ancestors in Berks County, Pennsylvania, whom he vaguely described as Quakers, research disclosed a lineage reaching back to Samuel Lincoln who came from Hingham, England and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts in 1637. The Lincolns were pioneers.

Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, had grown up literally without education. He changed his occupation several different times, moved his residence frequently, made nothing of his poorly chosen farms, and bequeathed little to his son besides life itself. His first wife, Nancy Hanks, was the mother of Abraham. She, like her husband, was illiterate.

Abraham Lincoln's early boyhood was spent about eight miles from his birthplace, on Knob Creek - a place of natural beauty. The family did not remain long here for when Abraham was seven they were again on the move. The Indiana woods was their destination and here the family of four, mother, father, Abraham and Sarah, his sister, lived very poorly with little more than a hut to shelter them the first winter. It was not long before Nancy Lincoln became ill, was without medical care for a week, and died in October, 1818.

Thomas Lincoln's second wife, Sarah (Bush) Johnston of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, widow of Daniel Johnston, came with her three children to the cabin. Abraham's stepmother became an important factor in his rearing.

Lincoln's youth was that of an easy-going backwoods youth; he did hard labor on the homestead and performed odd jobs for neighbors. He shunned vociferous camp meetings of the time and used his leisure for self-improvement by the reading of a few good books, among which were the Bible, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrims Progress, Aesop's Fables, William Grimshaw's History of the United States, Kentucky Preceptor, Weem's Life of Washington, and various other biographies and books of verse. Lincoln had very little formal schooling; in all, his attendance at school did not exceed one year. He grew up without the frontier vices, shunned liquor, and was free from dissoluteness and profanity. Although he avoided girls, he was uncommonly sociable and liked to enter into the fun at the camp store Saturday evenings. The river had a great attraction for him and entered largely into his early life. Since his relations with his father were not altogether happy, he welcomed the day when he could shift for himself.

In 1830 the Lincolns again moved, this time to Macon County, Illinois. Abraham was now 21 years of age and remained with his family only long enough to help with the building of a new cabin and to assist in the rough tasks of the following winter. Upon leaving home he navigated a flat boat from a point near Spring-

field down to New Orleans. The story in connection with this trip that "the iron entered his soul" on seeing the New Orleans slave auction and that he vowed if he ever had a chance to "hit that thing," he would "hit it hard" is untrustworthy. Upon his return from there on a steamer he made his home at New Salem, about twenty miles northwest of Springfield.

The six-year period 1831-37 was spent in earning a living by working in a store until "it petered out," managing a mill, doing odd jobs, acting as village postmaster, traversing the country as deputy surveyor, all of the time reading law, studying grammar, widening his acquaintances, following the trend of national politics, and laying the foundations for a wide personal influence. It is of interest to know that during this period he served in the Black Hawk War.

In 1834 Lincoln was chosen to the State Legislature, where he served during four successive terms (1834-1841), first at Vandalia and later at Springfield. He gained his first political training in this frontier legislature where party maneuvers were spirited. National issues were of great concern to him. In these early days as later, he avoided associations with abolitionists; he nevertheless did not want himself to be thought of as in positive support of slavery.

Lincoln moved from New Salem to Springfield in 1837 and was so poor that his surveying instruments had been attached to pay a debt. Having been licensed as an attorney September 9, 1836, he began the practice of law in Springfield and formed a partnership with J. T. Stuart, a man of influential family, who was an able lawyer and prominent in Whig circles. While in New Salem he had courted Ann Rutledge, who died August 25, 1835. He married Mary Todd in Springfield on November 4, 1842, after a troubled courtship. It is difficult to say what degree of happiness attended their marriage. Their first son, Robert Todd, was born August 1, 1843, and was their only child to grow to manhood. Two other sons were born to them - William Wallace (December 21, 1850 - February 20, 1862) and Thomas or "Tad" (April 4, 1853 - July 15, 1871).

In the years 1847-1849 Lincoln served one term in Congress where he had the distinction of being the only Whig from Illinois. Most worthy of comment in his career as Congressman is his attack upon President Polk for having begun the Mexican War, which deeply offended the people of his own State, and his stand in regard to slavery. On January 10, 1849, he read a proposal to abolish slavery in the national capital. Although the Whigs nationally were successful in the election of 1848, the party lost out in Lincoln's own district. With a sense of futility he said "good-by" to Washington; and while the slavery crisis was shaking the country, he returned to Springfield and sadly resumed his law practice.

As a lawyer Lincoln rose to front rank in his own State. He was associated with capable partners - John Todd Stuart, Stephan T. Logan, and William H. Herndon. An important and extensive practice in the State Supreme Court and in the Federal courts made him a familiar figure throughout the State. He became popular for his aptness at political speeches and for his humor and story telling. Such qualities as common sense, shrewdness, effectiveness before a jury, his reputation for honesty, searching thoroughness for investigation, familiarity with pertinent judicial doctrines, ability to get at the core of a controversy made him more than a country lawyer.

Lincoln was a man of individuality. Of more than average height, 6' 4", uncommon length of arms and legs, rugged face which revealed character whose depth was not easily sounded, his manner of dress and appearance was apparently of no concern to him.

In the agitation which swept the country with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Lincoln emerged from political inactivity. A new tone appeared in his speeches and he narrowed the contest to one phase of the slavery question, making it a suitable party issue. In 1856 he became identified with the new Republican Party and at the Republican State Convention at Bloomington he delivered on May 29, 1856 what some have called his greatest speech. He became the leading Republican as he had been the leading Whig of Illinois.

Successful in getting the Republican Senatorial nomination in 1858, he delivered at a Republican state convention at Springfield on June 16, 1858, a carefully prepared speech revealing his position on the slavery question and denouncing the Dred Scott decision as part of a pro-slavery conspiracy to recognize slavery even in the free states. Then followed a series of debates with the leading Democrat, Douglas, in the senatorial campaign in which he showed his strength as a leader and politician. Lincoln's campaign was effective in that his party carried districts containing a larger population than those carried by the Democrats, but unequitable apportionment gave Douglas a majority in the legislature, insuring his election.

As a figure of national prominence now, Lincoln's name was mentioned for the Presidency. Named as Illinois' choice for the Presidency at the State Convention, he was nominated at the National Convention at Chicago because he was a candidate who was not too radical or too conservative and who could avoid offense. During the ensuing campaign he stayed quietly in Springfield and avoided political speeches. He was chosen President by pluralities in enough states to give him a considerable electoral majority, but as regards the whole popular vote, he was a minority president.

In the period between his election and his inauguration Lincoln continued his political silence and made no speeches or public statements as to his policies. During this time the Southern Confederacy was formed. Lincoln never doubted the Federal Government's authority to maintain itself. In his inaugural address he disclaimed any intention to interfere with slavery in the states, advised observance of all Federal laws and pleaded for the preservation of the Union.

To a man inexperienced in executive matters, the duties that fell upon him as President brought many pressing problems which had to be dealt with immediately, such as the Sumter crisis involving the issue of civil war. Often during his Administration he faced a hostile Congress and at times seemed almost deserted. Abolition demands required his utmost tact. The pressure of military duties was great. Throughout this trying period he demonstrated that he was able to deal fairly with his enemies, maintain cooperation in his ill-assorted cabinet, and respond to criticism with humor and understanding.

As the Great Emancipator, it must not be thought that he suddenly struck the shackles from millions of slaves by the stroke of the pen. A preliminary proclamation given out in September, 1862 and the Proclamation of January 1, 1863, served chiefly to pave the way for effective liberation of the slaves through state action and through the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution.

Lincoln's manners as President were out of the ordinary and unconventional; his habits were irregular. He labored continually under a great strain and often felt extreme mental weariness. He made very few public speeches during his years in the White House and confined himself to his inaugurals, the Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863, and his last speech, April 11, 1865.

Lincoln received a sweep of the electoral votes in the election of 1864 in spite of opposition within his own party. Paying great attention to the last military phase of the war, President Lincoln visited the Army and remained with General Grant at City Point from March 24, 1865, until April 9, 1865, except for a two-day visit to Richmond. He returned to Washington on the day that Lee surrendered. He did not experience the ensuing struggle for reconstruction, for he was assassinated on the night of April 16, 1865 in the Ford Theatre by John Wilkes Booth. After lying unconscious all night, he died the following morning. Funeral services were held in Washington and the burial was in Springfield.

* * * * *

Excerpts From Lincoln's Writings

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference is no democracy."

(Letter, August 1, 1858)

"While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."

(First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861)

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

(On Government, July 1, 1854)

"Few can be induced to labor exclusively for posterity; and none will do it enthusiastically."

(Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842)

"We can succeed only by concert. It is not 'Can any of us imagine better? Can we all do better?' "

(Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862)

"I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. . . My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal-improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. . . ."

(At a political meeting early in 1832, as a candidate for the Legislature of Illinois)

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it; or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

(First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861)

"Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subject of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

(Speech at Edwardsville, Illinois,
September 13, 1858)

"I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights."

(Speech at Chicago, Illinois July 10,
1858)

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"

(First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861)

"Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

(Address, Cooper Union, New York,
February 27, 1860)

"The religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their Government, because, as they think, that Government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven."

(Reply to two women who had pleaded
for the release of their husbands;
Washington Chronicle, Dec. 7, 1864)

"It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies."

(Response to a Serenade, Nov. 10, 1864)

"That this nation, under God, shall have anew birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

(Address, Gettysburg, Nov. 19, 1863)

"I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

(Letter to Cuthbert Bullitt, July 28, 1862)

"What is 'sovereignty' in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it 'a political community without a political superior?'"

(Message to Congress, July 4, 1861)

"If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune."

(Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859)

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left."

(First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861)

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

(Remarks to a Committee of New York workingmen, March 24, 1864)

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to do it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. . . .

"Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as here assumed. . . . Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves the much higher consideration."

"We see it, and to us it appears like principle, and the best sort of principle at that - the principle of allowing the people to do as they please with their own business."

(Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848)

"As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race."

(Fragment on Slavery, July 1, 1854)

"The same spirit says, 'You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

(Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858)

"I was an old Henry Clay-Tariff Whig. In old days I made more speeches on that subject than any other."

"I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully, adjusted protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties, it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

"I have not thought much on the subject recently, but my general impression is that the necessity for a protective tariff will ere long force its old opponents to take it up, and then its old friends can join in and establish it on a more firm and durable basis."

(From an Autobiography, compiled by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson)

"If we do not make common cause to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage."

(Address, Cleveland, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1861)

"I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to 'stand firm' enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause."

(Letter to Zachariah Chandler, Nov. 20, 1863)

"I wish now to submit a few remarks on the general proposition of amending the Constitution. As a general rule, I think we would much better let it alone. No slight occasion should tempt us to touch it. Better not take the first step, which may lead to a habit of altering it. Better, rather habituate ourselves to

think of it as unalterable. It can scarcely be made better than it is. New provisions would introduce new difficulties, and thus create and increase appetite for further change."

(Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, June 20, 1848)

"Like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee peddler offered for sale, 'large enough for any man, small enough for any boy.' "

(Speech at Worcester, Mass., Sept. 12, 1848)

"I happen temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here, as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free Government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance.. .that the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright."

(Reviewing a regiment; quoted in Congressional Record, p. 1907, Feb. 12, 1936)

"A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper."

(Address at Cooper Institute, New York, February 27, 1860)

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate, in the least particular, the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap, let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice."

(Springfield address; quoted by Gov. Nice of Maryland)

"Lincoln's supreme reliance was on prayer, and he was one of the very few gifted souls in the story of mankind, who have their confidence in God rewarded by revelations of God."

(Chauncey M. Dewey)

"Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good."

(Response to a Serenade, Nov. 10, 1864)

"Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy subject of any good government."

(Tariff Discussion, December 1, 1847)

"I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons why I am opposed to slavery is just here. What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free, to acquire property as far as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in law to prevent a man from getting rich. It would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else."

(New Haven, March, 1860)

"I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

(Speech, June 16, 1858)

"In giving freedom to the slaves we assure freedom to the free."

(Second Annual Message to Congress,
December 1, 1862)

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

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war; testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. . ."

". . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

(Gettysburg, 1863)

"Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap we should soon want bread. . . When all government, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will become venal and oppressive." (Jefferson)

". . . the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society." (Lincoln)

"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 are in. . ."

(Second Inaugural Address, March 4,
1865)

"We, when mounting the stage of existence, found ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or establishment of them; they are a legacy bequeathed us by a once hardy, brave, and patriotic, but now lamented and departed, race of ancestors. Theirs was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only to transmit these -- the former unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the latter undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation -- to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know. This task, gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, and love for our species in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform."

". . . At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years. . . ."

"It is to deny what the history of the world tells us is true, to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us. And when they do, they will as naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passion as others have done before them. The question then is, can that gratification be found in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others? Most certainly it cannot. Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambition would aspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial or a presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle. What! think you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon? Never! Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It sees no distinction in adding story to story upon the monuments of fame erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving free men. Is it unreasonable, then, to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up among us? And when such an one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs."

". . . Reason -- cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason -- must furnish all the materials for our future support and defense. Let those materials be molded into general intelligence, sound morality, and, in particular, a reverence for the Constitution and laws."

(Address before the Young Men's Lyceum
of Springfield, Ill., Jan. 27, 1837)

"This is the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birthday of Washington; we are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name of earth -- long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on."

(Address before Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society, Feb. 22,
1842)

"If I should be found dead tomorrow nothing but my insignificance would prevent a speech being made upon my authority before the end of next week."

". . . At what point then is the danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us, it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time or die by suicide."

"If the time ever comes in America when a minority can frustrate the will of the majority, the result will be mobocracy upon the one hand or tyranny on the other."

"I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience, to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive and argument so clear, that even their authority, fairly considered and weighted, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we."

(Cooper Union Speech)

"A man watches his pear tree day after day, impatient for the ripening of the fruit. Let him attempt to force the process and he will spoil both fruit and tree. But let him patiently wait and the ripe pear at last falls into his lap."

"You are united among yourselves in your determination to break with the past, but you are utterly divided as to where you are going."

". . . The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

(Cincinnati, 1859)

"I am driven to my knees over and over again because I have nowhere else to go."

"That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interest should after a while accumulate property and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace is right."

"The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves his surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account for another while, and at length hires another to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all and consequently an improvement of condition to all."

I hold that if there is any one thing that can be proved to be the will of Heaven by external nature around us, without reference to Revelation, it is the proposition that whatever any one man earns with his hands and by the sweat of his brow, he shall enjoy in peace."

(Cincinnati, 1859)

"We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it."

"Judicial decisions have two uses, first, to absolutely determine the case decided and secondly to indicate to the public how similar cases will be decided when they arise. We believe in obedience to and respect for the Judicial Department of Government. Its decisions on Constitutional questions when fully settled should control, not only the particular case decided, but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself. More than this would be revolution."

"As nation we began by declaring that 'All men are created free and equal.' We are now attempting to limit that proposition. When it comes to making wholesale exceptions, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

"Let us remember that all American citizens are brothers in a common country and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling."

". . . You will never get me to support a measure which I believe to be wrong, although by doing so I may accomplish that which I believe to be right."

"I believe there is a genuine popular sovereignty. I think a definition of genuine popular sovereignty, in the abstract, would be about this: That each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself, and with all those things which exclusively concern him. Applied to Government, this principle would be, that a General Government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local Governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them. I understand that this Government of the United States, under which we live, is based upon this principle; and I am misunderstood if it is supposed that I have any war to make upon that principle."

(Columbus, Ohio, 1858)

"I do not mean to say that this General Government is charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world; but do think that it is charged with preventing and redressing all wrongs which are wrongs to itself."

(Ohio, 1858)

"From the bankrupt state of the public treasury, the pecuniary embarrassments prevailing in every department of society, the dilapidated state of the public works, and the impending danger of the degradation of the State, you had a right to expect that your representatives would lose no time in devising and adopting measures to avert threatened calamities, alleviate the distresses of the people, and allay the fearful apprehensions in regard to the future prosperity of the State. It was not expected by you that the spirit of party would take the lead in councils of the State, and make every interest bend to its demands. Nor was it expected that any party would assume to itself the entire control of legislation, and convert the means and offices of the State, and the substance of the people, into aliment for party subsistence. Neither could it have been expected by you that party spirit, however strong its desires and unreasonable its demands, would have passed the sanctuary of the Constitution, and entered with its unhallowed and hideous form into the formation of the Judiciary system.

". . . Respect for public opinion, and regard for the rights and liberties of the people, have hitherto restrained the spirit of the party from attacks upon the independence and integrity of the Judiciary."

(Feb. 8, 1841 -- circular from Whig Committee. Appeal to the people of the State of Illinois)

"The question of revenue we will now briefly consider. For several years past the revenues of the government have been unequal to its expenditures, and consequently loan after loan, sometimes direct and sometimes indirect in form, has been resorted to. By this means a new national debt has been created, and is still growing on us with a rapidity fearful to contemplate -- a rapidity only reasonably to be expected in time of war. This state of things has been produced by a prevailing unwillingness either to increase the tariff or resort to direct taxation. But the one or the other must come. Coming expenditures must be met, and the present debt must be paid; and money cannot always be borrowed for these objects. The system of loans is but temporary in its nature, and must soon explode. It is a system not only ruinous while it lasts, but one that must soon fail and leave us destitute. As an individual who undertakes to live by borrowing soon finds his original means devoured by interest, and next, no one left to borrow from, so must it be with a government."

(March 4, 1843 -- circular from Whig Committee. Address to the people of the State of Illinois)

". . . the President is in nowise satisfied with his own positions. First he takes up one, and in attempting to argue us into it he argues himself out of it, then seizes another and goes through the same process, and then, confused at being able to think of nothing new, he snatches up the old one again, which he has some time before cast off. His mind, taxed beyond its power, is running hither and thither, like some tortured creature on a burning surface, finding no position on which it can settle down and be at ease.

". . . He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man."

(Jan. 12, 1848 -- speech in the U.S. House of Representatives.)

"Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such a purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If today he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, 'I see no probability of the British invading us;' but he will say to you, 'Be silent; I see it, if you don't.' The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons; Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us."

Feb. 15, 1848 -- Letter to Wm. H. Herndon)

"If you once forfeit the confidence of your fellow citizens, you can never regain their respect and esteem. It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

(Last public address, Washington, Apr. 11, 1865)

(Prepared jointly by the Republican Congressional Committee and the Research Division of the Republican National Committee)

For Newspaper Release - Morning Papers Friday, February 11, 1949
Radio Release - 7:00 P.M. Mountain Standard Time (9:00 P.M., E.S.T.) Thursday
February 10, 1949

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA,
AT A LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE COLORADO REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AT COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 10, 1949

I appreciate more than I can tell you the great honor of being invited here tonight.

I am sincerely grateful for this opportunity to pay another visit to the great and beautiful State of Colorado.

Colorado represents in full measure the courageous spirit of America. You are rightfully proud of the romantic history of the Old West. You have inherited the pioneer traditions of self-reliance, hard work and thrift.

By your own courage, energy and industry you have built a grand State that looks forward with full confidence to greater progress and increasing prosperity in the years ahead.

It has been my happy privilege to serve as a member of the Senate Finance Committee under the Chairmanship of your able and distinguished United States Senator, Eugene Millikin. He is not only a great Senator but a great American patriot who has given many years of magnificent service to our country as a soldier and as a statesman. His sound judgment and his high sense of public duty are needed in Washington to continue to advance the welfare of our Nation. Colorado is indeed fortunate to be represented in the Senate of the United States by a man of such outstanding ability.

Although we are not of the same political party, I am glad to express my admiration and regard for Ed Johnson as a public servant of unquestioned integrity and high character. It will be a real pleasure to continue in the 81st Congress the pleasant association which I enjoyed in the last session with Gene Millikin and Ed Johnson.

We meet tonight to commemorate the greatness of Abraham Lincoln, first Republican President of the United States and one of the outstanding figures of world history.

We honor his memory in praise and gratitude and in reverent recognition of his service to America and mankind.

The glorious story of his life and his steadfast devotion to the Union will everlastingly inspire Americans to greater love of country and more intense allegiance to the principles for which he lived.

More than any other man in American history, Abraham Lincoln knew the real meaning of Americanism. The story of his humble birth and early struggles are known to all. He knew the hardships and suffering of pioneer life on the rough frontier. He experienced defeat, disappointment and discouragement.

But he never lost faith. He held firmly to faith in himself, faith in the people and faith in God.

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic in Lincoln's makeup was his undeviating faith in the capacity of a free people to govern themselves.

He realized that the people might be led astray for a time by false hopes and false promises. But he was firm in his belief that the good judgment of the American people and their love of freedom would lead them, in the end, to the right decisions.

Lincoln did not promise an easy way of life. He did not offer security from the cradle to the grave. He had the courage to stand by what he believed to be right - even though it did not attract votes or popular acclaim. He did not compromise principle for expediency.

Today, as in Lincoln's time, America's greatest need is faith in the fundamental truths that have given our people a greater measure of individual freedom than has been enjoyed by any people since the world began.

As we consider the problems confronting America and the world today, we cannot escape the conclusion that we need a rededication to the principles of Lincoln. We must face the dangers to which we are exposed with the same courage and the same determination to follow the right that brought undying fame to the memory of the Great Emancipator.

Lincoln knew the vital importance of National strength - military strength, material strength and spiritual strength. He knew that the greatest danger to American freedom was not from outside our borders but lurked within our own midst.

He sounded a warning in his famous Cooper Union Speech of February 27, 1860 when he said:

"At what point then is the danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a Nation of free men we must live through all time or die by suicide."

My fellow Americans, if we remember and heed the warning of Abraham Lincoln, America will not die by suicide but will live through all time - a strong, free Nation of free men.

Let me repeat Lincoln's question:

"At what point, then, is the danger to be expected?"

The answer is given in the tragic fate of great nations that have gone down to destruction because they prized so-called security more highly than freedom.

In all history every nation where the people were deceived by promises that the government would supply more and more of their needs, freedom has been swept away by dictatorship, tyranny and misrule.

The history of advancing civilization from ancient times is a record of the struggle of mankind for freedom. Submission to the dictatorship of an all-powerful government in the false hope of security has always resulted in disaster.

Every forward step in human enlightenment, in higher standards of living, and in cultural development, has been achieved when men were spurred on by incentives that brought them a greater share of individual freedom.

The great victories of civilization were not won by men who placed personal safety and security first.

Let us review briefly the record of history.

In its days of glory, Rome enjoyed the highest standard of living then known to mankind. Rome was the center of freedom. As her victorious Legions brought Western Europe and Northern Africa under the rule of the Roman Republic, freedom was extended to her colonies.

Then the leaders of Rome reached out for more power. The Republic became an empire. The people were placed under regimentation and control. At the same time they were assured that they would retain their ancient freedoms. The people were told they needed protection. A planned economy was instituted with absolute control over food, clothing, wages and many activities of their daily lives.

The people were given the illusion that the paternalistic government, always concerned with their welfare, would confer blessings upon them that they could not achieve for themselves.

A huge bureaucracy was established to carry out the edicts of the central authority. The people gladly accepted the bread and circuses provided by the government. The more the people received the more they expected.

What was the outcome? Taxation rose to unprecedented heights. Initiative was destroyed. Production was crippled in industry and on the farms. Scarcity of food and goods brought on inflation. Poverty was created where once there was plenty.

The national treasury was empty despite the imposition of more exorbitant taxes.

Corruption in the servants of the government added to the general demoralization. Honor and justice became forgotten virtues.

Thus were brought into play the forces of evil which weakened the moral fibre of the Roman people beyond hope of recovery. History records that Rome, robbed of freedom and dignity, impoverished by economic collapse, was no longer able to defend itself against invaders who wrought its destruction.

Does not this recital bring to mind a pattern of government that is being presented today under the guise of liberalism?

Will future historians write a similar story about the decline and fall of our Republic?

The same pattern of concentration of power brought the downfall of the French empire of Napoleon III. It brought death, hunger and despair to Germany under Hitler and to Italy under Mussolini.

Great Britain was once looked upon as the world's great stronghold of human rights and property rights. Now it is struggling in the grip of a Socialistic government which is day by day increasing its power over the affairs of individuals.

Strengthened by American dollars taken from the earnings of the American worker and American industry, England has nationalized its coal, power and transportation industries, and is about to place iron and steel under government ownership and operation.

Once Great Britain proudly boasted that the sun never set upon its Flag. Today many of its people are cold because the output of its coal mines has been greatly reduced under nationalization.

Today many of the British people do not have sufficient food, even though all supplies have been placed under rigid governmental rationing.

Is England's Socialistic course leading that once great Nation along the road to demoralization and eventual destruction?

The heroes and patriots of the American Revolution fought not for independence alone. They defied the mighty power and force of England because oppression by British rulers threatened the liberty and the personal freedom which was their most precious possession.

In erecting the structure of American freedom the Founding Fathers exerted every effort to protect the individual from oppressive control by government. The primary object of the Constitution they framed was to limit the power of the central government over the lives of free men. The Bill of Rights was added in order to state explicitly the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Today we are confronted with proposals which, if adopted in their entirety, would defeat the principles of individual liberty to which the Founders of our Nation were passionately devoted.

Many of these proposals and recommendations are based upon socialistic theories which have failed in every part of the world where they have been attempted.

In many instances the doctrine of control by the Federal government is made palatable to the people by sugar-coating it as social legislation.

The promise of an easy way of life is held out to divert attention from the costs involved and the increased burden of taxation which must be imposed upon the people.

The hope of security is advanced to overshadow the greater boon of liberty and individual freedom under which all American progress has been achieved.

As I study the recent proposals of the President of the United States, I cannot escape recalling the stern warnings that have come down to us through the ages. The lessons of history and what we have seen of dictator governments in recent years should make us resist with all our strength every move in that direction.

As Americans and as Republicans we must impress upon all of our people the fact that when government increases its power to do things for people it also increases its power to do things to people.

Too much government, too much dependence on government, and government that gives no heed to the cost are the milestones along the road to a socialistic pattern of government. The end result is always the same. The government becomes supreme. Individual initiative, thrift, opportunity, industry, savings and freedom are wiped out.

Lincoln's great task was the preservation of the Union. The great duty before us is to preserve individual freedom by safeguarding the right of every American to live his own life free from strangling control and regulation by government.

Only by maintaining America's strength can those objectives be achieved.

We are now gravely concerned with National defense and the threat to peace in the world. We have embarked on the expenditure of vast sums of money to assure adequate protection of our homes and our independence.

We are determined that America shall be so strong that no aggressor nation will dare threaten our safety or our National security.

We are committed to a tremendous outpouring of our wealth and resources to bring peace and freedom to people in many lands who live under the threat of disaster and enslavement.

Can we at the same time fail to realize that our treasure chest is not inexhaustible? Can we continue to consume our substance in excessive taxation and government spending that gives no thought to the inevitable day of reckoning?

Recent campaign promises and President Truman's State of the Union speech give emphasis to the statement made by John Stuart Mill many years ago. That great economist said:

"It is the art of the demagogue to tempt people into idleness by promising them a share in a fictitious hoard lying in an imaginary government strong box supposed to contain all national wealth."

The President has proposed a budget of 42 billion dollars, the biggest peace time budget in all history. But that figure alone does not give the American people a true picture of the magnitude of the proposed public spending which must steadily increase in each succeeding year.

The President has asked Congress to approve 15 new domestic programs to be financed out of general tax funds. In addition he has asked for three new or expanded so-called social welfare programs to be financed by payroll deductions.

Experts have estimated that when these programs are in full bloom they will add to the Nation's permanent tax burden a minimum of 14 billion 800 million dollars and will require an annual budget in excess of 56 billion dollars.

The same experts say that these programs could reach a maximum cost of 42 billion, 700 million a year, if all the objectives of those promoting the programs are realized.

If we add that staggering sum to the present already swollen budget we would have an annual tax burden of 84 billion dollars.

These are shocking figures. They cannot fail to alarm every American who is concerned with the future of our country and the welfare of his family.

We cannot undertake all of these constantly increasing expenditures without rushing headlong into State Socialism and national bankruptcy. That would mean the loss of all freedom and the destruction of our Republic. It would be disastrous to us and to the free world that is now depending upon our leadership for guidance and assistance.

It would expose the United States and all we hold sacred to the same cancerous condition that resulted in the death of Roman civilization and in the downfall of every other nation that adopted the Socialistic system.

I do not mean to imply that sound progress should be checked. But I do say that we must search our souls and give honest, conscientious answers to these four questions when considering every piece of proposed legislation:

1. Is it right?
2. Will it work?
3. Is it for the benefit of all the people?
4. Can we afford it?

I am sure the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln would have rejected every proposal upon which he could not answer these questions in the affirmative.

There is wise counsel in the statement Lincoln made in 1863, in which he said:

"I hope to stand firm enough not to go backward and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause."

In conclusion I would like to read another quotation from Abraham Lincoln which is appropriate to the problems of the present day. Lincoln said:

"If we do not make common cause to save the good old Ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage."

I need not point out to this audience that the Ship of State is now embarked on a voyage fraught with peril. Its precious cargo is the freedom of the individual. The survival of the American Republic and the future of the world depends upon its safe deliverance.

Let us, in the words of Lincoln, "here highly resolve" that our Ship of State shall be guided, now as in the past, by our sacred Charter of Freedom, the Constitution of the United States.

Let us make common cause in renewed allegiance to the principles which made us a great nation. In no other way can we make sure that our Ship of State will not be wrecked on the rocks of socialism, fascism, communism, or any other philosophy that corrupts and destroys the God given rights of free men.