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COMMEMORATING
THE BIRTHDAYS OF
Abraham Lincoln
and
George Washington

PROCEEDINGS OF EXERCISES
COMMEMORATING THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
SPONSORED BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB
FOR STUDENTS OF CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY
PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

AT THE AUDITORIUM THEATRE

FEBRUARY 12, 1929

AND

ADDRESSES BY

PRESIDENT DAVID KINLEY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND
GOVERNOR THEODORE CHRISTIANSON OF MINNESOTA

AT THE

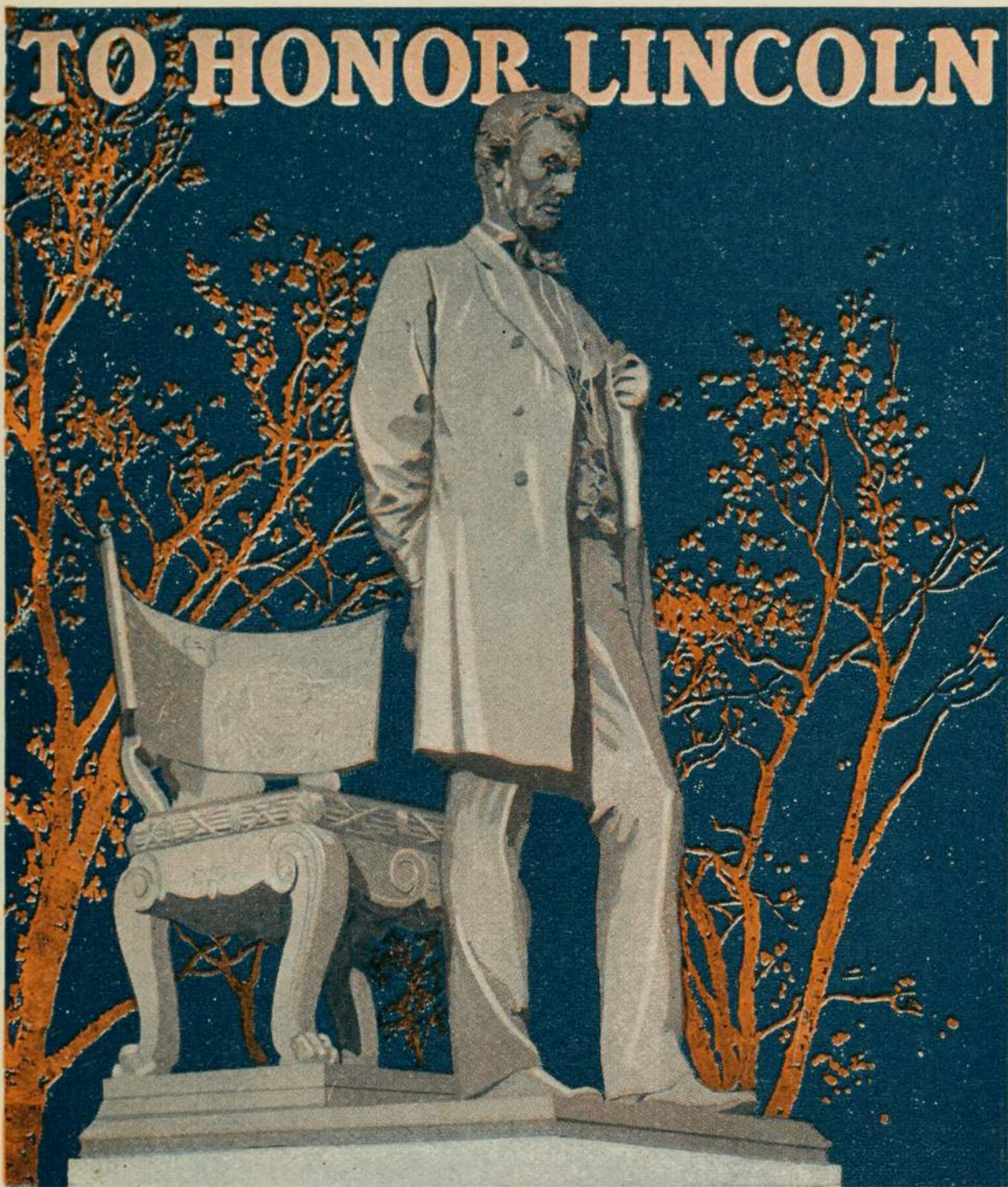
FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL WASHINGTON'S
BIRTHDAY DINNER

OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

FEBRUARY 21, 1929

Union League Club of Chicago

❖ 1929 ❖



SPONSOR—UNION LEAGUE CLUB
Auditorium Theatre, Feb. 12, 1929, 10 A. M.

Design by John S. Gehrmann of Lake View High School
Awarded First Prize in Poster Contest

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By Way of Introduction

Beginning in 1923, a city-wide celebration of the birthday of George Washington has been held annually with programs presented and participated in by students of the Public High Schools in co-operation with and under the auspices of the Union League Club of Chicago.

In 1929 these exercises were held in the Auditorium Theatre on February 12 and the theme was the life and service of Abraham Lincoln, Illinois' immortal son.

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY EXERCISES

Program at Auditorium Theatre
 LOUIS A. BOWMAN, Presiding
 Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee

- | | |
|---|---|
| Opening Musical Numbers, the Bands Alternating
MARCH—"AMERICAN CONQUEST" (Greenewald)....
MARCH—"EL CAPITAN" (Sousa).....
FANTASIA—"SOUTHERN MEMORIES" (Hecker).....
MARCH—"E PLURIBUS UNUM" (Jewell).....
PATROL—"AMERICAN PATROL" (Meacham).....
MARCH—"NATIONAL EMBLEM" (Bagley).....
SELECTION—"SONGS FROM THE OLD FOLKS" (Lake)
MARCH—"A SANTA CECILIA" (Raedelli).....
OVERTURE—"ARCADIA" (Laurens).....
SELECTIONS (Victor Herbert Favorites)..... | } .. <i>Band of Tilden Technical High School</i>
CAPTAIN HOWARD STUBE, <i>Director</i>

} .. <i>Girls' Band of Austin High School</i>
HUBERT E. NUTT, <i>Director</i> |
| FLAG RAISING, OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, AND MILITARY DRILL.....
..... <i>R. O. T. C. of Lake View High School</i>
A. D. LEE, <i>Commander</i> | |
| OATH OF ALLEGIANCE (All are requested to join and to repeat the Oath of Allegiance in unison):
"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." | |
| "STAR SPANGLED BANNER" | { <i>Audience, led by Schurz High School Choral Society</i>
CHARLES LAGERQUIST, <i>Conductor; accompanied by the Orchestra</i> |
| GREETINGS..... | { LOUIS A. BOWMAN
B. F. AFFLECK, <i>President, Union League Club</i>
WILLIAM J. BOGAN, <i>Superintendent of Schools</i> |
| OVERTURE TO "EGMONT" (Beethoven) .. | <i>Orchestra of Lane Technical High School</i>
OSCAR W. ANDERSON, <i>Conductor</i> |
| FINAL CONTEST IN PUBLIC SPEAKING—(Each Orator has earned the right to appear in this contest by defeating representatives of high schools in his or her respective division.) | |
| "Lincoln's Early Life, What Does It Mean to Me?".....
.....ROBERT DEARBORN of <i>Proviso High School</i> | |
| "Lincoln's Service to His Country, What Does It Mean to Me?".....
.....BERNARD COOPER of <i>Roosevelt High School</i> | |
| "Lincoln's Respect for Law, What Does It Mean to Me?".....
.....DOMINICK STABILE of <i>Crane High School</i> | |
| "Lincoln's Service to Humanity, What Does It Mean to Me?".....
.....DOROTHY FECHTMAN of <i>Commercial Continuation School</i> | |
| SELECTIONS FROM "MY MARYLAND" (Romberg).....
..... <i>Orchestra of Lane Technical High School</i> | |
| ODE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.....
.....HARRIET DUNNING of <i>Proviso Township High School</i> | |
| "WONDROUS LAND" (Donizetti—adaptation of the sextet from <i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i>).....
..... <i>Choral Society of Schurz High School</i>
CHARLES LAGERQUIST, <i>Conductor</i> | |
| Presentation of Awards to Divisional Speakers and Winners of Poster and Ode Writing Contests..... | JOHN BENHAM, <i>Chairman of Lincoln's Birthday Celebration Committee</i> |
| "HALLELUJAH CHORUS" from <i>The Messiah</i> | <i>Chorus of Schurz High School</i> |
| CABINET SCENE FROM <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> (by John Drinkwater).....
..... <i>Students from New Trier High School</i>
MISS ELISABETH STANWOOD, <i>Dramatic Director</i> | |
| Presentation of Award to New Trier High School..... | MR. BENHAM |
| Announcement of Decision of Judges as to Winner of Finals in Public Speaking Contest..... | MR. BENHAM |
| "AMERICA"..... | <i>Led by the Chorus and accompanied by the combined Bands</i> |

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY EXERCISES

By and for

Students of Senior High Schools of Chicago
and Cook County

Under the auspices of the
Union League Club of Chicago

Exercises by and for students of the Public High Schools of Chicago and Cook County, under the auspices of the Union League Club of Chicago were opened at the Auditorium Theatre, Chicago, February 12, 1929, at ten o'clock a. m., Louis A. Bowman, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, presiding.

Opening Musical Numbers, the Bands alternating, by Band of Tilden Technical High School, Captain Howard Stube, Director, and the Girls' Band of Austin High School, Hubert E. Nutt, Director.

Flag Raising was followed by the repeating of the Oath of Allegiance in unison, and the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner," by the audience, led by Schurz High School Choral Society, Charles Lagerquist, Conductor; accompanied by the Orchestra.

Military Drill, R. O. T. C. of Lake View High School, A. D. Lee, Commander, followed.

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: One of the objects of the Union League Club of Chicago is the inculcation of the spirit of patriotism. We know of no finer welcome that could be given to you on this the One Hundred and Twentieth Anniversary of one of the most significant events in the history of the Nineteenth Century than the demonstration which you have just witnessed.

The Union League Club welcomes you.

To convey formally the welcome of the Union League Club to this audience I have great pleasure in presenting the President of the Club, Mr. Benjamin Franklin Affleck. (Applause)

MR. AFFLECK: We are gathered here this morning as Mr. Bowman has said, to celebrate the One Hundred and Twentieth Anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

I am not here, however, to speak about Abraham Lincoln. Others have been appointed for that purpose and you will hear from them very soon. They will cover the subject in music, song, poetry, and oratory, and will do it well. It has been our privilege to hear some of them in private, and I can assure you, you will enjoy the program.

It is my function, however, to extend the welcome of the Club, and I take great pleasure in doing so, to the audience which has assembled this morning. And especially do I welcome and thank these high school students, the orchestra

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

and bands, the principals of the high schools, and others who will participate in these exercises.

Especially do we thank, and do I thank, on behalf of Mr. Benham, the chairman of our committee, the principals of the high schools who have given up Saturday afternoons and other times to meet with the committee and cooperate in working out the details.

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: By this time you are perfectly sure of the welcome of the Union League Club to this anniversary celebration. But this gathering would not be complete without the presence and the greeting of Chicago's superintendent of schools. (Applause) I present him to you, William J. Bogan. (Applause)

SUPERINTENDENT BOGAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Boys and Girls: I congratulate the Union League Club upon this long series of patriotic meetings that they inaugurated thirty years ago for the purpose of instilling into the hearts of the children of Chicago a love, a reverence, and a respect, first for the great founder of our nation, and now today for the great saviour of our nation.

The Union League Club has done better, I am sure, than it ever realized. It is an easy thing to read about these great men, Washington, Lincoln, and the others, but it takes something of a dramatic event, something of the spectacular to appeal—I was about to say, to children, but I am sure it would be true to say—to appeal to any of us. We love the spectacular, and I am sure you will all agree with me that to come down here to see the raising of the Star Spangled Banner, to hear the singing of that song, and to feel the emotions that are stirred up by the singing and the hearing of it is worth while in itself.

I don't know what the remainder of the program is to be, and I regret that another engagement will prevent me from seeing and hearing it. But from previous experience I can tell you all that it will be quite worth while. You will learn many a lesson that you would otherwise miss.

And for the general public—of course these principals and teachers from the public schools perhaps now take this all as a matter of course,—but to the general public, I want to point out to you the work of this chorus, the work of the great orchestra, the work of these bands, work that is almost of a professional nature, so superior is it. And I hope you will observe all those things and give credit to the public school system for much of the meritorious things you see and hear today.

I desire particularly to congratulate Mr. John Benham, chairman of the committee of the Union League Club, who has had this special work in charge for these many years, and I desire also to congratulate the special committee of the Union League Club under him, and the committee of high school principals. This event will remain long in the minds and hearts of every one who is to witness it today.

And for that, I as the representative of the public school, give thanks to the Union League Club. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: We are all grateful for and appreciative of these words from our superintendent of schools.

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Let us now, in accordance with his suggestion as to the appreciation of the work of these young people, listen to the orchestra of the Lane Technical High School.

OVERTURE TO "EGMONT" (Beethoven) .. *Orchestra of Lane Technical High School*
OSCAR W. ANDERSON, *Conductor*

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: You have already witnessed what would be in any future national emergency an indication of our nation's future first line of defense, but before we proceed further in our program, I want you all to see and greet the two members of the Union League Club who represent our nation's present line of defense. I am going to ask if he won't stand, Major General Paul B. Malone.

Also, we want you to see and to know, Rear Admiral Thomas T. Craven, Commandant of the great naval training station at Great Lakes. (Applause.)

We proceed now to four studies in the life of Lincoln, presented by four young leaders of leaders.

Our first speaker of this section of the program is Robert Dearborn of Proviso High School, who was the winner in his divisional group in speaking on "Lincoln's Early Life, What Does It Mean to Me?"

LINCOLN'S EARLY LIFE, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO ME?

By ROBERT DEARBORN of *Proviso High School*.

TODAY we young people are at a stage of our lives when we are conscious of the necessity of making our own definitions of education and of principles which must guide our future. We have been taught facts in the schools. We have been trained to certain lines of conduct in the church and the home. Now, we must apply these facts and principles to our own lives, but we need guidance in so doing.



Robert F. Dearborn of Proviso High School, Winner of County Divisional Speaking Contest

Biographies of men and women who have won renown are most valuable to us. Of all these famous people, the one who has best satisfied my questioning as to the meaning of education, and the worth-while principles of life, is *Abraham Lincoln*.

The story of the lady who forgot her change and Lincoln's walk of many miles to return it—the deserved title of Honest Abe—and again, at a time when honesty with himself meant political defeat—more than this, defeat of his cherished ambitions—Lincoln would not compromise, but stood firmly against the intrusion of slavery into non-slavery territory. All these anecdotes are more than interesting stories, they show all the perfection of his honesty.

This characteristic was germinated in the back woods, grew in New Salem, and blossomed into full glory at Washington. His sincerity is best shown in his own words:

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"Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other ambition so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellowmen by rendering myself worthy of this esteem."

Picture with me a small log cabin in the uncultured frontier of America. Next, a frontiersman, splitting rails to pay for a soiled book. Again, a store in New Salem with two partners, one of whom will not work, and thus the store going to ruin and the owners in debt. This was Lincoln's school. A school in which hardship was only too well known. Lincoln wanted to learn to read and write, so he stayed up nights by the light of the fire with a bit of charcoal for a pencil and a piece of board as a slate. It was because he wanted to, and not because he had to, that he found the true value of learning.

When Lincoln was working in a store, in a post-office, on a flat-boat, wrestling the town bully, or fighting in the Black Hawk War, he continually came into contact with people. When with them he did not hold himself aloof, but instead mingled with and learned from them. Then all he learned was translated in terms of human beings; it is because of this fact that he was not only a scholar, but also a statesman, and still more, a servant of humanity.

When Lincoln grew older and was given the greatest honor the American nation can bestow, he never forgot the common people. As Carl Schurz says: "There has never been a president in such constant and active contact with the public opinion of the country, as there never has been a president who, while at the head of the government, remained so near to the people. How they felt and how they reasoned he knew, for so he had once felt and reasoned himself."

When one man has the characteristics of honesty, humility, humor and fairness, with the schooling of hardships and intimate contact with people, we have crystallized for us the type of person one should strive to become. An individual who can weigh and consider problems with fairness. One who can understand his fellowmen and see the good and poor qualities. One who can predict future results from present facts, and who can see all sides of any question.

All these traits were those of Lincoln. What he means to me is a perfection humanly attainable. Although some modern writers have written apparently destructive criticisms of stories of the man Lincoln they to me, in no way, detract from his greatness but instead make him more definite, a clearer example of perfection humanly attainable.

"He has done the work of a true man; therefore we crown him, honor him, love him."

But greatest of all, you and I can learn from his younger life and make our own more perfect. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: "Lincoln's Service to His Country, What Does It Mean to Me?", Bernard Cooper of Roosevelt High School.

LINCOLN'S SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY, WHAT DOES IT
MEAN TO ME?

By BERNARD COOPER of *Roosevelt High School*.

WE judge men not by their personal achievements, not by their acquisitional faculties, not by their powers exerted in dominating others, but by their service to their country.



*Bernard Cooper of
Roosevelt High School,
Winner of North Side
Divisional Speaking
Contest*

To lead into freedom a people long subjected, to weld together the segments of a war-torn nation, to bind it with threads of unity, was to serve as only the truly great can serve. Abraham Lincoln was chosen by his people to guide them in that hour of storm and strife. Lincoln, the gaunt, the awkward and retiring, but Lincoln the man of the people. They were not ashamed of his humble origin—they were proud of his greatness. His was a threefold greatness,—great in life, great in death, great in the history of the world. Lincoln suffered only as the great can suffer. He gave as only the great can give—gave, that he might save the life of the greatest nation in this world. Great hungers flow out of great lives. Lincoln's hunger was the hunger of the great—to be of service and do good transcended all else.

Whence his emanation? Whence his power?
Whence his majestic oblivion? No one knew.

Whatever the sorrows of the man, whatever his hopes, he told them to no one, asked no one to share them.

In times of peace true genius is not aflame with the desire to serve, but when the crisis arises, when the curtain is raised, the man of the hour stands revealed. And like the true genius that he was, Lincoln rose from that raging sea of humanity to safely guide the ship of state through the turbulent waters. He listened to the roar from the South, "Let slavery rule the land!" and with the North he answered, "No! No! Never!" And that answer meant but one thing—a hell on earth—civil war. The South was pitted against the North; brother killed brother, and father killed son.

When smoke cleared away to reveal the bloody spectacle, the blue and grey lay in eternal slumber, side by side. Heroes all, they fell, face to face, brother against brother, to blot out a nation's sin. But through the mingled tears that fell alike upon the honored dead of both the North and South, hopeful eyes looked forward to a new prosperity and to a new power. To the conquerors and conquered, to the white man and the black, to the master and the slave, Abraham Lincoln brought God's providence, a new union.

Then came that day in January when the slaving millions cried aloud, "Give us drink! Thirst parches our throats." It was then that Lincoln put upon their altar of desire, the cup of liberty, that they, too, might taste of its nectar and forever enjoy its sweetness. And with this new birth of freedom came the

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realization that the Declaration of Independence granting life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, despite color, race, or creed, was at last being fulfilled. The Declaration of Independence had at last become a *living thing!* Democracy—more than a piece of paper!

At the moment when the stars of the Union, now sparkling and resplendent with the golden fires of liberty, were glittering over the Union, the sepulchre opened and Lincoln, the inspired, the redeemer of his nation, entered.

What does his service mean to you and me? There is no poverty of opportunity in these United States of America. Every boy and every girl is brought into this world with equal rights despite color, race, or creed. Lincoln born of humblest origin rose to heights of power and renown through his own efforts.

His service reveals the man with the indomitable spirit, teaching us that obedience to the laws of the land is the supreme duty of all.

Youth has always chosen its examples and it does well to regard him as an ideal not to be bowed down to and defied, but rather to be revered and worshipped from afar as a living standard!

Just as he guided his nation to unity and peace, so shall his immortal figure forever stand, guiding the youth of the world to righteousness. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: "Lincoln's Respect for Law, What Does It Mean to Me?", Dominick Stabile of Crane High School.

LINCOLN'S RESPECT FOR LAW, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO ME?

By DOMINICK STABILE of *Crane Technical High School*.

TO insure the welfare of humanity, the complex structure of society demands a multitude of laws. Laws on every subject have been drafted and enacted; but no legal code has ever successfully provided for an earnest respect for these laws. Only by example can the importance of respect for law

be taught to the youth of our country. Were I given the power to set up an example to every American boy and girl today, I would choose for a model none other than the backwoods rail-splitter, the honest store clerk, the ambitious lawyer, the martyred president, Abraham Lincoln.

His respect for law was the guiding star of his life. When but a youth, he first witnessed the sale of a slave upon the auction block, and this brutal treatment of a human being enkindled in him that firm resistance to slavery that characterized his later life. This hatred burned so deep within his heart that he resolved to crush its growth.

Years later the people by free and lawful choice placed in his hands the strongest power in the land. Not only could he control the legislation of congress, but he was the supreme authority to execute it. Yet now that the time was at hand to accomplish the purpose nearest to his heart, his respect for law defeated him. Opposition to slavery was superseded by his love for the constitution. Rather than dissolve the

Union, he thrust aside his personal antagonism to slavery. He even accepted Civil War in order to preserve the constitution. Deeper than human law,



*Dominick Stabile
of Crane Technical
High School, Winner
of West Side Divisional
Speaking Contest*

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however, is human justice, on which all law should be founded. By the Emancipation Proclamation finally, Lincoln lawfully satisfied his sense of justice.

In his early struggles before the bar, he refused any case where victory depended on unethical means. Carl Sandburg's "Abraham Lincoln," referring to such a case, quotes him as saying to a colleague, "The man is guilty. You defend him; I can't." Yet this stern respect for law was tempered by mercy. On one occasion, when a young sentinel was sentenced to be shot for having fallen asleep while on duty, Lincoln used his executive privilege to pardon the son of a widowed mother.

We strive to emulate the noble deeds of those whom we revere. When I am called upon to judge between right and wrong, recalling how this man sacrificed his personal feelings will help me to do likewise. In my daily life I am inspired by his examples to act on principles as he did. In his own words, "Right makes might, and in that faith we do our duty as we understand it." Whether at home, in society, and in business, I will always carry with me like Lincoln an earnest and sincere belief that it is better to fail by honest means than to win by dishonesty. Abraham Lincoln's persistent courage in striving for the cause of right, teaches me not to lose faith but unfalteringly to fight legally and fairly for such administration of the law as will secure justice.

No human foresight can perceive how long the names of great men will be remembered in history; even against the ebb and flow of the tide of time that washes away so many names, the fame of Abraham Lincoln will stand unequalled. He was law-abiding. In him is embodied that respect for law that has made American democracy, democratic. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: Winners in these friendly contests in studying and speaking of Lincoln are not limited to high school boys. We have particular pleasure in presenting the next and final speaker—a high school girl—"Lincoln's Service to Humanity, What Does It Mean to Me?", Dorothy Fechtman of Commercial Continuation School.

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LINCOLN'S SERVICE TO HUMANITY, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO ME?

By DOROTHY FECHTMAN of *Commercial Continuation School*.

OF Abraham Lincoln, the man, we know much. His struggles as a lawyer, his debates with Douglas, "the little giant," his statesmanship and services to the country. His was not the greatness of genius, nearly always selfish; but his was the greatness of common sense and tenderness. He was a great nationalist, not only in his political vision, but in this—that he knew and loved both sections of the country. We find in him every tendency true to one main motive; and that was to serve mankind.



Dorothy Fechtman of Commercial Continuation School, Winner of South Side Divisional Speaking Contest

When Lincoln was a young man, he took a cargo of produce down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. Later he and his boat companion sauntered through the slave market where they saw husbands and wives, children, brothers, sisters, and friends being auctioned off, sold, and separated forever. Lincoln exclaimed, "If I ever get the chance to hit that thing on the head, I will hit it hard—by the Eternal God." Who was he to do such a thing? Why he was only a boatman, a teamster, a splitter of rails, a backwoodsman! Nothing more. The thing he wanted to hit was incorporated into the framework of society, legalized in the states, and entrenched in the state and church alike.

Was there the remotest possibility that he would ever be able to smite such an institution? Was it some illumination of the spirit forecasting for the moment the impending conflict between right and wrong in which he was to take a conspicuous part? The hour of the nation was to come, and with it the golden moment for the slave. Then it was the very same hand that was lifted in solemn oath before God in that New Orleans slave market, that took up the God-inspired pen of liberty and wrote the emancipation proclamation which forever abolished the slave market, slave master, and slave. Lincoln discussed not the system of modern industry, but he did discuss the system of negro slavery in its economic aspects and contrasted it with free labor.

A few days before Lincoln's inauguration, Wm. E. Dodge, a New York merchant prince, stood waiting his turn to get a few words to Lincoln. He addressed him by saying, "The whole country is waiting for your inaugural address." And then he added, "It is for you, sir, to say whether the whole nation shall be plunged into bankruptcy; or whether the grass shall grow in the streets of our commercial cities."

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"Then I say it shall not," Lincoln replied with a twinkle in his eye. "For if it depends on me, the grass shall not grow anywhere but in the fields and meadows."

"Then you will yield to the just demands of the south. You will leave her to control her own institutions, you will admit slave states into the Union under the same conditions as you admit the free states; and you will not go to war on account of slavery."

A sad but stern expression swept across Lincoln's face as he said, "I do not know that I understand your meaning, Mr. Dodge. Nor do I know what my actions or opinions may be in the future beyond this—that if I ever reach the office of the President of the United States, I will take an oath, and I will do my best to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution. But it shall not be preserved, protected nor defended until it is obeyed in every part of every one of the United States. It must be so, let the grass grow where it may."

After his election, Lincoln faced the greatest domestic crisis in history. He was determined that the Union be preserved, even if in saving it, slavery existed for a time. His common sense told him that the Constitution was the only thing that held the states together and that a union of the states was the only salvation of the nation. And his first message to the people was not a call to arms to abolish slavery, but was an appeal to stand by the Union. His stand held the border states and solidified the northern states, regardless of party, and brought the enthusiastic support of all those who were opposed to the destruction of the Union.

The proclamation of emancipation was a war measure which went into effect on the first of January in eighteen hundred and sixty-three. The question then arose as to whether it would hold after the war was over. Lincoln believed that with the return of peace the voters of each state would have to decide whether that state should be a free or a slave state.

The world of yesterday, the world of today, and of the future, shall always regard him the highest combination of heart, conscience and brain ever produced in our country or in any other land. When the people's greatest task was near, he held them to do it. He recemented the Union, for if he had not, we, the American people would not be living here as we are today. Lincoln was a true type and exemplar of his country, race, and government, for in him was typified the cause of human liberty. He wore honor without pride, wielded power without oppression, lived as a peasant through necessity of birth and fortune, reigned as a monarch by right of representative instinct, native intellect, wisdom of humanity, and love for his fellowmen. He died a martyr and was wept by the entire civilized world.

Thus fell the great seer of the age, without regret, his mission achieved, his work complete, bequeathing his great heritage to the nation and to all mankind. Abraham Lincoln's life has become a household example in the American home. His birthplace in Kentucky has become a shrine—and his prophetic vision of a re-united nation has become a reality. What a reality! We need but contemplate the power today of our free institutions, of our great commercial progress, the statue of American labor among the toilers of the world, the place

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of our nation today among the courts of the world, to realize the depths, the heights, the magnitude of Abraham Lincoln's service to the nation and to all humanity.

Into our hands he has placed the torch. Ours be the task to hold it high; ours be the wisdom to fathom the need; ours be the strength to serve; ours be the will to strive for the betterment of mankind; ours be the hearts to love the freedom of man, even as he, the great kindly, pioneer in service, who lifted the world—Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: After these four inspiring speeches, let us now turn again to the inspiration of music.

SELECTION FROM "MY MARYLAND" (Romberg) *Orchestra of Lane Technical High School*

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: Proviso Township High School is twice a winner in these exercises and again a girl student wins over the boy. The first prize for writing an Ode to the Flag of the United States goes to Miss Harriet Dunning, of Proviso Township High School.



*Harriet Dunning
Winner of Ode
Writing Contest.*

TO THE FLAG OF AMERICA

*Prize Winning Ode by Harriet Dunning of
Proviso Township High School.*

O FLAG, in your unfurled beauty
You symbolize all that we love and honor.
High on the ice at the top of the world
Desolate, silent, cold,
Where few men before have trod,
Waves the flag of America,
The spirit of America's courage
And adventure
Afar in the fields of poignant tragedy
Where once were war and strife,
Stand the crosses of our dead.
Above waves the flag of America,
The spirit of America's loyalty
And sacrifice
High on the rafters of a great hall
Where sit a hundred men
At a World Conference,
With other flags

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Hangs the flag of America,
The symbol of America's desire
For peace
Toward what—this sacrifice and war
This never-ceasing flood
Of humans always striving?
What do you stand for, Flag?
Deep in the heart of American youth
There burned these hidden questions.
He waited, and watched, and served;
He learned
O Flag,
You shelter in your folds
The restlessness of the adventurer
The loyalty of the warrior,
The faith and courage of the friend,
The serenity of the peace-lover,
The laughter of care-free youth,
The tears of Gold-Star mothers,
And man's reverence for his God.
You are the soul of patriotism
And trust,
The dauntless spirit
Of America.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: Some folks say that when a man passes seventy years of age his usefulness is over. I remind you at this moment that the chairman of our sub-committee on all these arrangements, is well past eighty and that he is at the highest point of his youthfulness today and still going strong. (Applause.) Mr. Benham.

JOHN BENHAM: The chairman is a little bit ahead of his time. There is a wonderful chorus and I am going to give you 300 voices in place of one before you hear mine.

In the meantime these young gentlemen will furnish us with some more of their wonderful orchestral music while we change the platform.

MUSIC.....*Band of Tilden Technical High School*

"WONDROUS LAND" (Donizetti—adaptation of the sextette from

Lucia di Lammermoor).....*Choral Society of Schurz High School*

CHARLES LAGERQUIST, *Conductor*

MR. BENHAM: Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, Members of the Public High Schools of the City of Chicago and County of Cook, Guests and Members of the Union League Club: For more than forty years it has been the custom of the Union League Club to honor the memory of Washington on the twenty-second of February, and for the past six years the prominent feature of these occasions has been the exercises sponsored by the Union League Club,

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but provided and furnished by the talent of the young men and young women of the public high schools of the City of Chicago and the County of Cook.

Arrangements for these celebrations have been under the auspices of a small sub-committee of the Public Affairs Committee of the Union League Club, five in number. They have been figureheads, because we have had twelve principals, three from each division of the city, three from the county, Mr. Buck, the assistant superintendent of schools, Mr. Tower, the District Superintendent, who have done the work. We have sat by and looked on, and it is to these men more than to any others that today the wonderful success of this occasion is to be given.

It has been my privilege to be a member of this committee for the entire time and I wish on behalf of the Club to express my deep appreciation to these gentlemen for this wonderfully loyal support.

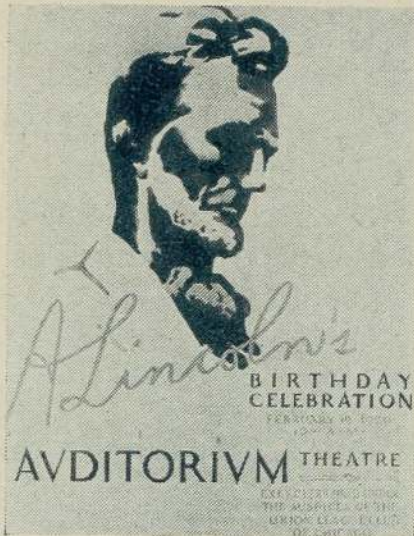
This year is a departure in a measure, for the reason that for six successive years we have been studying about the great Father of His Country, and we thought it was time that we should have something to say, something to study about the great emancipator, Lincoln, who was given to the nation by our own state. (Applause.)

Today you heard these four orations about Lincoln, about his life. About "What Does It Mean to Me?" The lesson that these boys and girls are going to take home, because over 100 of them have been studying about Lincoln. Over a hundred were tested out in their own schools. I heard twenty-two out of the twenty-six in the divisional contests. These are samples of the splendid orations I heard from these boys and girls. Nearly all of them were worthy to be presented to this audience.

It is our custom to give a medal to the young people who take prominent part on these occasions. The high schools, somehow, do not like to let us give anything of value, tangible value, and I am going to tell you about one of the medals. They are all alike excepting the inscription. This is a bronze medal that bears in the center of a wreath the face of Abraham Lincoln. And on the border, "Union League Club, Chicago, February 12, 1929. Awarded to Dorothy Fechtman, Commercial Continuation School. Speaker on "Lincoln's Service to Humanity, What Does It Mean to Me?" (Applause.)

Mr. Benham then presented medals to Dorothy Fechtman, Commercial Continuation School, winner of south side divisional speaking contest, Robert Dearborn, Proviso Township High School, winner of county divisional speaking contest, Bernard Cooper, Roosevelt High School, winner of north side divisional speaking contest, Dominick Stabile, winner of west side divisional speaking contest, and Harriet Dunning, winner of contest in writing an ode to the Flag of the United States. In addition to a medal Miss Harriet Dunning was presented with a flag given her for her school.

MR. BENHAM: Seventy-five posters were sent to the Union League Club in this contest. The one chosen as the best you will notice was reproduced on the front of your program, but does not do the original justice. To this young man, John S. Gehrmann, of Lake View High School, goes a medal similar to the others.

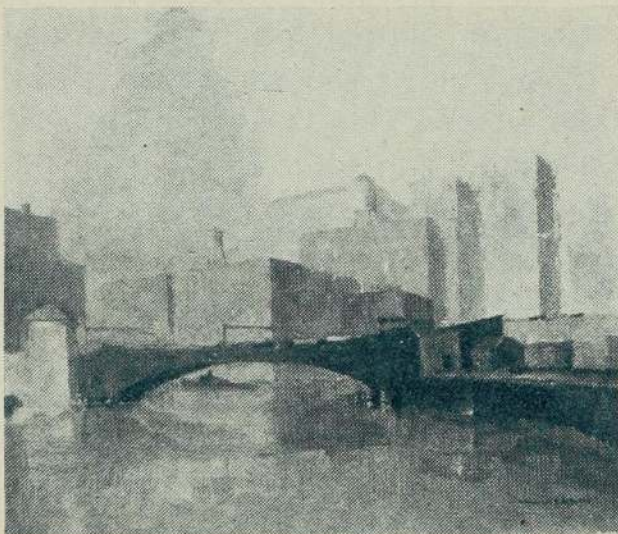


Design by Arthur Surin of Hoyne Continuation School, Awarded Second Prize in Poster Contest



Designed by Ralph Johnstone of J. Sterling Morton High School, Awarded Third Prize in Poster Contest

In addition to that he has tuition for a time at the Art Institute. The other prize winners have tuition in an institute of which my friend Mr. Harry L. Timmins is the president. He is not a member of the Union League Club, but he is so interested in these matters that he gave these tuitions—two of them.



*"A Corner of the City"
By William Sproat
Won by Bernard Cooper for Roosevelt High School*

Three years ago the winner, William Sproat, used the privileges at the Art Institute. Last year he produced one of the paintings such as we give to the high schools. It was not selected among the five, but it was so good that we bought it and this year that same boy, only twenty years old, produced one of these paintings that was among the chosen five. These paintings go to the schools represented by these four speakers. (Applause.)

The five paintings by young Chicago artists, awarded purchase prizes in the competition conducted annually by the Union League Club for Chicago artists under thirty-one years of age, were then displayed. Mr. Benham

awarded four of the paintings to the high schools represented in the divisional speaking contest, as follows:

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"Fishing Shacks"

By Wilfrid C. Barton

*Won by Robert F. Dearborn for
Proviso High School*



"Adam's Place, Forest Preserve"

By Carl T. Linden

*Won by Dominick Stabile for
Crane Technical High School.*

"Fishing Shacks," by Wilfrid C. Barton, won by Robert Dearborn for Proviso High School.

"A Corner of the City," by William Sproat, won by Bernard Cooper for Roosevelt High School.

"Tall Towers," by Edithe Jane Cassady, won by Dorothy Fechtman for Commercial Continuation School.

"Adam's Place, Forest Preserve," by Carl T. Linden, won by Dominick Stabile for Crane Technical High School.

"HALLELUJAH CHORUS" from *The Messiah*.....Chorus of Schurz High School

The Cabinet Scene from Drinkwater's Abraham Lincoln, was then presented by a cast from New Trier High School, Miss Elisabeth Stanwood, Dramatic Director. The cast was as follows:

- Secretary of War Stanton.....Carl Hall*
- Secretary of State Seward.....John Betak*
- Secretary of the Treasury Chase.....Dorrance Nygaard*
- Secretary Hook.....Martin Cassell*
- Postmaster General Blair.....John Atwood*
- Secretary of the Navy Welles.....Kingsley Karnopp*
- Secretary to the President John Hay.....William Gibson*
- President Lincoln.....Mr. Myron E. Duckles*

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New Trier Cast in Lincoln Scene. Left to right: Martin Cassell, Jr., as Hood (fictitious cabinet member); John Atwood, as Postmaster Blair; Kingsley Karnopp, as Secretary Welles; Dorrance Nygaard, as Secretary Chase; William Gibson, as John Hay, Secretary to the President; M. E. Duckles as Abraham Lincoln; Carl Hall, as Secretary Stanton; and John Betak, as Secretary Seward.

Mr. Benham then presented the prize painting, "Sand Dunes," by Fred Darge, to New Trier High School, for the presentation of the Cabinet Scene.



*"Sand Dunes"
By Fred Darge
Presented to New Trier High School*



*"Tall Towers"
By Edythe Jane Cassady
Won by Dorothy Fechtman
for Commercial Continuation School*

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MR. BENHAM: That you may know who are the judges who sat in the audience to listen to the four orations, I will give you their names: Oliver R. Barrett, A. H. Boettcher, C. S. Cutting, George S. Dalgety, E. J. Gilson, Harry P. Harrison, W. M. Hopkins, C. M. Moderwell, and Carl J. Sharp.

Mr. Robert Dearborn has been chosen. (Applause.) You know, I always leave the climax until the last. I want to congratulate Robert because, while he is not the winner of the first prize he is placed second. I think it is a very great honor. (Applause.)

It is now my pleasure to present the winner of the first prize, Dorothy Fechtman. I am told that she was the unanimous choice of the judges. To her the Union League presents, in addition to the medal she received, this splendid picture of Lincoln, presented by one of the members of the Club—Moffett's are the photographers.

The Club is going a little bit farther. We are going to send Dorothy and a companion for a three-day trip to Springfield, Illinois, where she is going to be able to study something of our State; she is going to see the monument to Lincoln, other memorials to Lincoln, and the relics of Lincoln, and we are hoping she will have a wonderful time. Arrangements will be made for her special entertainment at Springfield. (Applause.)

On behalf of the President of the Union League Club, Mr. Affleck, Mr. Bowman, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, and the committee having immediate charge of the arrangements, I wish to thank this audience for their very patient and courteous attention.

CHAIRMAN BOWMAN: Whether oratory, or music, or the drama, or history, or the spirit of patriotism, these morning hours of Lincoln's birthday have been memorable. We are now ready for the closing number, everybody singing "America," led by the chorus and accompanied by the combined bands.

PRIZE WINNING ODES TO THE FLAG.

Awarded Second Place in Ode Writing Contest.

By SYLVIA KATZ of Roosevelt High School.

Flag of Battles,

Where have you led us?

Where guns defiance roar and shells sing loud,

You go before, inviolate and proud.

Through din of conflict and the screaming

Your valiant colors still are streaming.

And when within your drooping folds are borne

Our loved hero dead, oh, do not mourn—

For still within you lives the patriot's breath,

Eternal Spirit, dauntless over death.

O, Flag of Battles!

Flag of Peace,

Where have we found you?

Where wheels of industry unceasing turn,

Your spirit's there; and where our children learn;

Where'er our vessels, heavy-laden go
You flaunt the breeze, inviting all to know.
And when the daily strife comes to an end,
And footsteps to the friendly hearth-fire wend,
Wherever we may turn for rest and cover,
Your stars and stripes protectingly will hover.
O, Flag of Peace!

Flag of Glory,
Where have we placed you?
Where fame undying crowns the best that man can do
You stand supreme, fair symbol of the fine and true.
From pole to distant pole, from sea to mighty sea,
Where man has dared to dream, you wave triumphantly.
When hope seeks virgin wastes, unchartered seas to span,
When youth does breathless deeds, undreamed before by man,
What though the steady cadence cease, or bright wing fail?
The more renown to you, O Flag, who blazed the trail.
O, Flag of Glory!

Flag of Flags,
Who stands before you?
Unfurl your colors in the sacred places
O flag, that binds a multitude of races,
And let your singing voice far heavenward soar,
Tell all the world, "Such flag was ne'er before!"
When other flags are bowed 'neath age-long sorrow,
You scorn trials of the past; seek but tomorrow
Flag of calm and conflict, flag of liberty,
Where flies there one so beautiful, so free?
O, Flag of Flags!

Awarded Third Place.

By GWENDOLEN JAMES *of Austin High School.*

Across far, solitary, cloud-crowned peaks,
Across a river's wide slow thoroughfare,
Across the five-fold blue of inland deeps,
And far across calm fields, sunlit and fair—
Across a nation's breathing, fertile breast
A far-flung shadow flickers, falls to rest.
And high amid the heavens, near to Him
Who loves the things it stands for, floats our flag;
Mirror of stars, of sunlight, and of dim
Deep blue of sky that spans o'er plain and crag.
A cold fresh breeze caresses it a-wing,
It leaps and falls, a living vibrant thing.
A million men, old flag, have died for you,

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But he who calls himself American
Has still a humble glorious work to do—
Confirm his love for flag and countryman.
And we who have not died for you can give
A far more precious gift than death!—we live!
Then fling your shadow o'er a nation's face!
Accept our hearts, accept our humble prayer.
And if, in time of trial or disgrace,
Our souls are fraught with anguish and despair,
If mortal hearts are weak, remember then
That you're a flag!—and we are only men.

Students receiving honorable mention in the contests:

Public Speaking—County: Harriet Smythe of Bloom Township High School; West Side: Louis Swichkow of Medill High School; North Side: James A. Bentley of Lane Technical High School, and South Side: John Gregory of Tilden Technical High School.

Poster Design—Second prize, Arthur A. Surin of Hoyne Continuation School; third prize, Ralph Johnstone of J. Sterling Morton High School.

Honorable Mention—William McKendrick, Englewood High School; Joseph Scalamera, Englewood High School; Axel Anderson, Lake View High School; Marcel Girod, Austin High School; Thomas Wess, Englewood High School; Abel Levrant, Marshall High School; Dorothy May Johnson, Bowen High School; William Stark, Waller High School.

Writing An Ode to the Flag of the United States—Second prize, Sylvia Katz of Roosevelt High School; third prize, Gwendolen James of Austin High School.

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY DINNER

of the

Union League Club of Chicago

6:30 o'clock February 21, 1929

In Its Clubhouse

PROGRAM

BENJ. F. AFFLECK, *Presiding, President of the Union League Club*

Invocation.....FREDERICK F. SHANNON, D. D.
Minister of Central Church

Songs.....BARRE HILL
PORTER HEAPS at the Piano

Bondage*Test*

Aspiration*Cox*

Even Bravest Heart (Faust).....*Gounod*

Address—"If Washington Came Back".....DAVID KINLEY
President of the University of Illinois

Songs.....MR. HILL
Remembrance (written for Barre Hill).....*Tabor*
Sleigh (A la Russe)*.....*Kountz*
Dawn Awakes.....*Braine*

Introduction.....J. A. O. PREUS
Former Governor of Minnesota

Address.....THEODORE CHRISTIANSON
Governor of Minnesota

BENJAMIN F. AFFLECK: Dr. Frederick F. Shannon will invoke the Divine Blessing.

INVOCATION.

By FREDERICK F. SHANNON, D. D., *Minister of Central Church, Chicago.*

ALmighty GOD, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for our country and for its service in advancing human welfare. We bless Thee for our Founding Fathers—for their wisdom, their patriotism, their humanity, their devotion to truth and justice.

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Among Thy chiefest gifts to our earth are good men and great; therefore, we give Thee thanks for the life, character, achievements, and memory of Washington. May we not honor him merely with our lips; but grant us, we beseech Thee, grace and will to reproduce his principles, his moral majesty, his self-sacrifice in our own individual, social, national, and international relations.

Grant Thy guidance to those who shall interpret this life here and throughout the land on the day of his birth. May we highly resolve to hand forward the institutions which he and his fellow-servants have bequeathed to their children.

We pray in the name of our Lord and Master. Amen.

MR. AFFLECK: I shall read a telegram from Governor Emmerson.

"I regret my inability to attend the occasion of the Union League Club's forty-second anniversary honoring Washington's birthday. State matters are demanding all of my time and account for my inability to attend.

"Allow me to extend my best wishes for the occasion and join with the membership in their appreciation at having two so distinguished speakers as Governor Christianson and President Kinley.

"LOUIS L. EMMERSON, *Governor of Illinois.*"

MR. AFFLECK: Barre Hill of the Chicago Civic Opera Co. will sing a group of songs, with Porter Heaps at the piano.

(Mr. Hill sings.)

MR. AFFLECK: Ladies and gentlemen:

THE organic law of the Club as set forth in its charter says that "the object for which it is formed is:

"1st. To encourage and promote by moral, social and political influence, unconditioned loyalty to the Federal Government, and to defend and protect the integrity and perpetuity of this nation.

"2nd. To inculcate a higher appreciation of the value and sacred obligations of American citizenship; to maintain the civil and political equality of all citizens in every section of our common country, and to aid in the enforcement of all laws enacted to preserve the purity of the ballot-box.

"3rd. To resist and oppose corruption and promote economy in office, and to secure honesty and efficiency in the administration of national, state and municipal affairs."

This Club began in 1887 the observance annually of Washington's birthday. Some years ago an amendment was written into the By-Laws providing for this observance and charging the Public Affairs Committee with responsibility for the arrangements. Mr. Louis A. Bowman is chairman of this Committee. Mr. Bowman, will you please rise? (Mr. Bowman rises.)

The Public Affairs Committee has for several years functioned on these occasions through a sub-committee headed by our beloved friend and associate, John Benham, who sits at my left and who has for a number of years been its chairman. Let us hope he will continue this work for many years to come. Mr. Benham, will you please rise? (Mr. Benham rises.)

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For a number of years the commemoration of Washington's birthday took the form of a program at the Auditorium Theatre in the morning and a dinner at the clubhouse in the evening of Washington's birthday. From 1923 to 1928 the morning program has consisted of exercises at the Auditorium or at Medinah Temple provided by the high schools of Chicago, co-operating with the sub-committee of this Club. This year it was decided by the joint committee of high school principals (a number of whom are here this evening) and the Club's sub-committee to observe Lincoln's as well as Washington's birthday; therefore on Lincoln's birthday the Club sponsored, in co-operation with the high schools, exercises at the Auditorium consisting of orchestral and band music, an oratorical contest, songs by the Carl Schurz High School Chorus, reading of the prize ode to the flag, presentation of medals in a poster contest, an address by Supt. W. J. Bogan of the Chicago schools, etc. Those who attended these exercises can testify that they afforded not only delightful entertainment but inspiration of high order. The commemoration of Washington's birthday this year consists of this annual dinner.

Joseph Priestley said over a century ago that "no man is fit to be entrusted with the control of the *Present*, who is ignorant of the *Past*, and no *People*, who are indifferent to their *Past*, need hope to make their future great." The commemoration of birthdays of the great men who lived in the past is an indication that this Club at least is not indifferent to the past, and I may say that this season to a greater extent than ever before this Club has paid attention to the founding of the Government and to the men who did so much in shaping its affairs in its early years. The Club for the first time observed Constitution Day on September 17 when Honorable James M. Beck of Philadelphia delivered a masterly address on the Constitution from this platform. We turned our thoughts to Benjamin Franklin when we heard an address by Benjamin Franklin Shambaugh of the State University of Iowa on Franklin's birthday, January 17. We commemorated Lincoln's birthday February 12 as I have just described and we are here tonight to commemorate the birthday of the Father of His Country.

During the Constitutional Convention where for four long, hot months the delegates struggled with the problem of designing a system of government, proposals were made to write into that document certain provisions which were not sound in principle but which it was thought were necessary to please the people and to secure its ratification. Washington at that time said, "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God." How few men we have in public office today who have the courage to adhere to sound principles which may be unpopular with the voters!

We are fortunate in having with us on this occasion two distinguished guests of honor and speakers. David Kinley is a member of this Club. He is head of that great institution of which every Illinoisan is so proud—the University of Illinois. *Who's Who in America* tells us that President Kinley was born in Scotland. The record of his life is a long one. He holds many degrees,

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is a member of many organizations of various kinds, author of many monographs, books, pamphlets and magazine articles. He was a delegate to the Fourth International Conference of the American States called the Pan-American Congress at Buenos Aires in 1910. Dr. Kinley's address will be broadcast by Station WLS through the courtesy of Burrige D. Butler of the *Prairie Farmer*. I take great pleasure in introducing Dr. Kinley.

IF WASHINGTON CAME BACK

Address by DAVID KINLEY, President of the University of Illinois.

IT is not my purpose to discuss Washington's personal or public history. I want to ask your attention for a few minutes to some of his ideals and purposes and ambitions for his country and his countrymen. I would recall some of the great things he hoped for in behalf of his country and his countrymen that we may ask ourselves how far, if at all, we are fulfilling his hopes



*President David Kinley
of the University of Illinois*

and discharging the debt we owe him. Have we kept the faith? If Washington were to return what would he say? Nor does time permit me to try to answer this question with reference to all of Washington's patriotic ambitions and, therefore, I select but two or three.

Of all of Washington's ideals and hopes for his country, there are three that I want to emphasize this evening. The first is devotion of the individual citizen to the service of his country; the second, obedience to law; and the third the development of that unity of ideals and purposes among our people which is the heart of what we mean by "Americanism."

In that immortal farewell address, enshrined in the memory of the American people, he tells us that he asks no other reward than to share "in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart." In his address to the Governors, he urged them to forget local prejudices and to make the mutual concessions necessary for the general prosperity, and at times to sacrifice individual advantages to the common interests.

As Doctor Van Dyke says "here we find the source and origin of a sublime consecration." This motive of service to his fellow-countrymen animated him all through his career. In the dark days of Valley Forge he cried out, "If I know my own mind, I could offer myself a living sacrifice to the butchering

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enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's case." Devotion to the public welfare, a constant ideal, an everliving impulse, in Washington's life a legacy of command to us. Have we kept the faith?

I would answer, on the whole, "yes." Yet we need to ask the question. To be sure, not all of Washington's contemporaries could say "yes" to this question any more than all of us fellow-Americans of today can do so. In his day, as in ours, factional strife and private interests ran counter to the public welfare. Yet I sometimes think that they do so more strongly today, in proportion, than we could wish. Our geographical sectionalism has passed away, we trust, forever.

I have thought as I have studied social problems for thirty years and more that there was emerging among us a certain class sectionalism based mainly upon differences of economic interests. We speak, for example, of the interests of the agricultural class, of the laboring class, of business, and so on. It is true that there are interests peculiar to special economic classes and that in certain respects at times these appear to clash. The general welfare, meaning thereby the welfare of the larger number, may sometimes require action that may prevent the attainment of the ambitions of the smaller number, but the former must prevail.

The agricultural problem, the labor problem, are not problems of the farmer and the laborer alone or primarily. They are to be looked on as problems of general interest and solved in such a way as to promote the general welfare. If conditions should arise that boded the elimination, for example, of an independent agricultural class the general welfare would require action to prevent that occurrence, altogether aside from the interests of the agricultural class itself.

We must solve our agricultural problem because it is a problem of general interest. This must be the underlying motive. And so of the others. If we forget this and insofar as we forget it in our legislation and our social conduct we promote class sectionalism. Sympathetic consideration of one another's difficulties is a necessary condition of the solution of problems of this kind and the maintenance of that ideal of general welfare necessary to produce that "benign influence of good laws under a free government" should ever be our aim as it was Washington's. In the present state of public opinion we need, I think, to ask ourselves again the question whether in this matter we have kept the faith.

Washington was clear as to the necessity of obedience to law—another matter concerning which we today need a searching of the heart. "The Constitution," he tells us, "which at any time exists, till changed by explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government."

Washington denounces "combinations and associations . . . with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities." He recognizes, of course, the right of the people to change the Constitution and the law even by revolution, if necessary, as a

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last resort. He could not think otherwise, being himself the head of a government that was the product of revolution.

Obedience to law—the doctrine of Washington, and Lincoln, and Marshall, and Hamilton, and every man who has contributed to make America what America is. Obedience to law even by those who would change the law—yet with the right to public discussion, to direct public opinion into their channels and to bring it to take their views. The right to agitate for any change in law or constitution, but by constitutional and lawful means. Have we kept the faith? Again, on the whole, yes. But are we not too negligent of the seemingly increasing group who seek to change or even to overthrow some law and even the Constitution by extra constitutional methods?

I desire to emphasize particularly the third of Washington's great hopes and ambitions—the emergence of a national individuality, a nation with a distinctive character, an American people. The word "Americanism" has been and sometimes now is, according to circumstances, a shibboleth of patriotism or a flippant epithet of camouflaged insincerity or cowardice. This is possible because, as it seems to me, no definite meaning of common acceptability has yet been given to the word. Yet I believe it is what Washington had in mind in laying as he did so much emphasis on national unity. He strove to establish this unity, by his labors to replace the Confederacy with the Union, by his efforts in behalf of the Constitution, by his advice to keep apart from the affairs of other nations, and by his economic policy for the development of the country.

We needed the isolation produced by the absence of entangling alliances. We needed the central government necessary to co-ordinate diverging political opinions within the country. We needed the economic development that would produce a group of interests common to different sections of the country. Hence, as I say, he pleaded for national political isolation, for domestic political concentration, and for an economic community of interests. Through these three, he looked for the development of a real Americanism. Has it come about?

We Americans are sometimes accused of lack of culture. We are said to have no ideals. Our whole history contradicts both statements. We have not had the culture that is based upon leisure given to the study of aesthetics as had Greece and in a degree later on some of the nations of Europe. This was the cultural ideal of Mathew Arnold and his ilk for the absence of which they criticised us. We have not founded our culture, as did modern Germany, mainly upon the attainment of scientific knowledge and its application, great as have been our strides in that direction. We have not followed the scientific ideal of Huxley. Rather have we, like Carlyle, made the ideal of achievement based upon work the main feature of our culture, of our distinctive national temperament and character.

Work was the necessary condition of our national success in the first century and a half of our existence as a separate people. For the economic conquest of the Continent was the first task of our people. Therefore work was necessary for the achievement of this end,—to put at our service the tremendous natural resources that our country furnished. In accomplishing this conquest we devel-

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oped an indomitable spirit of work, a desire to achieve, and have felt the thrill that comes from successful achievement. It is for this reason that we have been sometimes called "dollar chasers." But the dollar is an incident. Achievement is the main end.

The will to do and the power to achieve have given us a national character distinct in those respects, at any rate in their intensity, from the character of any other people. The development of this spirit has conduced to that unity that Washington desired. It is the spirit of modern business in America—achievement for the general welfare, although incidentally bringing personal success. The danger is that the latter will in too many cases be allowed to overshadow the former. In so far as we permit this, we will not have kept the faith. The economic success of all of us may not be at the expense of any of us and must aim as ever at the service of all of us. Only so shall we keep the faith.

Today, tomorrow, and next year, we shall honor Washington by making what was to him the ever favorite object of his heart, also the ever favorite object of our hearts—the maintenance of good laws under a free government for the promotion of the general welfare. If we do that, we shall repudiate those who tell us that the age of ideals has passed; that the rights of men are a fiction; that the Declaration of Independence is futile philosophy; that our main purpose should be to get money; that we should promote our particular class interests; and that all the rest is "Sunday School politics." Washington and the great actors who played on the stage with him have passed away, but the same great drama is still being played. "The drop curtain falls between the acts; the scenery shifts; the music alters; but the crisis and its issues are unchanged and the parts which you and I play are assigned to us by our choice of the 'ever favorite object of our heart.'"

Certain it is that the country with the development of whose political individuality George Washington had so much to do is in a large degree fulfilling his dreams and ambitions. As President Coolidge remarked in an address not long ago, "Our country is worthy of us. It is for us to show that we are worthy of our country."

MR. AFFLECK: Barre Hill will sing another group of songs.

(Mr. Hill sings.)

MR. AFFLECK: The other speaker on this occasion is the Governor of the great State of Minnesota. That he is popular and highly regarded by the people who know him best is indicated by the fact that he was first elected Governor by a majority of 60,000, re-elected by 120,000 and re-elected the third time by 322,000. I have spent some hours with him today and have learned to like him so well in that short time that I wish it were to be my privilege to introduce him, but in an unguarded moment I asked Governor Preus to perform that function and he is on the program for that purpose. I therefore introduce the Hon. J. A. O. Preus, Governor of Minnesota from 1921 to 1925, immediate'y preceding Governor Christianson. He will introduce the next speaker.

GOVERNOR PREUS: Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen: It happened that I was coming in on the train with Ben Affleck one morning (nobody ever calls him Mr. Affleck) and he asked me what kind of a speaker Governor Christianson is.

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I said, "He is the best speaker in Minnesota."

He asked me to telegraph and ask him to come down and to speak at the Washington's Birthday dinner. I did and he is here.

Then Mr. Affleck called me up and, as he said, in an unguarded moment, asked if I wanted to introduce him which I said I did, because of the pleasure I take in bringing here an old and intimate friend of mine.

In 1903 I first entered the University of Minnesota. The day I came there a friend and I were walking on the campus smoking cigarettes. An old gentleman met us and he said, "Young man, don't you know it is against the rules to smoke on the campus?" My friend said, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am known as 'Prexy' around here." Then we asked him for the cheapest restaurant in town and he told us where to find it. So after matriculating we went to this restaurant and had lunch. The young man who punched our tickets at this restaurant was the present Governor of Minnesota, Governor Christianson.

That was my first introduction to him. He has had a very successful career. Putting himself through college he became extremely popular by reason of the fact that he was very democratic. I would like to introduce him as the tightest Governor of Minnesota but he told me that there was more money spent in his administration than in mine, so I can't say that. He has put through a system of economy and reorganization that has endeared him to the people of that state. I am not going to introduce him at any greater length.

ADDRESS

By THEODORE CHRISTIANSON, *Governor of Minnesota*

I am glad to be present to participate in your observance of Washington's birthday. The natal day of "the Father of his Country" furnishes the appropriate opportunity for citizens everywhere to assemble to dedicate themselves anew to those basic principles which the Fathers wrote into the Constitution and to ponder again the wise counsel given by the first President in his



*Governor Theodore Christianson
of Minnesota*

Farewell Address. When I think of George Washington, I do not think of him primarily as a military leader. It does not detract from his place in history to admit that he was not a captain of the first order, comparable with Napoleon, or Frederick the Great, or Robert E. Lee. It does not belittle him to say that the war in which he led, however significant in its results, was from a military standpoint only an episode in a greater struggle fought beyond the seas, and that the independence which he won for his country was only one of the by-products of an international adjustment in which the chief prizes were in the Old World, not the New.

I say it does not lessen the importance of Washington's place in history to subordinate his military achievements, notable as they were, to his victories in the field of statesmanship. But for him, it is quite likely that the frail craft of nationhood would early have been dashed on the rocks of dissension, if indeed it could have been launched at all. Without the moral authority of Washington

it is doubtful whether the Constitution could have been either agreed upon in the Convention or ratified by the States. He was not the greatest political thinker of his age: he was not the peer of either Jefferson or Franklin as a student of the philosophy of government. He was not an administrator of the first rank: he lacked Alexander Hamilton's genius for organization and execution. He was not the most persuasive personality of his generation; as a rhetorician he cut a sorry figure beside the fervid and eloquent Patrick Henry. He was not erudite: he lacked the learning of a Madison or a Mason. Still he had something that all these lacked—the power to command the unquestioning faith and loyalty of the people. It was the moral influence of Washington that made it possible, first, to unite the minds of the members of the Convention who wrote the Constitution, so that it might be submitted; second, to rally to its support enough of the States, so that it could be ratified.

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It is because of the commanding influence of Washington in formulating and adopting the basic law under which this country has lived and prospered for one hundred forty years, that I have deemed it appropriate to speak this evening upon one of the tendencies in our national life which challenges and threatens the Constitution. I refer to that insidious trend toward centralization; that almost imperceptible but ever continuing shift which threatens the Indissoluble Union by undermining the authority of its Indestructible States.

The subject which I have chosen involves more than constitutional interpretation. It involves more than a consideration of the comparative efficiency of the central government and the State governments to solve the problems and meet the needs of the people. It involves consideration of the effect on the quality of citizenship of removing the situs of governmental activity too far from the people in whom the sovereign power resides; of the possible danger of overloading the structure of the Federal government by unduly expanding and unreasonably multiplying its departments and bureaus.

It is a subject which now is to the fore, and it is fraught with large meaning. It touches such diverse and widely separated questions as whether the central government should give aid conditional on State co-operation; whether the States should be denied the right to tax national banks on the same basis as State banks; whether the Congress should establish a Federal department of education; whether the States through their legislatures should ratify the Child Labor amendment; and whether the Interstate Commerce Commission should have the power to set up trade barriers between States and sections under the interstate commerce clause. These are only a few of the immediate and special problems which lie back of the larger question. From the structural point of view, it is perhaps the most important, the most nearly fundamental, question that confronts the American people at this time.

The work of the Fathers who framed the Constitution is being challenged by some; by others it is fulsomely and even blindly praised. I believe that those who are capable of giving the instrument dispassionate and intelligent appraisal will candidly acknowledge that it has flaws and weaknesses which were introduced when the statesmen of the Convention found it necessary to compromise with its politicians. Washington frankly admitted that it had limitations. But I believe that it will be adjudged that despite those limitations, the American Constitution is the greatest charter of human government ever conceived in the mind and struck off by the hand of man. To realize the essential greatness of the Constitution and the soundness of the scheme of government set up under it, we need to remind ourselves that our government, State and national, has suffered less shock and strain, has been less dislodged by the World War and the reconstruction which followed it, than any other of the great governments of the World. In Germany, in Russia, and in Austria, old imperial systems, once apparently so secure, have collapsed, and have given way to governments which are at least republican in form, if not in spirit. In Italy, in Spain, and in Greece, the executive power has been seized by, or in desperation given over to dictators. Even in England and France, governments have reacted to the impact of the War. Consider, on the other hand, the government of the United States; the great cataclysm and the strain of reconstruction fol-

lowing it have induced no structural changes. Indeed, it is safe to say that there have been no structural changes in the American government since the Civil War; so firm and rigid were the foundations laid by the Fathers.

But although the American constitution, in its basic provisions, has proved itself adequate to meet every crucial test, it must not be supposed that there have been no readjustments in our government. Indeed it has been the strength and virtue of our Constitution that it has had enough elasticity to meet new situations and changed conditions without having to undergo fundamental revision. Beginning with the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, there has been a gradual extra-constitutional shift of power from the legislative to the executive department. Throughout our history there has been a similar shift from the State governments to the Federal government. Such shifts may be quite as important in the national life as those brought about by constitutional amendment, or even those brought about by revolution.

The subject I have chosen for discussion is large, and in some respects complex; and in order that we may make it as simple and clear as possible, I should like to consider it with you under the following heads:

First, what was the relation between the States and the nation contemplated by the Founding Fathers?

Second, what are some of the factors and forces that have brought changes in these relations?

Third, what tendencies are operative today, and what dangers, if any, do we face?

I. It is the obvious and common approach to the first phase of our discussion to say that the founding Fathers contemplated an "indivisible union of indivisible States." They hovered between two fears, the fear of anarchy on the one hand, that of despotism on the other. They feared especially the possible despotism of a strong central government. So much did they fear it, that after they had formed and ratified the constitution, almost immediately they set themselves to the task of adopting the first ten amendments, safeguarding the rights of the individual against both Federal and State encroachment.

At the beginning the United States was recognized as fully sovereign in relation to foreign affairs only. In administration and legislation it was hedged about with numerous restrictions. Sixty-five powers were specifically given to the Federal government, seventy-nine were specifically withheld. Although the fathers intended that the central government should be supreme within its field, and unembarrassed, they purposed that the field be limited to the subjects specified in the Constitution. Such powers as were not enumerated and delegated to the Federal government were reserved to the States.

Wisely or unwisely, the Founding Fathers did not fix definitely the location of sovereignty, in the Constitution which they wrote. By temperament and belief they were divided into two schools of thought. To one school belonged such strong centralists as Hamilton and Madison. To the other belonged those who feared, to use the words of one of them, "that the federal government would become a great Leviathan, reaching out and exercising increasing authority."

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Probably it was because of this wide difference of opinion in the Constitutional Convention, that sovereignty was not located in the Constitution. Hamilton and Madison realized this. In his letters Madison admitted that it was difficult to argue intelligently concerning our compound system of government. It was, he said, "a system without a model, a nondescript to be tested and explained by itself." So it was that those who wished very much to have the Constitution ratified, followed the clever opportunity of Hamilton, who said that sovereignty, of course, rested in "the people." Curiously the question was left open as to whether "the people" meant the people of the several states, or the people of the states considered collectively as a nation. This was the straddle which publicists practiced until John C. Calhoun with relentless logic challenged the idea of divided sovereignty and lodged ultimate authority in the States. In 1838 he offered a resolution in the United States Senate which declared that the Constitution was merely a compact of the States.

II. Before this assemblage, I need not devote much time to a discussion of the forces and factors which developed, out of this confusion, the idea of Nationhood. Yet it remains true that if we are to understand why things are as they are, we must know something of how they came to be as they are.

First John Marshall, as chief justice, gave legal form and vitality to the nationalistic conception and tradition through a very critical period of our history when the Ship of State nearly went to pieces on the rocks of dissension and jealousy. Then came the Civil War which gave solidity and permanence to the work of Marshall. It ended for all time the claim that a State had a right to secede from the Union or to nullify an act of Congress. It established forever that we are a nation, not a confederation of nations; and that however the people of that nation may have circumscribed and restricted the powers of their national government, they can at any time and by any constitutional means extend and increase those powers.

That principle being established, further steps of centralization followed as a natural development. After the Civil War industry and commerce grew far beyond State lines and took on national proportions. Combinations and aggregations of ownership and control were created which not only were nation-wide in their scope, but challenged the power of the States. Then it was that the Constitution was re-read and scrutinized and made to yield new and unsuspected powers to the Federal government. The Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law embody extensions of Federal authority never contemplated by the Fathers. Finally came the World War, which greatly extended the operations of the Federal government and led directly to the enactment of the welfare and sumptuary legislation of the last decade.

The constitutional provisions authorizing Congress to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, to lay and collect taxes, to establish post offices and post roads, look innocent enough on their surface, but they proved to carry great expansive power and to be capable of much interpretation.

The constant extension of Federal powers shows that legal restrictions and hedges do not and cannot long stand against economic or social needs and pressures. Conditions are always more potent than theories. So it has come to

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pass that the Constitution has been amended, not only in the way provided in the instrument, but by judicial interpretation, and even by common consent and usage. The real stimulus to the development of Federal power has come, not from theory, but from the necessities of policy, which are the outgrowth of social changes. This may be what Justice Holmes meant when he spoke of "the inarticulate major premise" of every legal decision. Interpretations and decisions are always ventilated in that wide atmosphere of social and economic activity, across which the winds of change are constantly blowing.

So it is that the Federal government has assumed new functions and powers not conferred upon it by the Constitution and not contemplated by its framers. For instance, under the power to regulate interstate commerce, Congress has prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of articles judged to be injurious to the public health and morals—clearly an exercise of police power.

No one with an adequate knowledge of the Nation's history can believe that this extension of Federal activity has come about through conscious neglect of the rights of the States or because of a purposive desire on the part of the Federal government to extend its power and to usurp sovereignty. It has come about gradually, unconsciously, without plan or purpose, largely because of the increased interdependence and complexity of modern industrial and social life.

Factors operating outside the political sphere have served to augment Federal functions. The passing of the frontier and the disappearance of the westward movement have been accompanied by a recession of the sturdy individualism of the pioneer, and by a disposition to let a strong central power settle problems ever growing in complexity.

The heterogeneous character of our population has also tended to increase centralization. Groups of people have come here from many lands. They have been mobile and fluid. In so far as they have become Americanized, they have become standardized. No considerable part of our people has ever become deeply rooted in local soil. No effort has been made to encourage survival of local customs, traditions and color. Community traits and divergencies have been melted down and blended by easy communication and wide unity of interests. There has been but little State patriotism. We have become Americans, not Minnesotans or Illinoisians.

The very organization of our industrial system has been a factor making for centralization. Although factories are localized in certain places, they are dependent on other places for their markets, and often for their finishing processes. The iron ore of Minnesota must go into the steel mills of Gary and Pittsburgh, and thence into the automobile factories of Michigan or the implement factories of Illinois and Wisconsin, before it reaches the status of a finished product. Few communities are completely self-sufficient. This situation has made it inevitable that the Federal government should be called upon to safeguard, direct and regulate commercial and industrial activities. It has been easier to get action out of one Congress than out of forty-eight State legislatures. However much centralization may have been questioned legally and theoretically, it has come about in response to popular demand and with the approval of public opinion.

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Having considered the kind of government the Founding Fathers intended to establish and having enumerated some of the forces which have operated to change the relationships of the States and the nation, I come now to the third and last question: What are the tendencies and dangers, if any, manifest today?

With reference to the question of centralization, opinion seems to divide itself into three groups. There are those who believe and frankly assert that extending the field of the Federal government is always necessary and always good. Not long ago so careful a student of American government as Ernst Freund, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly*, took the position that centralization of political authority in the United States is inevitable. He points out that if our government had not been consolidated and aided in its unity by judicial interpretation, our situation today would be intolerable. Progress toward the unitary State, he thinks, is no accident but a necessary accompaniment of our industrial and commercial development.

There is another group of publicists who hold to what has been called the theory of "Competitive Federalism." Unlike the members of the first group, they hold that the States are and always should be the primary units in our government, but urge that the branch of government that can best perform a function be given that function to perform. If the Federal government can better promote commerce, public health, general welfare and education, it, and not the States, should be given the task of promoting them. If this theory were adopted in the allocation of government functions, its proponents argue, the States and the Federal government would be put upon their mettle and citizens would get the benefits of Competitive Federalism.

The third group consists of those students who believe in what they call "Co-operative Federalism." They urge that the Preamble to the Constitution shows that the Founding Fathers intended no such hard and fast delimitation of powers as has been assumed. They think that upon matters in which uniformity of legislation is desirable, the Federal government should be supreme. Where there is room for variety and difference they believe that the States should have specific as well as general jurisdiction.

It is possible to present plausible arguments in support of any of these doctrines. Each of them, however, admits of applications and interpretations that would make them not only objectionable, but subversive of the Federal principle. Acceptance of the doctrine that continued centralization is inevitable would, unless qualified, lead to the ultimate elimination of State boundaries except as they might mark the division of the country into administrative units, and place us at the mercy of a bureaucratic government at Washington, with ever-increasing powers and functions.

Acceptance of the doctrine of Competitive Federalism would lead to endless confusion; for with the inequality of standards of administration which must obtain among forty-eight States, there would always be a question as to whether the State or Federal government could best perform a function. If Massachusetts were exceptionally proficient in administering its system of schools and New Mexico exceptionally deficient, should education become a Federal matter because the Federal government could administer schools better than New Mex-

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ico, although perhaps worse than Massachusetts? Instead of putting States "on their mettle," would not the natural result of an application of the principle of Competitive Federalism be to remove all incentive for excellence in State administration and hasten the process toward complete centralization?

Acceptance of the third doctrine, that of Co-operative Federalism, would raise some embarrassing questions, and probably lead to an unnecessary and dangerous extension of the functions of the government at Washington. Desirability of uniformity in legislation does not in itself justify an extension of Federal powers. In the first place, there might not be unanimity of opinion among the States as to the desirability of uniformity. Congress has declared, in effect, that every State ought to tax inheritances. Florida dissents, declaring that she ought to be permitted to decide for herself how to raise revenues, so long as in raising them she does not infringe on the constitutional rights of her people. Leaving to the Supreme Court the determination of the constitutional questions involved, is it wise for Congress to pass a law which directly or indirectly, compels a State to impose upon its people a tax they do not want, merely to satisfy a demand for uniformity? Acceptance of the theory that the Federal government should exercise authority whenever uniformity of legislation is desirable would suggest the enactment of Federal marriage and divorce laws. Indeed, would it not suggest that a national crime situation demands Federal laws defining crimes, and providing for their penalties? Would it not result in the eventual assumption of all police powers by the central government? It is admitted, of course, that in many fields of legislation uniformity is desirable. But cannot the uniformity best be secured through the enactment by the several State legislatures of identical laws, and should not each State be its own judge of the suitability of such laws to the needs of its people?

What, then, should determine the line of demarcation between the State and the Federal government? Can any principle be laid down which will serve to guide us when new proposals for the extension of Federal authority are made, or must each such proposal be considered from the standpoint of its immediate expediency only?

I believe that it is sound political doctrine that every question which concerns only one individual should be decided by that individual. I believe it is equally sound doctrine that every question which concerns the people of one State only, should be decided by the people of that State, without suggestion or interference from the Federal government or from any other State.

I do not believe that any State is justified in surrendering to the Federal government, nor that the Federal government is justified in taking over from any State, any function, unless (1) the exercise of that function is essential to the national welfare, and (2) the function is such that it cannot be exercised with reasonable efficiency by the State.

Most of the acts and measures by which Federal authority was extended in the past have met these tests. Some of the proposals and practices of the last decade do not meet them. Let it be understood that I approve of the laws that have been enacted giving the Federal government power to deal effectively with so-called Big Business. But while I approve of measures by which business is

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regulated wisely and controlled firmly, I emphatically disapprove of the numerous and petty regulations with which little bureaucrats in Washington annoy and harass business, big and little.

I also disapprove of the practice of offering Federal subsidies as a spur to State action. I disapprove of it because it is an attempt to coerce the States into doing something which the States would not do on their own volition. I disapprove of it because it will, unless checked, lead to the establishment of a great bureaucracy which, acting through Federal agents, inspectors and regulators, will shape the policy of the States in their local concerns, not according to the needs of each State, but according to the rigid and unchangeable theory of some small-bore political appointee a thousand miles away. I also disapprove of the fifty-fifty practice because of the burden it places on the taxpayers. In ten years, Federal subsidies have increased from less than \$6,500,000 per year, to more than \$110,000,000. For every dollar so paid out, another dollar must be raised by the States. If the vogue of matching money continues, we shall soon see the taxing power of the States mortgaged in advance to support projects determined and controlled at Washington. It is too much to expect the abandonment of Federal-aid projects already undertaken, and I am not advocating it; but let every man who believes that the States should continue to be self-governing and self-respecting pray God and petition their Congressmen to prevent the enactment of any more laws that give the Federal government a lien on the States' sovereignty.

Our States are individualities within themselves. They have been aptly called "the pivots around which the whole American system revolves." In their very diversity lies the strength of America. By contributing variety of experience in democracy, they stabilize the Republic. Observers have repeatedly pointed out how fortunate it is that the large number of commonwealths in the American Union permits one State to experiment for the other forty-seven. In this connection, Chief Justice Taft has pointed out in his study of "Popular Government" that "there is a great advantage in having the different State governments trying different experiments in the enactment of laws and in governmental policy. Thus a State less prone to accept novel and untried remedies may await their development by States more enterprising and courageous. The end is that diversity of opinion in State governments enforces a wise deliberation and creates a *locus penitentiae* which may constitute the salvation of the Republic."

Such opportunity for, and practice of, experimentation on the part of the States make variety and progress possible; but they would be forfeited under centralization.

When a government is too highly centralized and too far removed from the people, a condition arises which is disastrous to the government and bad for the people. History warns against the dangers and evils of undue centralization. France before the Revolution was a highly centralized State, ridden by bureaucracy, corruption and inefficiency. LeBon, discussing her plight, tells how an officer of France received permission to have a pair of boots made for him. He found himself indebted to the State for seven francs, which he was willing to

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pay. To make payment it was necessary for him to receive three letters from the Minister of War, one from the Minister of Finance, and fifteen letters, decisions or reports from generals, directors and department chiefs.

Surely in this country we do not want any of the cumbersome machinery so necessary in a too highly centralized government. It would ill serve or suit an efficient industrial life. We have enough red tape, delay and waste, now. We would have infinitely more of these, and perhaps corruption to boot, if most of the operations of government were removed from under the scrutiny of the people to a remote national capital.

When a government is removed too far from the people, the people are prone to feel that it is all-powerful. Their imagination plays upon it and invests in it with a potency it does not have. They shoulder upon it all sorts of duties in the belief that it has magical powers of performance. They assume that any evil can be cured by passing a law or issuing a proclamation. A people that puts too much confidence in legislation leans upon a slender and fragile reed. Government cannot take the place of the individual; it cannot supply the lack of personal responsibility. Vigilance is the price, not only of liberty, but of efficiency. People who put too much trust in government too often relax their own initiative. They "let George do it," and George falls down on the job. If you want a thing well done, do it yourself. If you can't do it yourself, hire some one who is close enough to you so you can watch him while he is doing it. The way of progress and security in government, of freedom and democratic accomplishment, lies in a strong local government backed up and operated by alert, vigilant citizens.

The danger of extra-constitutional changes by which the nice balance between the State and the nation might be disturbed, was foreseen by him whose birth we have met to commemorate. In his Farewell Address to the American people he said: "The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power by dividing and distributing it into different depositaries and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern . . . To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield."

And sixty-five years later a son of Illinois, who shares with Washington the proud fame of being "first in the hearts of his countrymen," declared that "to maintain inviolate the rights of the States to order and control under the Constitution their own affairs by their own judgment exclusively, is essential for the preservation of the balance of power on which our institutions rest."

MR. AFFLECK: I desire at this time to introduce to the audience some high school students who figured prominently in the Lincoln exercises at the Auditorium. The first prize for an oration on the subject of "Lincoln's Service to

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Humanity" was awarded to Dorothy Fechtman of the Commercial Continuation School, who is employed in George Woodruff's bank five days each week and attends school the other day. Miss Fechtman.

I am pleased also to introduce the winner of the second prize, Robert Dearborn of the Proviso High School, who delivered an oration on "Lincoln's Early Life"; also Bernard Cooper of the Roosevelt High School whose oration was on the subject of "Lincoln's Service to His Country," and Dominick Stabile of Crane High School, who delivered an oration on "Lincoln's Respect for Law."

I also introduce Harriet Dunning of Proviso High School, whose ode to the Flag of America was awarded the prize. Miss Dunning. Also, Myron E. Duckles of New Trier High School, who impersonated Lincoln in the cabinet scene from Drinkwater's play, *Abraham Lincoln*.

It is also my pleasure to introduce Wm. J. Bogan, Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools, and the Rev. Robert M. Kelley, president of Loyola University. Dr. Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University is in Florida, and acting President Frederick Woodward of the University of Chicago was unable to be present this evening. We are honored, however, by the presence of David A. Crawford, President of the University Club.

It is also my pleasure to introduce the principals of high schools who have honored us with their presence this evening: J. E. Armstrong of Englewood, Butler Laughlin of Chicago Normal College, M. R. McDaniel of Oak Park, Grant Beebe of Lane, James T. Gaffney of Roosevelt, George Beers of Marshall, W. C. Robb of Proviso, Wilbur H. Wright of Austin.

On behalf of the Club, allow me to express to Dr. Kinley and Governor Christianson our thanks and appreciation for their presence on this occasion and the illuminating and inspiring addresses which they have delivered.

May I ask the audience, on adjournment of this meeting, to remain seated for a moment while Dr. Kinley and Governor Christianson and others at this table leave the room? They will pause in the lobby and may be greeted by you as you pass out.



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