Address, at Young Men's Republican Club, Montpelier, Vyt. Feb. 12, 1896.

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Subject,"

"Reminiscemces of Lincoln."

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Reminiscences of Abraham Lineoln touching Politics, by Gan C. C. Howard

It is a new thing to me to be present at a festival of a party organization. Only a few times in my life have I hitherto been allowed that privilege. Strange to say our Democratic friends have never invited me; and yet I have carefully abstained from deeply indulging in Republican politics that I might be, as far as human nature and war prejudices would permit, as free from bias as possible, in order to serve our Democratic administrations.

A new departure Republican Party in 1856. Now, that I have graduated from all executive

functions, I am delighted to join you, happy Republicans; to think with you and to act with you my small part in the interest of Republican principles as I understand and interpret them.

None of you young men are old enough to remember the beginnings of the great Republican party. That year, in 1856, I was stationed at the Arsenal in West Troy. My brother Rowland was with me studying law and attending law lectures at Albany, - lectures given at the famous law school over which the Hon. Ira Harris, afterwards U.S. Senator presided.

I had been, till then, as was Abraham Lincoln, a

Whig; but more inclined than he to be conservative. The

New York Herald made it very plain that Republicanism, when

it first began to take that name, would certainly lead the

people to ruin, and that journal was, at the time, my daily

food.

Mr. Lincoln was in Illinois, just rising above the political horizan. It was evident from the fragments of his debates with Douglas, that came to us through the New York press, that he was taking steps in advance even of Wm.H. Seward He was putting forth a platform which contained "non-extension of slavery into the new territories." He was formulating and defending that platform which was bound to unite Whigs, Democrats and Free-state-men of different complexion into one solid body. Low Yen. Howard became a Republican.

My brother, an eloquent and ardent young man, had already fully adopted the new platform when he came from Maine to New York to live for a time with his brother. He warmly took the part of Lincoln, Seward, Chase and even of

John P. Hale; this he did in all home-talks in a most

unqualified style. He could not understand my scruples and had little patience with my avowed union conservatism. And, I confess, though I was too proud to own it then, that in my heart I did think that Abraham Lincoln was right. Mr.Seward's "irrepressible conflict" made me tremble with apprehension for my country; but as I rose from careful readings of his elegant speeches, my conscience said: 'He is right; he speaks the truth.'

In the fall of 1856 there was a general call for a Republican rally at a large hall not far from the Arsenal.

My brother went, but I staid away. It proved to be an immense meeting and one full of enthusiasm. Whigs and Democrats then broke away from old party ties and came together and cemented the new union. This multitude, like Abraham Lincoln himself, cried to slavery: "Thus far shalt thou go but no farther:" My army companions then stationed at the arsenal, were all one way. Their cry was the opposite. It was bitter and unmeasured against this new outrage upon Southern rights.

Lucoln Viame National.

But the name of Lincoln had gone far beyond his State. His utterances of unvarnished truths, and his apt illustrations had reached and permeated every reading household.

The line of cleavage, during this season, was effected. Seward, Summer, Habe and others were powerful in their way. They could scatter the disease in the system but Lincoln instinctively feeling the pulse of the people knew best how to apply the remedy. They would detect the rifts, drive home the wedges of separation; but Lincoln could always, by his quick instincts find the fragments, bring them together and constitute a well agglutinated whole. That original great rally at Troy, a type of others throughout the Northern States, was my first object lesson of the Great Whole.

I soon after this espoused the cause and became a bona fide Republican, and have remained one in principle and in heart for these forty subsequent years; and Abraham Lincoln has all along been my exponent and my ideal of Republicanism.

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Premal acquaintance with Lincoln.
In 1861 I became personally acquainted with Abraham

been previously led by my associates to believe. He was from the first very cordial; but I always felt myself very young in hispresence. His size, evident strength and apparent condescension affected me, and made me look up to him, gladly catching approval and appreciation in his face and manner.

The last time I saw him (It was at the White House.) in the fall of 1863, when on my way from the Army of the Potomac to that of the Cumberland at Chattanooga, he was very kind and fatherly. He spoke frankly, but tested me by a few apt questions concerning East Tennesee with which he was already familiar. He gave me his own well mounted map of that country, and then bade me adieu, as one might a son who was en route to battle, expressing more in the tone of his voice than in any word. The exact words he used I cannot recall. They were something like these: "Good morning, General Howard, may success be with you!"

If he had been permitted to live, Abraham Lincoln

would be 87 to-day. I have ruminated upon what he would say
if he were alive and confronted with the political issues of
the next Presidential campaign.

In a canvass, he was accustomed to attack the hardest problems first. His ringing voice would penetrate a vast assembly. Methinks, I hear it exclaiming: "Fellow-citizens, those who have been in power, who have had a bank to draw from of untold resources, have not drawn therefrom sufficient funds to meet their admitted obligations.

The Directors have been quarreling with one another and have not paid their debts. The matter is almost too simple to be stated. The termination of the quarrel is so hopeless that we must turn out the directors and put in new men; those who have no quarrel one with another. Our new directors will, like sensible men, first provide the necessary funds from the great bank and then pay their debts therewith."

She Jaiiff Siscussed. Protection Essential.

now constituted, but slight disagreement. The revenue must be derived in the main by a tariff on imports. That is

easiest, least oppressive, most impartial of all methods which our people have tried.

Shall we have the element of <u>protection</u> in the tariff? This is the dividing line. Protection lies in the mind of an old-line Whig along side of "Internal Improvements."

If judici ly distributed, such things as protection and internal improvements become a blessing to the whole country. But my opponent says : "You Republicans will not distribute them judicity; and favored individuals will be made greatly rich thereby!!" That indeed is a danger; but the opposite, that of insufficient revenue is now plain enough; for it is before our eyes with all its sad consequences. Surely, the prosperity of the whole country, which judicious protection will bring will be a common delight. Some men will doubtless get rich. They always will do so, even if they have to cheat their poor neighbors or rob a grave-yard. Surely our business statesmen can so adjust the blessings and the burdens that they may be impartially distributed and fairly equalized.

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Mr. Lincoln's endorsement is pertinent from Ridpath's Report of his last sayings: " I recall with interest that the very last words Lincoln delivered on the afternoon before the assassination - last of those great utterances that for six or seven years electrified and enlightened half the world were a message of suggestion and encouragement to the miners of the Rockies. Schuyler Colfax was going thither and was paying his final call at the White House. Lincoln said to him: " I want you to take a message for me to the miners. I have large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. During the War, when we were adding \$2,000,000. a day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals; but now that the Rebellion is overthrown and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine makes the payment of that debt so much the easier .

Now, I am going to encourage that in every possible way. I intend to point the imigrants to the gold and silver that wait for them in the West. Tell the miners from me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation.

Binetalism Advicated. without possible defrication, But the Currency! The Currency! Oh, even Whigs have

long bowed to Jeffersonian wisdom. Jefferson and those with him gave us both the Silver and the Gold. We can do now precisely as they did when he lived, being careful to have the parity of thetwo metals preserved, and a dollar always of dollar value throughout the world. The inselfish Hessing of Reciprocity.

Again, what has become of four popular Reciprocity Plant ? If we take advantage of Reciprocity commercially, it will help to equalize the burdens as well as the blessings of our people. It will relieve any essential pinchings of the tariff. It will put us where we can influence an nations and probably induce them to adopt again the bi-metallic standard; for with our immense resources we can lead off in trade and draw other nations to us, and bind them by their Two things of importance: Our shipping the Micaraugua Canal. There are two things which will benefit the whole land without any apparent drawback. These are the recovery of our shipping so that we shall have our own ships and sailors under our own flag; and the opening of the Nicaraugua

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domain, then the problem would be of easy solution. But, as it is not, as a security to the popular Monroe Doctrine as well as a grand help to the people of the entire Pacific Coast, we need not hesitate to put forth the necessary means and energy to build that canal. Possibly we may be obliged to guard our rights; and there may be need of a larger Navy.

Why not? If you double the population of your city, you will have to increase your police and your fire departments.

Attration. Not hindered by high fortinal defences. Our people love all that makes permanent peace. We

shall welcome the great International Tribunal when it cometh to settle all questions of National dispute, provided its decisions can be backed up by sufficient power for their execution. But as a nation's existence can not be arbitrated upon, it must still under God have its good shore-and-ocean defence. I conceive that these general Republican principles Abraham Lincoln, like your own great Senator of about the same age, would heartily endorse. Some of Mr. Lincoln's work laid out for us years ago is not yet completed. I hope the

maintained.

Republican party will never go out of existence will that

work is done. It all lies in the word suffrage.

In impartial, suffrage must it maintained.

Citizenship must somehow, soon or late, become

truly national and strictly impartial. We may be obliged to

raise the standard of citizenship; but when the qualifications

of a bona fide citizen shall have become fixed and unalterable

by a constitutional provision, then let the whole power of

the Nation, if need be, be exerted to defend that citizen,

particularly in his right of suffrage. The sovereignty of the

individual citizen cannot otherwise be fully realized or

Once when about to give an address before an audience in Brooklyn, fower speakers had preceded me, and on rising I said: "Who shall come after the King?" Then added innocently, that is hard enough, but who shall come after four kings?

General Horace Porter, who spoke next was much concerned that General Howard should know so much about the power of four kings.

Whether we will or not, four kings now confront us.

This year we are called upon to select one from the four. I am inclined to leave the choice, as in the last resort we must, to the people, who will, without fail, promote him from his kingship to the next higher grade, namely to be President of the United States.

First, there is Thomas B. Reed of Maine, Speaker of friend the House, a Ti-tan among men, a co-college of mine, a man of great executive power and force of will, whose character is without reproach. He stands forth the bona fide

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New England champion and standard bearer.

Second, Levi P. Morton, one of nature's noblemen, already tried in several capacities, a choice gift of Vermont to New York, looms up tall and prepossessing, bearing the New York colors.

eloquent

Third, William McKinley Mest, handsome, humane, popular, with strong Republican ideas, all formulated and clearly given, with executive talent unquestioned. He has also a lucky star, namely, to be Ohio-born.

And Fourth, William B. Allison, whose face is a benediction, whose record is blameless, modest, conservative, Republican through and through. No wonder the superb State of Iowa presents him as her King with growing hope for the higher crown.

The Convention in my judgment will not err to make choice of one of these four. The people will this year be fortunate in either selection, for, Providence permitting, bhey will elect their man, and be right royally served.