

AND LINCOLN IS THEIR PATRON SAINT!

Republican clubs throughout the country celebrated Abraham Lincoln's birthday, and everywhere republican orators pointed to Lincoln as their patron saint. The speeches of these republican orators would have been far more interesting had the orators undertaken to justify the present-day policies of their party and the methods of its leaders in Mr. Lincoln's speeches and writings. It is a fact that from these speeches and writings may be obtained most striking condemnation for the present-day policies of the republican party and the methods of its managers.

It is the habit of republican leaders to predict a panic in efforts to ward off some proposed reform. In his letter to Truman Smith, November 10, 1860, Mr. Lincoln, referring to such threats, said that nothing was to be gained by "fawning around the respectable scoundrels" who are responsible for panics, and he added: "let them go to work and repair the mischief of their own making, and then perhaps they will be less greedy to do the like again."

Republican leaders have been very partial to appeals of the "full dinner-pail" order, but in a speech delivered August 31, 1864, Mr. Lincoln said: "I beg of you not to allow your minds or your hearts to be diverted from the support of all necessary measures for the purpose (the discharge of one's duty to his government) by any miserable picaune arguments addressed to your pockets or inflammatory appeal made to your passions and your prejudices."

Republican leaders have co-operated in the efforts of certain large employers to coerce their employes. In a letter written July 4, 1864, Mr. Lincoln said: "My wish is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to other than he thinks fit with his."

Mr. Lincoln condemned the republican party's present-day indifference for the masses and its advocacy of special favors for the classes when, in his speech of July 4, 1861, he protested against "this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people," and pleaded for a system that will "afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." Also, when in another message he wrote: "I desire to preserve this government that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it." Also, when in a speech delivered August 22, 1864, he demanded "an open field and a fair chance for industry, enterprise and intelligence" in order that "all may have equal privileges in the race of life with all its desirable human aspirations."

He provided a protest against the republican party doctrine of today when in a speech delivered October 16, 1854, he said: "I insist that if there is anything that is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions."

He spoke in direct contradiction to the theory of present-day republican leaders when in a speech delivered September 17, 1859, he said: "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 prevent the constitution."

In direct contradiction to the theory of present-day republican leaders Mr. Lincoln, in his annual message, December 3, 1861, said:

"Labor is prior to and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the highest consideration. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

Some of the things Mr. Lincoln said in his speech delivered at New Haven, Ct., March 6, 1860, do not at all resemble present-day repub-

lican doctrine. For instance on that occasion he said:

"I do not 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. When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat boat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have the chance in which he can better his condition, when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards, and finally to hire men to work for him. That is the true system."

The utter indifference manifested by present-day republican leaders toward the constitution and the impunity with which they disregard the explicit provisions of that document find strong and repeated condemnation in Mr. Lincoln's utterances. In a speech delivered September 15, 1858, he said:

"What do you understand by supporting the constitution of a state or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights established by that constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the constitution and believe that the constitution establishes a right, clear your oath without giving it support? Do you support the constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world."

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1861, he said: "Continue to exercise all the express provisions of our national constitution and the union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself."

There is a marked difference between the contempt shown for the Declaration of Independence by the present-day republican leaders and the reverence shown for that document by Mr. Lincoln. In a speech delivered at Philadelphia, February 22, 1861, he said: "All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn so far as I have been able to draw them from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this (Independence) hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence." In a speech delivered October 7, 1858, he said that the maxims as to the right of a people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness "were the just rules to be constantly adhered to." In a speech delivered February 21, 1861, he said: "I hope I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these (Independence Hall) holy and most sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if ever I prove false to those teachings."

Lincoln, unlike the managers of the republican party today, did not believe that such men as the Baers and other liberal contributors to the republican campaign fund were "trustees of God." In his speech delivered October 15, 1858, he said that there is an eternal struggle between two principles—right and wrong. He declared that these two principles "have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle." He added:

"The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil 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."

The habit of republican executives to usurp power not given to them was sternly condemned in a letter written by Mr. Lincoln February 15, 1848. In that letter he said:

"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 man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter and places our president where kings have always stood."

He provided an answer to the present-day republican sneer at self-government when in a speech delivered October 16, 1854, he said:

"What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism."

He provided a strong criticism of the present-day zeal for colonialism when in a speech delivered August 21, 1858, he protested against anything which "deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world and enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest."

The republican national platform of 1900, referring to the people of our new possessions promised "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law." In a speech delivered July 10, 1858, Mr. Lincoln referred to such arguments as these in the following words:

"Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument. * * * Turn in whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouths of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent."

When the republican leader claims Lincoln as his party's patron saint, he means that his party will take advantage of whatever prestige it may derive from that claim while not being hindered or embarrassed in its movements along un-American paths, by Lincoln's protests and counsels.

CAUCUS AND MACHINE

Referring to the enthusiasm republican leaders display in commending democrats who assert their independence on measures favored by these republican leaders, the Philadelphia Public Ledger hits the nail on the head when it says: "Some manifestation of independence among the republican senators on the important questions of policy might be really important."

In the opinion of some of these republican leaders, it is a mighty crime for a democratic caucus to undertake to describe a common line of action for senators representing the democratic party. Democratic senators must assert their independence and vote in accordance with the dictates of their conscience; but republican senators may set aside all conscientious scruples and succumb to republican party discipline or to the administration club.

Of course no one would undertake to say that a democratic senator should, even in the presence of a caucus resolution, vote in contradiction to his conscientious scruples. But why should the same rule not apply to the republican senators? Is there great difference between a resolution formally adopted by a party caucus and an organized effort operating upon senators in another party and requiring them to cast their votes in line with their party machine, and, in many instances, against their better judgment?