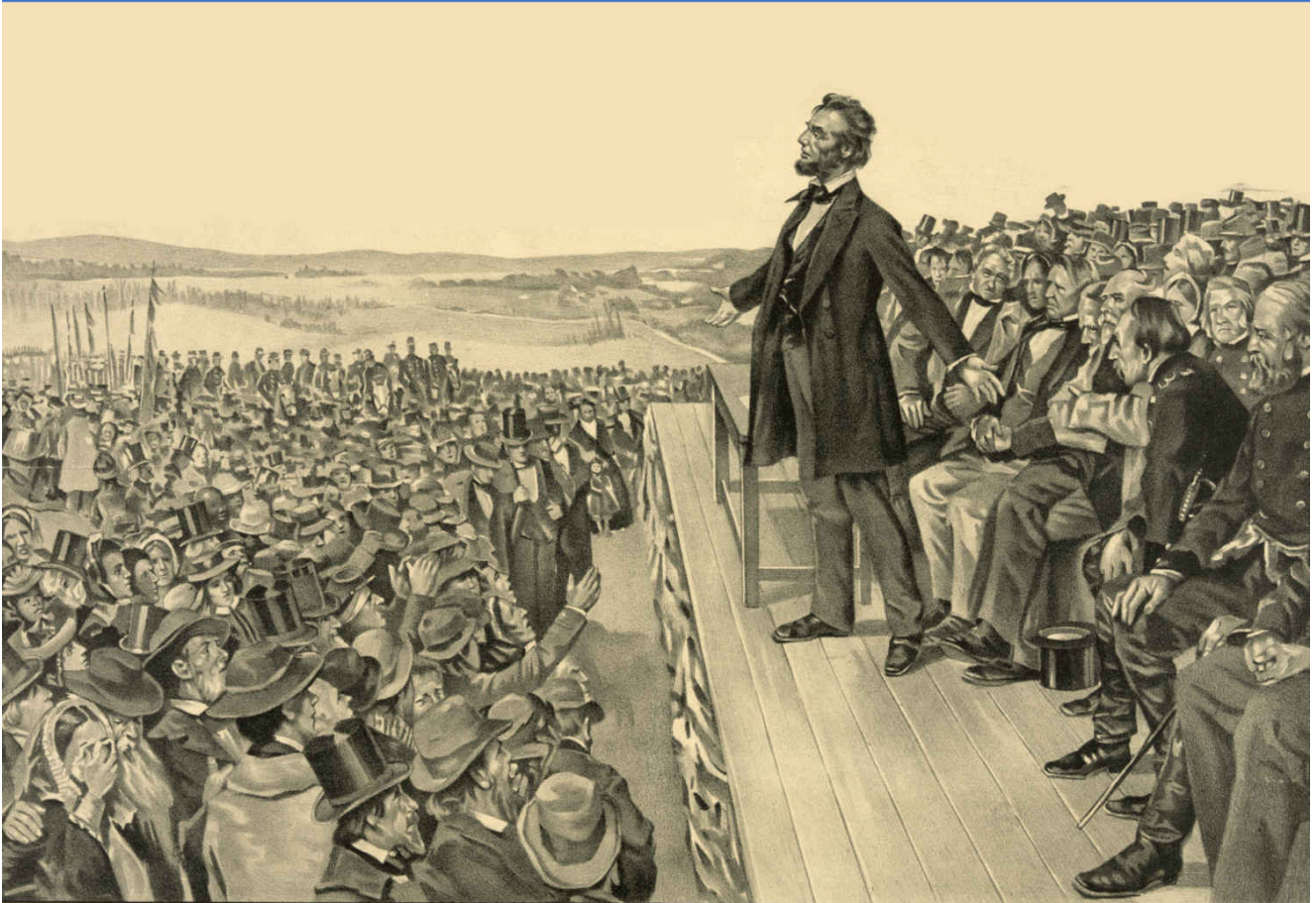


Henry Eyster Jacobs

Lincoln's Gettysburg World Message



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Lincoln's Address at the Dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 1863.

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Lincoln's Gettysburg World Mes- sage

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THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

DELIVERED
BY
ABRAHAM
LINCOLN
NOV. 19 1863



AT THE
DEDICATION
SERVICES
ON THE
BATTLE FIELD

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. ★ ★ ★ Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. ★ ★ We are met on a great battle-field of that war. ★ We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. ★ ★ It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. ★ ★ But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. ★ The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. ★ ★ It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; ★ that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

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Lincoln's Gettysburg World Mes- sage

By Henry Eyster Jacobs

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Preface by Lutheran Librarian

In republishing this book, we seek to introduce this author to a new generation of those seeking authentic spirituality.

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS (1844-1932) served as Professor of Systematic Theology and President of the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia. He was president of his church's board of foreign missions, and edited the *Lutheran Church Review*, the *Lutheran Commentary*, and the *Lutheran Cyclopaedia*. He wrote and translated many books.

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Preface

GETTYSBURG will live in history because of its association with Lincoln even more than as the scene of the decisive battle of the Civil War. As time passes, the details of battles interest chiefly students of military science. Even veterans grow weary of recalling the horrors of the battlefield, and prefer to glory in the end achieved, rather than in the painful experiences through which they have passed. So vast, too, has been the scale upon which battles have been fought in the Great War that has recently ended, that those of preceding wars have been dwarfed into relative insignificance. But the memory of Gettysburg will survive because of the interpretation given the battle by one who was not only the Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Union which there triumphed, but also the great prophet of the cause of civil and religious liberty. The battle itself was only the prelude to the still mightier force that was transmitted in his telling words, which not only sounded the rallying cry for the final struggle of the war, on which the fate of our nation then hung, but which unintentionally gave the signal for the assertion throughout the world of great principles that had hitherto been suppressed.

Nor will the careful student ever recall Lincoln without recognizing the Gettysburg incident as condensing within itself all that he elsewhere spoke and wrote and accomplished. The meaning of what had transpired on the first three days of July, 1863, with the thousands of lives that had been sacrificed, and the tens of thousands that were enduring untold physical suffering, and the countless homes throughout the land that were darkened because they mourned loved ones, so filled his heart that he compressed the convictions of a lifetime and the anguish of the responsibilities he was then bearing, into a two minutes' address that has become the most highly cherished classic that America has produced. The aim of what is presented in the following pages is to treat of the historical setting of the address, together with a study of the principles which underlie it.

1. The Place and the People

GETTYSBURG, before the great battle, was a compactly built town of somewhat over two thousand inhabitants. Most of the borough lay in a valley between hills that have since been rendered famous. Two turnpikes, intersecting at the public square (“the Diamond”), formed the axis around which the town had grown. If there had been but these two roads it is improbable that Gettysburg would ever have been known in history. But at the edges of the town other roads radiated to intermediate points of the compass, like spokes of a wheel. In the days of stage coaches and Conestoga wagons, before railroads were built, it was a center of travel and traffic. Within eight miles of Mason and Dixon’s Line, its connections with the South were as close as those with the North; and it had some of the characteristics of a southern town. Baltimore was only fifty-two miles distant on the southeast; Washington a little over sixty miles to the south; while Philadelphia was one hundred and fourteen to the east, and Harrisburg thirty-six to the northeast.

The surrounding country was not fertile. The red shale rock lay close to the surface of the soil, with muddy roads for an extraordinarily long period in spring and autumn, and a temperature in summer belonging properly to a much lower latitude.

The scenery about the town compensated for all other defects. From north to southwest the Blue Ridge Mountains describe the arc of a circle, at a distance of from ten to fifteen miles. There was great variety in the shading, as when, on exceptionally clear days, the usual blue was changed for green, or, in the winter, sometimes for weeks, for white; or when, in summer, foretoking an approaching storm, thunder-heads of every shape and hue, gathered about their summits in battle array; or, as at all seasons, the sun sank to rest in all his glory. Where the mountain line was broken, the wooded heights of Gulp’s and Wolf Hills, and of the two Round Tops, offered another type of scenery, scarcely less attractive.

Towards the west ran an unfinished railroad almost ready for the ties, designed to connect Eastern Pennsylvania with the Baltimore & Ohio, and known, because of its many circuits in its approach to the mountains, as "The Tape Worm." Thaddeus Stevens had the credit or blame of being its chief advocate. After the state had expended large appropriations upon it, it was abandoned, and remained for some forty years a long stretch of waste land, until in another generation it was completed.

The County of Adams, of which, when separated from York, Gettysburg became in 1800 the county seat, was settled chiefly by Scotch-Irish immigrants, who came to this locality in large numbers about 1740, and for a long time were embroiled in conflicts with the German settlers on the east. As a peace measure, York County was divided, and the new county, composed chiefly of Federalists, was named after the Federal President, John Adams. Among the families of Scotch origin, many of whose names have been made prominent in the state and the nation, through offshoots of the same stock, were the Agnews, Allisons, Baileys, Bingham, Caldwell, Cassatts, Chamberlains, Cobeans, Crawfords, Cunninghams, Dunwoodies, Duncans, Galloways, Gillilands, Hamiltons, Harpers, Homers, Linns, Lotts, Marshalls, McAllisters, McCleans, McClearies, McClellans, McConaughies, McCrearies, McCulloughs, McCurdies, McFarlanes, McIlhennies, McNairs, McPhersons, McSherries, Neelys, Paxtons, Porters, Russells, Scotts, Stewarts, Thompsons, Warners, Wills, Wilsons and Witherows.

A sturdy and vigorous people, they were intelligent, inflexible in purpose, fond of argument, in fair circumstances, clannish, aristocratic, and born agitators and politicians. Their well-educated pastors did not shrink from leadership in matters of state, as well as in those of the Church. Following the example of President Witherspoon, of Princeton, the one clerical representative among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, Rev. John Black, of the Marsh Creek Settlement, one of Princeton's earliest graduates, prominently participated as delegate in the memorable Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, which in the face of fierce opposition adopted the Constitution of the United States and was most influential in determining its adoption by the other states. From their farms a constant stream of their children flowed to the town, and then from the town to the city or the opening West.

The Germans, excelling them as farmers, stuck more tenaciously to their farms, and gradually preponderated in the country districts. But the lines of

sharp distinction faded as all became Americans and realized the value of their American citizenship. Nor could the two streams flow side by side without intermingling. Intermarriages were frequent, resulting in a mixed race, combining the qualities of both parents.

A small Dutch colony, that soon blended with the Scotch-Irish, had settled in the neighborhood of Hunterstown, five miles east of Gettysburg. At York Springs, fourteen miles to the northeast, there was a flourishing Friends' settlement, well known for its anti-slavery sympathy, and having the general repute of being an important station in the "Underground Railroad," by which fugitive slaves escaped from Maryland and were carried to places of security in the North or in Canada.

The bar had been one of conspicuous ability. Here Thaddeus Stevens, the leader in the United States House of Representatives during the Civil War, and the radical anti-slavery agitator, rose to prominence. His pupil, James Cooper, became Attorney General of Pennsylvania and United States Senator. Among other law students in his Gettysburg office were Hon. Godlove S. Orth, afterwards Minister to Austria, and Governor Conrad Baker, of Indiana. Edward McPherson, member of Congress, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, and for fourteen years Clerk of the National House of Representatives, President of the National Republican Convention which nominated Hayes for the presidency, an author and political statistician of high repute, was a native, and, throughout nearly all his life, a citizen of Gettysburg, active in every important interest of the community.

The locality was an educational center long before the borough had been chartered. The school was older than the town. The spacious schoolhouse, falling into decay at the time of the battle, which stood at the foot of Cemetery Hill, at the intersection of the Emmitsburg and Taneytown roads, was the home of Rev. Alexander Dobbin in Colonial times, within which ministers were trained for the Associated Reformed Church, or prepared for college. In 1807 Rev. David McConaughy, the Presbyterian pastor, afterwards President of Washington College, opened a grammar school, which in time was supplanted by "The Adams County Academy," whose edifice was built in 1810. Seventeen years later this gave place to "The Gettysburg Gymnasium," which after five years was incorporated as "Pennsylvania College." These details are given to indicate the literary atmosphere of the place.

The Lutheran Theological Seminary, whose buildings on the ridge directly west of the town gave the name to Seminary Hill, was founded in

1826, and in 1863 was still under the presidency of the first professor, Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, with Rev. Drs. Charles Philip Krauth and Charles F. Schaeffer as his associates. Hundreds of ministers had already proceeded from its walls to all parts of the country.

The Gettysburg Gymnasium had been begun in 1827, in order to afford the necessary preparatory training for the seminary, and when, in 1832, this had become Pennsylvania College, the buildings of the new college arose to the north of the town. Thither not only a large constituency sent their sons for training, but former students frequently gathered from both North and South, to revive the memory of college days. Up to the time of the battle, and for years afterward, it aimed at nothing more than the regular classical course; but although its faculty was small, and its professors overburdened with the multitude of branches which each had to cultivate, nevertheless it had established an excellent reputation for the thoroughness of the training which it afforded. Among its graduates are the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Hon. J. Hay Brown, and the present Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Edward Fahs Smith. In 1863, Dr. Henry L. Baugher, Sr., was its President, with whom were associated as professors, Drs. Michael Jacobs, Martin Luther Stoeber, Frederick A. Muhlenberg and Charles F. Schaeffer. The battle had scarcely ended when one of its former professors, General Herman Haupt, a classmate at West Point of General Meade, was on hand at his old home, superintending the repair of the railroad connections of the Army of the Potomac. The community was as patriotic as it was intelligent. Before Adams County was formed, when, during the Revolutionary War, Philadelphia had been occupied by the enemy, York, the county seat, was for nine months the capital of the new nation. The Marsh Creek Settlement and other Adams County districts contributed their quota not only to the Revolutionary Army, but even in the French and Indian War to the campaign against Fort Duquesne.

In the convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, in 1787, presided over by a Lutheran minister, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, and including on its roll such names as James Wilson and Benjamin Rush and Anthony Wayne, the representation of that portion of York County which was to become Adams, was divided between Rev. John Black, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian pastor, and Col. Henry Slagle, who was probably the citizen of German origin most prominent in public affairs. The county was named af-

ter the patriot who seconded the famous motion of Richard Henry Lee, that “these colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states.”

The first alarm of war to agitate the newly-founded town was on August 26, 1814. Very early on a Sunday morning tidings came that the British under General Ross had captured Washington and burned the public buildings. Strict as in this quiet place had hitherto been the observance of Sunday, it was probably the bell of the old court house that “immediately” brought the citizens together into that quaint structure with its lofty steeple, which stood in the center of the square; where, resolving to raise forthwith volunteer companies of infantry and cavalry to march to the defense of Baltimore, they appealed to the Brigadier General of the district, an elder in the Lutheran Church, residing on the north side of “the Diamond,” to put them in communication with the Federal authorities. “Expresses” were sent both to Secretary of War Armstrong, to Frederick, Md., and to Governor Snyder at Harrisburg, asking for arms, ammunition and equipage. Supplies coming from both sources with great promptness, enabled the Adams County troops, marching by way of Westminster, to take part in the defensive movement, which, if not resulting at North Point, September 12, in decisive victory, ended, nevertheless, in the retirement of the invader, with the loss of the commanding general. All honor to the sons of Adams County, who in the companies of Captains Alexander Cobean, Alexander Campbell, T. C. Miller and Frederick Eichelberger, took their places, at that crisis, “on the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep.” Nearly a half century later, one who as a lad had been among their number, although rapidly approaching his three score and ten, in command of a cavalry company of Home Guards, was doing what he could to stay the advance of the Confederates up the Cumberland Valley.

2. The Prelude to the Battle

THE TEMPORARY ISOLATION which Gettysburg experienced when the building of railroads, during the decade or more previous to 1863, diverted travel and traffic, was interrupted when the necessities of the Civil War brought the old lines of communication again into prominence. The academic quiet into which the town had passed when its institutions of learning and religion had become the main sources of income, was rudely broken, as the old roads which radiated from it became the avenues over which troops were moved. The Baltimore turnpike was the real center of the battle. If General Lee and his army had reached it, the way to Baltimore and Washington would have been opened, and General Meade and his army would have been completely cut off from the national capital.

The problem of the latter was to protect Philadelphia in such a way as not to uncover Washington. This was accomplished by a wise utilization of the roads west of the Baltimore turnpike, running to the south and southwest of the town. Next to its roads its hills gave Gettysburg importance. West of the Blue Ridge, which forms such a prominent feature of the landscape, up the picturesque Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia, and its extension, the fertile Cumberland Valley, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the Southern Army was moving. Its advance had passed Carlisle and threatened Harrisburg. The preceding week a division had actually crossed the mountain, and, passing through Gettysburg and York, had reached the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia, and then obstructed by the burning bridge, reunited with their comrades to the north. East of the Ridge, and concealed from the enemy by it as a screen, the Union Army, first under Hooker and then under Meade, was following the Southern Army, but on a parallel line, so as to protect both Washington and Baltimore. The two commanders were singularly unaware of the movements of each other. Lee's cavalry, under Stuart, had been separated from the Southern Army for days, and failed to give aid. The northward limit of the southern leader had, however, been reached. He determined to advance no farther until the whereabouts of the Northern

Army could be determined. The advance was withdrawn and a movement to concentrate begun. Lee's plan, with the forces yet to follow him, was to move from Chambersburg eastward, instead of northward, and, crossing the Blue Ridge, to center on the foothills some eight miles west of Gettysburg, while Early, who had advanced to Carlisle, was to move southward toward Gettysburg. So close was the town to the southern border that from the outbreak of the war until nearly a year after the close of hostilities it was in a state of insecurity. Alarms of the approach of the enemy were frequent. Hosts of refugees, with their horses and merchandise, crowded the streets as the Southern Army advanced towards, and several times even beyond, the Potomac. Merchants repeatedly removed their stocks of goods to safer quarters. Throughout the nights home guards patrolled the streets, arresting suspicious characters. The alarm was sounded on one memorable night in the very first month of the war, and threw the borough into as great fear as Rome experienced when the Goths and Vandals were at her doors. Timid women were seen on the street brandishing the antiquated firearms of a preceding generation.

The invasion of Maryland, culminating in the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, brought the war into adjoining counties on the other side of the state line. Late the same year a bold raid of the southerners, stealthily passing to the rear of the Federals, not only crossed the mountain, but sent its pickets to within six miles of Gettysburg. A lone Confederate cavalrman, brought in as prisoner from a skirmish at "The Seven Stars," was regarded, as he was sent through the streets, with much curiosity. The quiet of a bright Sunday afternoon, the next day, was broken by the arrival of railway trains laden with Federal troops, just one day too late to find their foes. Occasionally, in the recitation rooms of the college, the sound of artillery firing in the distance could be heard, punctuating a demonstration in conic sections or interrupting the interpretation of a passage in the Iliad with the reminder of the changes which modern times have wrought in the modes of warfare.

When, in June, 1863, the storm that had long been threatening seemed likely to reach Pennsylvania, a proclamation from the governor warned of its approach and made an urgent appeal for enlistments for an emergency force. The first response in the state to this appeal was from the students of Pennsylvania College, who promptly formed a company, offered the captaincy to one of the students in the Theological Seminary, Captain Frederick

Klinefelter, who had already seen military service, and, under his command, promptly reported at Harrisburg, where a future President of Pennsylvania College, Harvey W. McKnight, was made adjutant of the regiment, and a future President of Muhlenberg College, Theodore L. Seip, was detailed as clerk to the commanding general, while Dr. E. J. Wolf, afterwards professor in the Gettysburg Theological Seminary, and the future Professor Matthias H. Richards, of Muhlenberg College, served together as corporals. One of the company, Sergeant G. W. Frederick, was a brevet colonel before the war closed. Dr. T. C. Billheimer, afterwards professor in the Gettysburg Theological Seminary, was a private. These incidents are worthy of note as indications of the patriotic spirit that prevailed in the Gettysburg institutions, as well as in the town and throughout the country.

During the days of suspense, while the two armies were gradually making their way northward in parallel lines, concealed from one another by the Blue Ridge, the Philadelphia City Troop, under the command of Captain Samuel J. Randall, afterward the distinguished Speaker of the National House of Representatives, was sent to Gettysburg and reconnoitered the mountain roads. This company was followed some days later by the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment, which included, as Company A, the college company, as well as, in another company, the future governor of Pennsylvania, S. W. Pennypacker. On the Friday preceding the battle the regiment was sent westward, and narrowly escaped surprise and disaster when it reached Marsh Creek, three miles beyond, but was extricated from its embarrassment, and after a skirmish with the enemy and the loss of some of their number as prisoners, finally, retreating northward, entered the entrenchments at Harrisburg. The Confederates were too intent upon reaching Gettysburg to be diverted from their course.

Looking from a garret window in the center of the town we were able, with the aid of a large glass used by the college for astronomical purposes, to catch the first sight of their approach as they descended from the mountain by way of the Chambersburg road. Much of the way was hidden by Seminary Ridge, but we were able to reach the line at a higher elevation a few miles beyond. First a Union scout in full retreat, and then a Confederate picket in pursuit, came into view. Soon followed the cavalry, riding at full speed, then the artillery and infantry. Soon their cheers as they took possession of the street were heard. When we finally gained sufficient courage to venture where they were, we were surprised by the courteous treatment re-

ceived, as we sought an officer and inquired concerning the fate of the emergency regiment. Detailing a private to conduct us to a group of our friends whom they had captured, we were permitted to converse with them on the steps of Christ Church. Beyond burning a railroad bridge and the freight depot, no damage was done; and by an early hour the next morning the enemy had all departed. They were hastening to richer fields, York and the Susquehanna, with probable anticipations of reaching Lancaster, if not Philadelphia.

For the next few days there was an ominous calm. With railroad and telegraphic lines destroyed, the town was isolated from the outside world. Mails were irregular and uncertain, daily papers were missed.

The funds of the bank and the goods of the merchants had been removed to places promising more security. As to the position of the two armies there was much speculation but no information. Now and then a bearer of dispatches would dash through without relieving the suspense. On Sunday afternoon a Federal cavalry brigade came in from Emmitsburg, but after a very brief stay left just as suddenly. Everyone was in a state of uncertainty and expectancy.

The Blue Ridge was well timbered; but here and there clearings were distinctly visible, from which smoke by day and fire by night could be seen, betraying the campfires of Confederates gathering for another descent upon the town.

On Thursday, June 30, about 11 a.m., I was again at my watch-tower, and sweeping the Chambersburg road with a glass, noticed that something interesting was transpiring. On the second hill in view, horsemen were moving, but the field was too short to enable one to learn more. But after a brief pause they have descended the ravine and are on the crest of Seminary Ridge. Several mounted officers are clearly seen with their field-glasses turned to the southwest. Back of them is a piece of artillery. Still farther in the rear, as the line fell back into the hidden valley, the heads of men and horses could be seen. There is a long hesitation; then a sudden withdrawal back again and out of sight. Within a minute or two there is great cheering in the street below me, which was invisible from my observatory. Running down stairs and out of the door, I am too late to see the head of the procession. A division of Federal cavalry, under General John Buford, has come on the Emmitsburg road, and halts, with its head resting at Chambersburg Street. Years afterward I learned that the Confederate force I had seen near

the seminary was Pettigrew's Brigade, which had expected to find shoes and other supplies in the town, but had seen through their glasses the approach of Buford. Thus at noon on Thursday the two armies had almost stumbled upon each other transversely, the Confederates moving eastward and the Federals northward. But the battle was not to be fought that day. Pettigrew retired three miles to the line of Marsh Creek. Buford was received in town with great rejoicing. His troops were fed in the streets with the best that the town could furnish. The bakeries were depleted, and many pailfuls of hot coffee relieved the thirst of these unexpected deliverers.

That afternoon I used the college glass from the cupola of the Theological Seminary. A most extended view of the surrounding country rewards every visitor who climbs to that observatory. Thence I looked down on one brigade of Buford's division, encamped near Willoughby's Run, while another was placed about a mile to the north of the college. The horses were quietly grazing and the troops resting. But still more interesting was what could be seen on the cleared spots of the mountain. The unusual clearness of the air brought to sight the masses of Confederates there assembling. At a distance of probably ten miles the men stood in clear relief by their fires or moved among each other. Their wagons with their white covers could be counted. Since there were many such clearings, and each one examined swarmed with men, there could be no doubt as to the formidable number which was ready to descend upon us. Nevertheless, our optimistic temper persuaded us that in case they would advance far on our side of the mountain, the force of General Buford alone would readily repulse, if not capture all. The brilliant sunset of that bright day was to thousands who were encamped near us the very last which they were to behold. The critical hour was at hand. We now know that both Lee and Meade had each selected another spot for the approaching conflict. Lee had chosen the heights above Cashtown or Hilltown, where we could see his forces gathering, while Meade had hoped to attract his opponent below the Maryland line, along Pipe Creek. But the eagerness of the leaders of their advance, in trying to discover the other's position, had carried both too far. Their vanguards met, and became entangled in an engagement which neither could decline.

3. The Battle

A. The First Day

THERE WERE in reality two distinct battles about Gettysburg. There was one on the first day to the west and north, which might with more appropriateness be called the Battle of Willoughby's Run, a little stream prominent early in the day.

Firing, we were told, began at 4 a.m., as Buford's pickets engaged those of the enemy along Marsh Creek. For some hours it made no impression in the town. The people were accustomed to the muffled sound of distant cannonading. The professors of Pennsylvania College met the remnants of their classes as usual at 8 a.m. My father had dismissed his class an hour later, when he was called into service by an officer of the U. S. Signal Corps and asked to accompany him to the cupola for the study of the surrounding country. With his classes in geology, botany and surveying he had often explored the entire field and was thoroughly familiar with all its details. He accordingly insisted upon the strategic importance of Cemetery Hill as the key to the situation, and advised its prompt occupation. Whether his opinion ever reached the corps commanders and determined the disposition of the forces we have no means of telling. On the one hand the strength of the position was such that one would think it would attract any military eye. On the other hand there was such great confusion shown on both sides in the initial stages of the battle that in the survey of an entirely strange country the opinion of a civilian who knew every acre of the territory covered may have had unusual weight. The result certainly justified his military foresight.

During the night of June 30 the First Army Corps, under General John F. Reynolds, had encamped eight or ten miles south of Gettysburg. Both Buford and Reynolds seemed to anticipate that until the main body of the Federal army would arrive they would be at a great disadvantage. Shortly after

9 a.m. the report was circulated that General Reynolds, anticipating street fighting, had ordered the citizens in the western part of the town to vacate their homes. The order was speedily countermanded, as, in order to spare the town, he decided to meet the enemy on less favorable ground on the west, where Buford's forces had spent the night. About 10 a.m. word came that the First Corps was approaching. I was fortunate to be opposite the Eagle Hotel when Generals Reynolds and Buford dismounted, and, after a brief rest, rode out the Chambersburg road. They made their way to the Seminary cupola, and, after thus gaining a general idea of the field, went into action.

It was an interesting sight to watch from a favorable spot the First Corps as it left the Emmitsburg road on the outskirts of the town, and, forming under cover of Seminary Hill, in front of the MacMillan orchard, marched diagonally to the crest, and past the house built by Gen. Herman Haupt, into the thick of the battle. The firing is now terrific. The roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the shock of shells, the murky clouds that gathered to the west, the stifling odors that filled the air, the rush of orderlies through the streets, tell of the progress of the battle. The eastern slope of the hill is crowded with reserve cavalry awaiting orders. Soon streams of wounded begin to pour through the streets, mostly able to help themselves, while others rested on the shoulders of comrades. Then came the ambulances; and soon the tidings of the death of Reynolds. The opening of the engagement was favorable to the Federal troops. An entire Confederate brigade, with its commander at its head, was sent back to the rear as prisoners. General Howard soon arrives to succeed Reynolds, and surveys the field from the Fahnestock residence.

But the Federal gain now meets a check. The Confederates are strongly reinforced. The firing to the north becomes sharp. We have won on the right, but the left is threatened. The southern generals, Early and Ewell, are reaching the field from Carlisle and the neighborhood of Harrisburg. But to the relief of our hardly pressed left wing the Eleventh Corps rushes forward from the south on quick time. They come from Taneytown and dash into action past the grounds of Pennsylvania College and the hills beyond. A wave of cheers heard from far in the rear follows a blond officer who rushes on, with his horse on the gallop, to the very front. Steinwehr's division is left on Cemetery Hill. The rest strive in vain to check the Confederate onset. The left is completely turned and the Federal line sweeps backward, not on a

run, but with a brisk walk, the artillery covering the retreat with an abundance of grape sent into the foes as they press after them.

On the Confederates press, until Steinwehr's presence on Cemetery Hill checks the pursuit and saves the Federal army from complete disaster. If the result of the first day's battle be estimated by the damage inflicted on the Federal lines, it was a signal defeat. But if it had been Reynolds's object simply to hold the Confederates back until the main body of the Federals could reach the field in time to defend the approach to Baltimore, his death and the heavy losses of the two army corps were not in vain.

Shortly after 4 p.m. the Confederates had possession of all the town except the southern extremities of Baltimore and Washington Streets, close to the Federal line of defense at the Cemetery. They were jubilant. They speedily leveled the fences, in order to provide for the freest movement of their forces. A Georgia brigade held our street. Its field officers were gentlemen who by their affability made the citizens feel that until there would be another disposition of troops they had nothing to dread. They showed no insolence towards those whom they had defeated. The town was one vast hospital. The churches were full of wounded. The seminary was a Confederate and the college a Federal hospital. Many private dwellings held men of both armies. The temperature, fortunately, was mild, the thermometer at the maximum being only 74. The battle was fought with the sky obscured by clouds throughout the whole day, and the wind blowing steadily from the south. Night fell, and on its damp air were wafted the cries of the uncared-for on the field. The dead lay on the pavements and in the streets for days.

That night was a busy one for both armies, as only a small proportion on both sides were engaged on the first day; and the dispositions were yet to be made for what was, properly speaking, to be the real Battle of Gettysburg.

The reader may picture to himself two concentric horseshoes, or fish-hooks. These represent the two lines of this great engagement, as they ran on two ridges, distant from each other from three-quarters of a mile to a mile. Students in geology used to hear these ridges explained in the class room as trap dikes of volcanic origin within a red shale basis, that were elevated by some prehistoric convulsion. At several points, particularly at the Round Tops and Culp's Hill, they rise to several hundred feet. The larger Round Top is in reality a conical mountain. The inner ridge, upon which the Federal troops were stationed, is much higher than the outer one, occupied by the Confederates. The front and center of the Federal line at the ceme-

tery was pointed and faced directly the approach from town by way of Baltimore Street. Thence the Federal line was to the southwest nearly three miles, and terminated in the steep summit of Round Top, while on the other side it ended in the undulating sides of Culp's Hill, rising above Rock Creek. On the west side it looked down on the lower elevation of Seminary Ridge and an extended intervening plain. From the rock of these ridges the farmers had built fences for their fields, providing the Federal forces in advance with a rock breastwork of long standing. The inner ridge was not only the higher, but the Federal commander could send reinforcements from the one wing to the other simply across the diameter of the inner horseshoe or Greek Omega (Ω), while the Confederate commander, to accomplish the same end, was compelled to march his forces along the circumference of his line. All the advantages of position were thus on the Federal side. This line protecting the Baltimore Pike would have to be broken by Lee or he would have to retreat. Meade had no need to attack, but simply to stand on the defensive and invite his adversary to beat himself to pieces on this front. Against this rampart the southern hosts were hurled, and, after displaying a bravery the world has rarely equaled, ceased their efforts from sheer exhaustion.

B. The Second Day

The second day's fight did not begin until 4 p.m. All morning troops were arriving and the lines on both sides fixed and strengthened. Early that morning an observer at the corner of Middle and Washington Streets could have seen a line of men in gray aligned for a purpose not specified in the manual of arms. As a preparation they were silently reading from their New Testaments. It is needless to say that we could not but be inspired with respect for such enemies. Only on the retreat of the Federals on the first day was there fighting by our home; but stray bullets were frequently passing uncomfortably near. A Confederate was killed on our cellar door; a ball, piercing a shutter, fell on the floor within. The stock of provisions was rapidly exhausted by the needs of the troops, and the citizens lived on the scantiest allowance.

The long period of suspense was at last broken by a sudden and startling fire to the south. This, we afterwards learned, marked the famous attempt of

General Sickles to straighten the line and advance it nearer Seminary Ridge. He had acted on his own responsibility, and came near making a disastrous blunder. Sherfey's Peach Orchard gained a name in history from the terrible contest raged around it as the battle wave swept southward, pushing its extremity between the two Round Tops. Little Round Top presented, with its rugged and then almost treeless face, a more commanding position than its neighboring height, which is really a mountain. If the Confederates would have occupied it their artillery would have commanded the entire Federal left. As the enemy advanced to take it, the Pennsylvania Reserves, under General Crawford, charged down the hill, pushing their opponents not only from its slope, but from the ravine beneath, which, with its enormous granite boulders, afforded sharpshooters protection. In the division thus engaged was a company recruited at Gettysburg. One of its men is reported to have been wounded on his own farm.

The Federal right had been weakened, in order, during the terrific engagement provoked by Sickles, to strengthen the left. Ewell, availing himself of this circumstance, made a more determined attack. What was known as the right center lay on the northern front of Cemetery Hill, directly across the entrance to Evergreen Cemetery. It was the very citadel of the Federal strength. The more prominent Federal batteries were here. Below its steep side, to the northeast, was a cornfield, hiding within its dense stalks the approach to the meadow beneath. Covered by nightfall and this veil, the "Louisiana Tigers" crept to the foot of the hill, almost surprised the gunners, and, when the guns could not be used, engaged their defenders in a hand-to-hand contest. But relief was at last brought from the left, and the shattered Confederates withdrew. "It was worse," they said, "than Malvern Hill."

Meanwhile just as critical an engagement was in progress still farther on the right. The extreme right rested on Culp's Hill, which was thoroughly wooded, with Rock Creek and the "Third Swamp" at its base. It was a long hill, and the best engineering skill had, during the night of the first day, erected a network of strong breastworks, for which the dense oak and hickory trees afforded ample material. The line, five to six feet high, with its trenches, wound around the hill, so as to protect it, if needed, by cross-firing. The approach at the end near Spangler's Spring was gentle. Upon these fortifications Johnston's division of Ewell's corps flung itself. Night had already fallen. The musketry, in its way, was almost as terrific as the artillery firing of the next day. So intense was it that in places the trees in front of

the Federal lines were killed, and their dead limbs with dried leaves, raised like arms to heaven, gave the ravine the name of the Valley of Death.

The Federals were so securely protected that their loss was small, while their brave enemies, persistent in their attempts, lay in heaps before the breastworks. The farthest right, however, had been abandoned by the Federal troops, when needed on the left. Here the Confederates entered without any serious conflict, and slept for the night, ignorant that they had actually turned the Federal right, and that the Baltimore road was close by them.

C. The Third Day

The Federal commander gave them no time to discover by daylight what they had gained; but with break of day attacked them, spending hours in gradually forcing them away.

From 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. there was another lull. The engagement on the extreme right in the morning was not felt in town, or to any great degree on the field. The whole forenoon was relatively quiet. After an observation from the cupola of Pennsylvania College, General Lee arranged for a final effort to break through the Federal lines. The left center of the Federal lines, held by the Second Army Corps, under General Hancock, occupied the most exposed position on the Federal lines, southwest of the cemetery. It was immediately opposite the right and southern side of Seminary Ridge. Between the two there was a broad, open plain, with few interruptions of trees or buildings. A conspicuous point on Hancock's front was a group of young trees, known as the "clump of bushes." The plan of the Confederate commander was to concentrate upon this point the fire of all his artillery, and to follow this by the massing of his infantry on the same place. There were no walls to batter down; the cannon shot had to fall on the ground or be carried far beyond through the unobstructed space.

It was a sultry day. The sky was partially clear. The thermometer at 2 p.m. registered 87. At precisely 1.07 p.m. the signal gun sounded; then came a second; and then a terrific crash. For over an hour, from north, northwest and southwest, the Confederate batteries concentrated their fire on the Federal left center. The Federal guns joined in "the diapason of the cannonade." Such a symphony never had been heard before. My father quoted Rev. 10:4, "Seven thunders uttered their voices." It was not one con-

fused uproar; but each gun had its individuality, and the explosions were distinguishable. There was first the discharge of the gun; then the scream of the shell rushing through the air, and then the report as it burst, carrying destruction and death in its pathway, breaking down walls or tearing horrid trenches in the ground. The two sides were also capable of recognition. An elderly lady sitting near us kept count of each shot with the words, "Ours," "theirs," "ours," "theirs." A great gun at the cemetery led the weird chorus. When it would rest to cool, the question was involuntary, "Silenced?"; and then again the tense strain would be relieved as its deep, gruff voice would once more wake the echoes.

But after awhile the Federal guns begin to slacken. We fear the worst. But, no. They are at it once more. But the intervals become longer. The chorus fades out.

Slowly, more slowly, still more slowly. At last all have ceased. But the silence that ensues is portentous. There seems to be such art in it as to justify the inference that an important move is about to be executed.

My father, hastening to the garret, turns his glass on the Confederate right. He sees, on Seminary Ridge, a long line of men forming, supported by another; and, at last, their onward march, in magnificent array, toward the Federal line. He watches its steady advance until it is hidden by intervening buildings. Then comes the sound of artillery and the crash of smaller arms. The din is resumed, but the tone is not so loud. It is not long until, through the wrecked cornfield, stragglers are seen almost stealthily returning, a single battle flag, a few hundred men, several mounted officers. I was called to share the sight.

This was the famous charge of Pickett. It was really no charge, but the deliberate march of the brave Confederate troops over a plain where for nearly a mile they were in full view of the Federal troops, upon whom they advanced. It looked as though nothing could stand before such magnificent courage. Lee had been so accustomed to the readiness of the Federals to retire before the march of the Confederates, that he had not calculated upon the probability of changed conditions, where the Federal army stood on northern soil, and rejoiced in a new commander, in whom it had peculiar confidence. The disagreement between Lee and the corps commander of the doomed division, Longstreet, is a matter of history. Longstreet's repeated protests were unheeded, and he rode away from the summit of the ridge when the death march across the plain began, that he might be spared the

sight of what he felt must be the inevitable result. Lee also is reported to have candidly acknowledged, as he welcomed back the few who returned, "It is all my fault."

Nevertheless, it is a serious question as to what advantage even the gaining of the Federal line would have been, since the conformation of the country is such that a line equally strong could have arisen in its rear.

All through that night there were movements of troops through the streets, indicating very soon that the Confederates were on the retreat. At daybreak of Saturday, July 4, the streets were deserted, although a few hours later we were informed of the presence of pickets, who remained the rest of the day at the entrance to the town and amidst the heavy showers of rain attempted to reach with their fire any Federals who came within range. Even on Sunday, the 5th, the peril continued, and early on that day General Howard passed our house with one of his staff mortally wounded from an ambuscade on the Hagerstown road. This, however, was only a cover for the precipitate flight of the Confederates towards the Potomac then occurring. If General Meade could have fallen energetically upon the retreating army before it could have crossed the Potomac, the war would have ended two years sooner. But the Federal troops had already been put to the greatest strain in forced marches, and days of fighting; and there is an end to human endurance.

4. Gettysburg's Greatest Day — November 19, 1863

The National Cemetery

IN HIS GETTYSBURG ORATION Mr. Everett quotes the Duke of Wellington as saying that “next to a defeat the saddest thing is a victory.” The battle had ended on Friday, July 3. Amidst the heavy downpour of rain on Saturday (over an inch and a third had fallen during the afternoon and night) the enemy was constantly withdrawing his troops, under cover of an unbroken line of defense on Seminary Ridge. The horrors of the field passed all description. For weeks hundreds of horses remained unburied. Around the small house on the Taneytown road, where General Meade had his headquarters, I counted no less than fifteen. The wounded required so great attention, with houses, churches and barns largely occupied, that the dead were necessarily neglected. Six thousand were killed in action, and every day hundreds more died in the hospitals. The soldiers of both armies tenderly laid their comrades to rest in hastily prepared graves. But the Federal dead of the first day’s fight were uncared for by the enemy, who were in possession of the field. Even where the dead were buried it was often done most superficially. It was not unusual for them to have no more protection than a foot or two of hastily thrown earth, with their names written in pencil on a rude headboard from a piece of a cracker box. Many graves were unmarked, and in the endeavor to identify the missing many graves were opened and left in confusion. The time was approaching, also, when the farmers would plow the fields for the next year’s crop. An influential citizen, David Wills, Esq., afterwards judge of the Adams County Court, within a few days of the battle urged the importance of gathering the Federal dead into one cemetery; and Governor Curtin, on July 24, gave the project his official endorsement. In August a piece of ground, covering sev-

enteen acres, was purchased for this purpose. It was the choicest spot on the entire field, with a magnificent view, extending for many miles, seen from its gentle but commanding height. Within three months the removal of the dead was completed, and the grounds were laid out so as to assume the general appearance familiar to all visitors today.

November 19 was finally fixed as the date for the dedication. Hon. Edward Everett was invited to deliver the oration, and President Lincoln to perform the act of consecration, or, as the request ran, “to set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks.”

Lincoln At Gettysburg

The railroad authorities planned that the President should leave Washington early on the morning of the 19th, reaching Gettysburg shortly after noon and returning that evening. This plan did not meet with the President’s approval, who justly thought that such a hurried visit would detract from the dignity and solemnity of the occasion. However exacting his engagements, he felt that the rush of business should pause while he attended the funeral of thousands who had given their lives in defense of their country.

Accordingly, he arranged to reach Gettysburg on the evening of the 18th. His train was delayed, and a large crowd had gathered at the little depot on Carlisle Street, awaiting his arrival. Among them was Mr. Everett, who had spent the day studying the field.

On his arrival, Mr. Lincoln, with other members of his party, was taken at once to the residence of Mr. Wills. This was a large three-story double house on the southeast corner of the Diamond and York Street, where Mr. Everett was also entertained. Hon. William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, was in a neighboring house on the Diamond.

Time was scarcely given Mr. Lincoln for supper — those were not the days of Pullman dining-cars — until a band serenaded him and a large concourse of people were clamorous for his appearance. They were not disappointed. He was willing to be seen and heard, but was unwilling to make a speech. The incident was characteristic of Mr. Lincoln.

“I appear before you, fellow-citizens,” he said, “to thank you for the compliment. The inference is a fair one that you would hear me for awhile, at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you

for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. The most substantial of these is that I have nothing to say. (Laughter.) In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say foolish things.”

A voice: “If you can help it.”

Mr. Lincoln: “It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. (Laughter.) Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg you to excuse me from addressing you further.”

Mr. Seward was then prevailed upon to speak, but by some strange fatuity seemed to take it for granted that those whom he addressed had been southern sympathizers. He expressed his gratitude that “You are willing to hear me at last.” There is, we think, a trace of his having been apprised of what Mr. Lincoln was to say the next day in the words, “We owe it to our country and to mankind, that this war shall have for its conclusion the establishment of democracy... With this principle, this government of ours, the freest, the best, the wisest and happiest in this world, must be, and, so far as we are concerned, practically, will be immortal.”

The nineteenth of November was an ideal fall day. There was scarcely a cloud in the sky. The thermometer stood at its maximum at 52, just warm enough to prevent a chill, and yet cool enough to be slightly bracing. The Army of the Potomac was too much occupied with the enemy to be represented on the occasion by any large number of its troops. A couple of regiments, however, headed the procession that moved sharply at 10 a.m., under the command of Major-General Couch, out Baltimore Street to the junction with the Emmitsburg road, and thence, by way of the Taneytown road, to the western entrance of the cemetery, while those not in the procession entered directly from Baltimore Street, through the main entrance.

Standing on the upward slope of Baltimore Street, near the approach to the cemetery, and looking on the front of the procession, the cheers of the crowd lining the sidewalks told me of the approach of the President. On all sides he was greeted with enthusiasm. With appreciative smiles and continual bows, “the tallest and grandest man in the procession” acknowledged the many cries of welcome, such as “Hurrah for old Abe!”; “We are coming, Father Abraham.” He towered above everyone, and his gigantic proportions seemed to be magnified by the shape of the odd high silk hat that he wore. Why an abnormally small horse was given him to mount was hard to understand. In case the steed became fractious it looked as though the President could simply plant his feet on the ground and let it pass from under.

About fifteen thousand people had assembled in the cemetery. The arrangements, which had been well made, were carried out to the letter. The prayer, by Thomas H. Stocketon, D.D., of Philadelphia, the chaplain of the United States House of Representatives, was more properly an eloquent rhapsody, most aptly expressed by a minister whose dignified appearance commanded high respect.

Edward Everett

Then came the formal oration by Hon. Edward Everett. There was but one opinion, and that was that of all men in the nation Mr. Everett was the one man to make the address. In his youth a famous Boston preacher; for ten years Professor of Greek, and afterwards President of Harvard; a cultivated scholar and a student and expounder of the Greek models of oratory; United States Senator, Minister to England, Secretary of State, the intimate friend of English men of letters, he had attained a high place among his countrymen. As the orator of the semi-centennial celebrations of the opening battles of the Revolutionary War, in the presence of many of their survivors, he connected the present with the past, Gettysburg with Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill. There lived in the memory of the American people the great service he had rendered only shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War, in traveling, at his own charges, over the land, and repeating for one hundred times an oration on Washington, and, with its proceeds, enabling the association of women, organized for the purpose, to purchase Mt. Vernon for its preservation to future generations. From a defeated candidate for the vice-presidency on one of the tickets opposing Mr. Lincoln, he had, when the election had been decided, thrown himself with ardor into the support of the Union cause, and in advocacy of Mr. Lincoln's policy had delivered another great oration scores of times throughout the cities of the North. His appearance was most imposing. Snow-white hair, delicately curled, overshadowed an intellectual forehead, forming a striking contrast to his piercing black eyes. His dress was noticeably handsome. In every respect he had the bearing of the polished and cultivated gentleman. Mr. Emerson once said that what Pericles had been to Athens, Mr. Everett was to the New England of his day. Mr. Lincoln, in January, 1865, a few days after Mr. Everett's death, said of him: "His life was a truly great one, and I think that the

greatest part of it was that which crowned its closing years." He spoke without a scrap of manuscript, in a clear, sweet, resonant voice. The one defect of the delivery seemed to be that it was too studied. Every sentence was thoroughly elaborated; the emphasis and even the gestures seemed to have been predetermined. Nor was it deemed at the time as having failed to fulfill the high expectations that had been formed concerning what it would be. It was a model of classical oratory, meeting fully a high academic standard. An editorial of *The Press*, of Philadelphia, of the next day says: "It needs neither compliment nor introduction; it is complete and perfect." "It is well for Mr. Everett's fame that, in the fullness of his powers and toward the close of a career so rich in intellectual triumphs, such an opportunity should have been offered him. Not only his friends but the friends of our literature should be proud of it. . . . It seems to have been intended for the future rather than for the present, and, no doubt, Mr. Everett, standing before the vast throng on Cemetery Hill, looked beyond it to the years when men will read more calmly than now the records of the war." The suggestion was made that it be introduced as a textbook throughout the schools of the country.

But there are reasons why it is almost forgotten. The orator had attempted too much. An open air address of one hour and fifty-seven minutes' length could scarcely hold the close attention of thousands, most of whom were standing on the cold ground; least of all when a large portion of the address was more philosophical than oratorical and the numerous classical allusions were lost on the multitude. The intense activity of life and thought introduced by the Civil War demanded more, direct and incisive modes of address. As officially published it has no less than three introductions. Unless our memory be greatly in fault — and its impressions are confirmed by the newspaper reports of the oration published the next day — the opening sentences in the official edition were prefaced to it only when it was prepared, after delivery, for permanent preservation. These sentences, however, so correctly described the scene upon which the orator looked, and are so beautifully expressed, that anyone familiar with the spot must appreciate the addition:

"Standing beneath this serene sky, overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning year, the mighty Alleghenies towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and na-

ture. But the duty to which you have called me must be performed. Grant me, I pray you, your indulgence and your sympathy.”

The audience was wonderfully patient; but evidences of weariness could not be entirely suppressed, and I took advantage of the movement to find a place directly in front of the platform, where I stood very near to where President Lincoln was seated.

An Eloquent Peroration

Mr. Everett has just reached the peroration:

“And now, friends, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg, and you from remoter states, let me again, as we part, invoke your benediction on these honored graves... . God bless the Union; it is dearer to us for the blood of the brave men who have been slain in its defense. The spots on which they stood and fell; these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath them; the thriving village whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyond the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and, while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in after times the wondering plowmen will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare,¹ the fearful missiles of modern artillery; Seminary Ridge, Peach Orchard, Culp and Wolf Hills, Round Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous — no lapse of time, no distance of space will cause you to be forgotten.”

As in these words Mr. Everett was closing his oration, Mr. Lincoln, I thought, was showing some of that nervousness which, according to Cicero, characterizes all successful oratory. His mind evidently was not on what Mr. Everett was saying, but on his own speech. He drew from his pocket a metallic spectacle case and adjusted a pair of steel glasses near the tip of his nose. Then, reaching into the side pocket of his coat, he produced a crumpled sheet of paper, which he first carefully smoothed and then read for a few moments. By this time Mr. Everett had reached his final periods:

“Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men,

to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join me in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates The Battles of Gettysburg.”

The Great Address

Mr. Lincoln's notes had been replaced in his pocket, but his spectacles remained in position. A dirge was then sung. Every eye and ear were strained as the President arose, a majestic figure, in all the stateliness of his office and with the solemnity which befitted the occasion, not to deliver an oration but to formally dedicate the grounds. It was a sad hour. Any tumultuous wave of applause would have been out of place. The entire bearing of Mr. Lincoln showed how deeply he realized the seriousness of the act. It grieved him that there were many thousands who regarded him as personally responsible for the deaths which the exercises of the day called to mind. At no time more than when he stood before the newly-made graves of Gettysburg did the injustice of this charge so oppress him. His sole effort, therefore, was to convince the world of the overwhelming importance of the principle for which the war was waged and the heroes of the battle had fallen and his own life was being spent. The deep feeling of the speaker, combined with masterful self-control and firmly set purpose, made a profound impression. There was something so unusual in the tones of his voice and in his mode of address, that long before those present were ready to weigh his words he had finished. His remarks were limited to nine sentences. The suddenness with which he ended was almost startling. The first few lines of the address were spoken without notes. Then gradually drawing them from his pocket, he held in both hands the sheet on which they were written, making emphatic gestures, not with his hands, which were preoccupied, but by bowing from side to side with his body. All told there were only two hundred and fifty words spoken, and just two minutes' time were occupied in their delivery. But rarely has the same amount of thought and argument been compressed within the same compass.

We add the text, as officially published, with the marks of applause as reported in the newspaper accounts. The fact of the repeated applause we well remember, although we could not, without the memoranda then made, venture to locate it. The more important variations are bracketed:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. (Applause.) Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it [that field] as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our [poor] power to add or detract. (Applause.) It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on [advanced]. (Applause.) It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we may take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall under God have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Long applause. Three cheers for the President and the Governors of the states.)

Characteristics Of The Address

That the majority of those present did not notice his manuscript or the odd way in which it was handled or his awkward gestures, is not remarkable. The personality of the speaker and the force of his words caused all else to be overlooked. To them, for the moment, it was a greater privilege to look upon that strong and kindly face, "the father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue" (Emerson).

The thought of the address was not new. The theory of government enunciated, viz., the sovereignty of the people, had John Locke as its expounder in the seventeenth century, and is rooted still farther back in the famous Recess of Spires, a century and a half earlier. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Marsilius of Padua, in his "*Defensor Pacis*," had boldly proclaimed this doctrine. Mr. Lincoln's argument is enunciated not as the fruit of laborious investigation, or as a plan for the reconstruction of society evolved from his inner consciousness, such as those of which the twentieth century is so prolific. On the contrary, he lays down certain axiomatic principles, recognized as the fundamental law by the founders of American independence, and then, upon the assumption that these principles are thoroughly established and well known to his hearers, makes an earnest appeal to their consciences. The individuality of the speaker becomes apparent in the mode of presentation. There is not a superfluous word. Every stroke tells. Later generations must interpret the address in the light of his confession concerning the mental discipline to which as a youth he had subjected himself, as on more than one occasion he paced the floor of his humble sleeping-room far into the night, and could not think of sleeping until he had solved the problem with which he was struggling, and reduced his answer to clear, exact and condensed statement. An enemy of all vague and desultory thinking, he not only became a master of the art of expression, but all the intensity of his nature was directed, in this address, upon one object, and that is the sublime climax with which it ends — the focus in which all its rays blend.

No comparison was made at the time between the two addresses. Each speaker was regarded as having fully met the expectations that had been awakened by the published program and by the opening prayer of the chaplain, who had ventured to characterize in advance the two addresses, Mr. Everett's as "the pathetic eloquence of venerable wisdom," and the President's as "the honest tribute of our Chief Magistrate." But the importance of the latter constantly grew. It was strong in what it omitted as well as in what it declared. There is nothing in it concerning the abolition of slavery, upon which Mr. Seward had, in his doorstep address of the preceding evening, shown such readiness to descant, nor concerning the fallacy of the theory of states' rights maintained by the Confederates, against which Mr. Everett had argued at length. Nor does he in a single word denounce the men of the South. These, in Mr. Lincoln's opinion, were secondary, and not

fundamental issues. He confines himself, therefore, to the real bone of contention beneath all the other questions.

Nor must another prominent characteristic of Mr. Lincoln's address be overlooked. Both Mr. Everett, and Mr. Seward in his less formal address, following closely oratorical models, emphasized the first person singular. A great orator is as a rule a great egotist. But Mr. Lincoln's address is without an "I" or a "me." He is one with those to whom he speaks. Nor is his "we," the "we" which is modestly used for an "I." He speaks as the representative of the audience. "We are engaged in a great civil war," "We are met on a great battlefield," "We cannot dedicate this ground," "It is for us to be dedicated," "That we here highly resolve." The representative of the people must speak in the language of the people. As it was their cause and not his own that he was mentioning; as it was their war and not his own — except as he was one of them — that was being waged, so the act of dedication was one in which, in his opinion, his personality counted for little, except as it expressed their will. The theory of government maintained in the address finds expression even in its rhetoric. There is a complete harmony between the thought and the form in which it is clothed, "He is so eminently our representative man, that, when he speaks, it seems as if the people were listening to their own thinking aloud." (Lowell, "My Study Windows," p. 176.)

Mr. Everett wrote to the President the next day: "I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes," and Mr. Lincoln answered: "In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure."

Since 1863, the most eminent orators of the country have spoken at the many celebrations held in the same cemetery, but none has received more than temporary notice. Within a few days of delivery their orations have been forgotten. For, to all time, there is but one Gettysburg oration.

Mr. Lincoln's judgment, so trustworthy on all subjects, was for once deceived when in his modesty he declared, "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." For long as the world will remember what the heroes who fell and the heroes who survived did at Gettysburg, will they remember also the interpretation of their heroic acts made there by President Lincoln.

The benediction pronounced on this memorable occasion by President Baugher, of Pennsylvania College, is worthy of preservation:

“O Thou King of kings and Lord of lords, God of the nations of the earth, who, by Thy kind providence hast permitted us to engage in these solemn services, grant us Thy blessing. Bless this consecrated ground and these holy graves. Bless the President of these United States and his cabinet. Bless the governors and the representatives of the states here assembled with all needed grace to conduct the affairs committed into their hands, to the glory of Thy name and the greatest good of the people. May this great nation be delivered from treason and rebellion at home, and from the power of enemies abroad. And now may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God our heavenly Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.”

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1. The allusion is to the arrowheads and other relics of the North American Indians, that were formerly abundant in the “Third Swamp,” along Rock Creek, at the base of Gulp’s Hill.↩

5. Lincoln's Ruling Principles of Statesmanship

Note. — For the study of the topic of this chapter we especially commend the volume in the familiar series of "Everyman's Library," entitled, "Speeches and Letters of Abraham Lincoln, 1832-65. Edited by Merwin Roe, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co." It contains a very excellent introduction by Lord Bryce. It should be widely used in our schools and colleges and be in the hands of every intelligent American citizen.

PROBABLY NO NATIVE AMERICAN has exerted a wider influence than Abraham Lincoln. His distinction is not that of Washington, as a calm and wise administrator in a great crisis, but beyond this, as the expounder of great principles brought to expression in the anguish of a terrific struggle. When he fell, by the hand of an unbalanced actor, the world had only begun to appreciate the worth of his character and the value of his services. The highest tributes then passed seem now very feeble. A long perspective was needed, that he might be seen in a true light. So humble was his birth and so plain his speech and so modest his claims for himself, that his closest friends did not realize what this many-sided man was. Untrained in the learning of the schools, but with a mind singularly disciplined by exhaustless efforts to master most difficult problems, a quick observer, an acute thinker, a sagacious philosopher, a master of the art of expression in language of classical purity, endowed with deep and tender sympathies, with a wide outlook, an inflexible standard of justice, a never failing fund of humor, an exalted aim and an insatiable love of truth, and, when a great cause was at stake, reckless of self, he was a prophet, with a prophet's consciousness of a mission, a prophet's prevision of the future, and a prophetic voice directed to coming generations and scattering seed thoughts which today are germinating all over the world. His strength lay, not in the originality of the truths upon whose recognition he insisted, but in forcing upon the attention and impressing upon the conscience of his contemporaries what had been long known and long forgotten.

There were three most important contributions which he made to constructive political science in America. It was his office not so much to formulate as to coordinate the three principles of national unity, states' rights and individual liberty. These are properly understood only when they modify and interpret one another. Any one of them accepted in isolation is a political heresy, never without advocates, who, by their propaganda, strike at the firm foundations of stable government.

National Unity

The statement has been made by an historian of high repute that, prior to Lincoln's Gettysburg address, the term "nation" was rarely applied to the United States.

We are told that, in concession to a singular sensitiveness on the subject, the word was erased no less than twenty-six times from the preliminary draft of the Federal Constitution.¹ In 1851 the greatest of New England essayists wrote of "these thirty nations"!

For this there was some reason. As a rule a new organization is formed by the adoption of a constitution, upon whose terms the several members agree, and to which, in attestation of such agreement, they affix their signatures. But let us hear Mr. Lincoln on this point: "The Union is older than any of the states. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and the Union in turn threw off their old dependence for them and made them states such as they are. Not one of them ever had a state constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new states framed their constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union."

Prior to the Union, the colonies were mere dependencies of the British crown. Without the assent of the crown, they were without power to form alliances among themselves. It was by their union with one another without authority of the government, whereof they were dependencies, that they became states, free and independent of that government.

The age of the United States is officially reckoned, therefore, not from the adoption of the Constitution, but from the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The birthday of the United States is July 4, 1776, and not in 1787. Every President of the United States reminds the world of this with

every proclamation which he publishes. The preamble of the Constitution begins, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form" not "a union," but "a more perfect union." Nine years before, the Declaration of Independence had closed with a sentence beginning, "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled."

Mr. Lincoln was right, therefore, when he began his Gettysburg address, "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation." The men who had fallen at Gettysburg, he continues, "gave their lives that the nation might live"; and in closing he defines the nation as "a government," not of states, but "of the people, by the people and for the people." The nation or government is the people, organized under a charter that guarantees to every citizen within the nation protection in the enjoyment of every constitutional right. That the rights of each state, and those of each individual within each state, be maintained, the states must support one another. If the power of all were not pledged for the protection of each state, what opposition could Delaware ever offer to any encroachment of Pennsylvania, or how could Rhode Island withstand any injustice from New York? In Colonial days there were armed conflicts between Pennsylvania and Connecticut settlers, who claimed the Wyoming Valley, as well as between Pennsylvania and Maryland before Mason and Dixon's line was satisfactorily determined. What, we may well ask today, would have been the issue of the late World War, if all the discussions and preparations, made with so much difficulty and delay at Washington, especially if all the terms of the Treaty of Peace would have had to wait upon the good pleasure of legislators at Phoenix and Little Rock, at Tallahassee and Olympia, at Carson City and Cheyenne and forty other state capitals? During the last half century the great development of our resources and the extension of our influence in every department of thought and activity have been connected with the growth of American national consciousness.

Although inherent in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States defines and makes still more explicit this principle. The great battle for its adoption in the conventions of the several states, especially Virginia and Pennsylvania, centered on this one point. Although the provisional federation had broken down and disintegration was threatened, the eyes of some leaders of undoubted patriotism were blinded to the vision of an efficient national organization. "Monarchy," said one, "may suit a large territory, but popular government can exist only in small territories.

Does any man suppose that one general national government can exist in so extensive a country as this?" One who thirty years later was to become the fifth President of the United States actually insisted, "Consider the territory lying between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi. It is larger than any territory that was ever under one free government. It is too extensive except to be governed by a despotic monarchy. Taxes cannot be laid justly and equally in such a territory. Are there not a thousand circumstances that show that there can be no law that can be uniform in its operation throughout the United States?" "Will the people of this great community," asked another wise man, "ever consent to be individually taxed by two different and distinct powers? These two concurrent powers cannot long exist together; the one will destroy the other; the general government being paramount to and in every way more powerful than the state governments, the latter must give way to the former. It is ascertained by history that there never was a government over a very extensive country without destroying the liberties of the people." (P. Henry.) How thankful should we be that there were those who insisted that if this be the testimony of history, it is well sometimes to fly in its face and try a new experiment, and that the precedents of the Old World are often misleading when applied to the New. What would these sages have said could they have heard that from a territory now four times the area of that which they had in mind, millions of our troops had recently been transported, most of them in a single summer, across the Atlantic, in defense of free government, and that billions of wealth were gladly and promptly offered to support the nation in its great struggle, after it had received that "new birth of freedom" of which Mr. Lincoln speaks in one of the least noticed but most significant phrases of his Gettysburg address?

A True Theory Of States' Rights

Just as important was Mr. Lincoln's definition of state authority. The burning question, at the time of his election, was that of the extension of slavery into the territories, which were soon to become states. It centered on the right of the people of Kansas to decide whether they were to be citizens of a free or of a slave state. For some years violence reigned and rival territorial governments were set up. There were some horrible massacres. Just on the

eve of Lincoln's inauguration in 1861 order was restored and Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state. Mr. Lincoln emphasized the right of the people of each state to regulate matters of internal administration. "Unquestionably," he said in his first inaugural, "the states have the powers and the rights reserved to them in the national Constitution... This relative matter of national power and states' rights as a principle is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole world should be confided to the whole — to the general government; while whatever concerns only the state should be left exclusively to the state. The great variety of local institutions in the state, springing from differences in the soil, differences in the face of the country and in the climate, are bonds of union. They do not make a house divided against itself, but make a house united. If they produce in one section of the country what is called for by the wants of another section, and this section can supply the wants of the first, they are not matters of discord, but true bonds of union."

The constitutional theory of the state, of which Mr. Lincoln was the exponent, implies that the administration of the states is a department of the Federal administration. Just as the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial Departments are carefully distinguished and have been brought into harmonious cooperation, so the functions of the nation and of the state are distinguished and guaranteed in the Constitution; and have now stood the strain of two terrific conflicts.

Animated by this principle, he stood firm as a rock against the incessant clamors of radical agitators, who, from the very beginning of his administration, urged the emancipation of slaves, and who questioned the sincerity of his devotion to the Union when he was not moved by their appeals. Of his acts and failures to act there were no more severe critics than within his own party. Great as was his abhorrence of slavery — which as a native of Kentucky he had learned to know in its own home, and whose blight upon the development of the poorer classes, to which his nearest ancestors had belonged, as well as of entire communities, he had closely observed — no less decided was he in antagonizing any infringement upon the constitutional rights of any state. "While we agree," he said, "that by the Constitution, in the states where it exists, we have no right to interfere with it, because it is in the Constitution, we are, both by duty and inclination, to stick by that Constitution in all its letter and spirit from beginning to end."

Emphatic as was his dissent from the decision in 1857 of the majority of the Supreme Court in the famous Dred Scott case, he sought its reversal only by constitutional methods. That decision, in his judgment, was itself unconstitutional. A slave in a slave state being pronounced by the law as property, the Court declared must continue to be recognized as nothing more than “property” within any free state to which he would be transported. This meant, as Mr. Lincoln argued, that if in any state there were anyone man intent upon having slaves, “all the rest have no way of keeping that man from having them.” The particular case involved he regarded finally settled; but the consequences of the premises laid down were such as to call for annulment whenever, in a constitutional way, it could be effected. Hence his well known warning, “A house divided against itself cannot stand. This government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.”

The South was entirely mistaken in regarding him as sympathizing with the attempt of John Brown at Harper’s Ferry to stir up an insurrection among the slaves. “John Brown’s effort,” he writes, “was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt which ends in little else than his own execution.”

Nor had he any desire to seize an opportunity to anticipate the abolition of slavery within the states in revolt. “The recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws should afford no example to us. Let us revere the Declaration of Independence, let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws. Let us keep step to the music of the Union.”

He was reluctant also to use his power as President to determine legislation: “My political education strongly inclines me against a free use of any of the means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country.”

As, however, the war progressed, he entertained the hope that the South might be willing to agree to a constitutional provision for the gradual aboli-

tion of slavery after a long term of years, and the payment to the owners of an equitable compensation for the loss of their property. In his second message, in December, 1862, he, therefore, recommended the following amendment to the Constitution:

"Every state wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January, 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States, to wit:

"The President of the United States shall deliver to every such state bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of per cent per annum, to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of for each slave shown to have been therein by the Eighth Census of the United States," etc.

What a remarkable proposition! If North and South had united upon this proposition, the war would have been shortened by two years and four months, and more than half a million of lives would have been spared.

But until the enactment of such amendment by the requisite number of states, he was for the time being helpless: "The people can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it." "My paramount object is to save the Union, and neither to save nor to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that also."

When, on January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was published, it provided only for the liberation of slaves in those portions of the South which were at the time in armed rebellion, passing over four states entirely, as well as a large part of Louisiana and Virginia. The act was done "by virtue of the power in me vested," not as President, but "as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure," "warranted by the Constitution." The permanent abolition of slavery was not effected until, in 1865, thirty-one out of thirty-six states adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Individual Liberty

A third principle for which Lincoln stood was individual liberty within the state and the nation.

True liberty consists not in arbitrary self-assertion and detachment from social obligations, but in the protection of each factor in the common body, in the particular form of service in which he recognizes himself best fitted to administer the highest common interests. This ideal can be reached only where a religious motive enters, and man acts under the conviction that both he and his fellow-men are subject to a higher power. The law of God is the universal charter of human freedom. This is a spiritual matter requiring the Gospel of Christ for its interpretation.

Nevertheless, even in purely civil matters, the same principle applies, as the law is enforced by the appeal made through it to the conscience of the individual. Mr. Lincoln protested for years against the heresy that every man, woman or child is simply a piece of property, a chattel, which is to be treated by the law as a thing instead of a person.

The words from the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," were among his most favorite quotations. He was well aware of the flippant objection that was made that everyday experience teaches that men are neither born nor ever live on an equality. But he answers: "The authors of that notable instrument did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean that all were equal in color, size, intellectual and moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal, 'Equal with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'" That is, whatever inequalities otherwise may prevail, there should be no class legislation whatever, or class interpretation of the laws of the country; and, in the enjoyment of those laws all should be alike protected by the state.

"I protest," he says, "against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal. But in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands, without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others."

He does not advance the right of an individual to assert independence of the state — for this cannot be done without invading the rights of other individuals. Anarchy and mob law are the worst form of despotism. The dem-

agogue who seeks to level all distinctions is more dangerous than the most absolute tyrant.

Concerning the relation between capital and labor he says: "That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests, should after awhile accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also, if they should choose, when they have accumulated it, use it to save themselves from actual labor, and hire other people to labor for them — is right. In doing so they do not wrong the man they employ, for they find men who have not their own land to work upon, or shop to work in, and who are benefited by working for others — hired laborers, receiving their capital for it."

No government of the people can exist without organization; and organization is nothing more than the observance of distinctions, in various degrees and relations, between rulers and ruled. So far from being ochlocracy or mobocracy, democracy is the most thoroughly organized form of government. In it the rights of all are most securely guarded against both the many and the few. "People" means more than an aggregate of human units, but such units consolidated into a corporate organism, with the same hopes and fears and purposes and interests, conspiring towards a common end, each having a sense both of his individual and his corporate responsibilities. (See I Peter 2:9.) The highest end of the nation is the highest welfare of all its people. Government is by the people when the people in constitutional order make and administer the laws, and legislators act neither for the majority nor for the minority, but for all the people. The ultimate appeal is not to force, but to the intelligence and conscience of all the people. "With public sentiment," said Mr. Lincoln, "nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed," "While the people retain their virtue and intelligence," he says at another time, "no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years." But so far as he was concerned the path of duty was plain; it was to be true to the people. They had put a trust in his hands, from whose strict administration he could not deviate. Personal concessions which, with his tender heart, he would be inclined to make, had to be declined; for he was the agent of the people. He defines his duty as "to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it

unimpaired to his successor.” “You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy this government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.”

The helm of state was in his hand, and he held it true to its course, in the interest of all the people, for all time, and with a never absent sense of responsibility to the final Tribunal, before which all rulers, as well as all people, must render an account, and where the Right and the True must ultimately prevail. “Let us have faith that Right makes Might; and, in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.” He is not deceived by the hallucination of any incapacity of the people for error; for it has been well said that “his faith in God was qualified by a very well-founded distrust of the wisdom of men.” But he is confident in the resistless force of sound principles, before which error must succumb.

Origin Of The Phrase

As to the origin of the watchword of democracy, “Government of the people, by the people, for the people,” with which the address ends, it is only the precise form and setting that are Mr. Lincoln’s. It was in the very atmosphere which he breathed, and he only gave it the expression and application that were needed for the hour. A year before, Henry Ward Beecher had said, “In all Europe there is a steady progress towards the last great form of civil government, viz., republican government, or government of the people, by the people” “Having taken the first steps of government of the people, by the people, our national life may collapse.”

In the same address, this frequent confidential adviser of Mr. Lincoln repudiates the injustice of any atheistic interpretation of the phrase, in the following words:

“All government,” he said, “is ordained of God; and civil governments are so, not as by revelation and ordination, but because the nature of man necessitates government. God made men need clothes, but He never cut out a pattern for them to make their clothes by. He left them to choose their own raiment. God made man’s necessity for government, and that necessity of government wrought civil governments. Governments are always the legitimate outworkings of the condition of those governed, and there cannot be, for any protracted time, a government that is not in the nature of things

adapted to those under it... . There can be no self-government, except where there is virtue, intelligence and moral worth... . Self-government by the whole people is the teleological idea.” Thus the people are qualified for self-government, when their prerogatives are recognized as trusts from God and administered in His fear.

Nor could so able a lawyer as was Lincoln have been unacquainted with several of the most important opinions of Chief Justice Marshall, distinguished among American jurists as “the expounder of the Constitution,” who, in “*McCulloch vs. the State of Maryland*” (1816), his colleagues concurring, declared: “The government of the Union is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.” These forty words of the Supreme Court of the United States are thus condensed by Lincoln into ten. Nor can any better exposition of Lincoln’s words be found than later in the same opinion, where the court continues: “No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the states, and of compounding the American people in one common mass. Of consequence, when they act, they act in their states. But the measures they adopt do not on that account cease to be the measures of the people themselves... . The government proceeds directly from the people; is ordained and established in the name of the people; and is declared to be ordained, ‘in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.’ The assent of the states, in their sovereign capacity, is implied in calling a convention, and thus submitting the instrument to the people. But the people were at liberty to accept or reject it; and their act was final. It required not the affirmance and could not be negated by the state governments. The Constitution, when thus adopted, was of complete obligation and bound the state sovereignties.”

So in “*Cohens vs. the State of Virginia*” (1821):

“In war we are one people; in making peace we are one people; in all commercial regulations we are one and the same people. In many other respects the American people are one. And the government which is alone capable of controlling and managing their interests in these respects, is the government of the Union. America has chosen to be, in many respects and for many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes her government is complete; to all these objects it is competent. The people have declared that

in the exercise of all powers given for these objects it is supreme. It can then, in effecting these objects, control all individuals or governments within the American territory. The Constitution and laws of a state, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These states are constituent parts of the United States. They are members of one great empire; for some purposes, sovereign; for some purposes, subordinate.”

Nor should the words of Marshall’s great colleague and friend, Justice Story, be overlooked, who in his “Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States,” says: “They” i.e., the people, "have made it a limited government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of certain powers, and reserved all others to the states or to the people. It is a popular government. Those who administer it are responsible to the people. It is as popular, and just as much emanating from the people, as the state governments. It is created for one purpose; the state governments for another. It may be altered and amended and abolished at the will of the people. In short:

“It was made by the people, made for the people, and is responsible to the people.”

The “Bills,” or “Declarations of Rights,” made long before the Federal Constitution by the several states, as fundamental to their state Constitutions, give diversified but no less decided expression to the same principle. Thus Pennsylvania declared and still declares: “All power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and for their peace, safety and happiness”; and Virginia still earlier: “All power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people,” “Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community.”

The Religious Element

Much has been written concerning the religious attitude of Mr. Lincoln. Men most closely associated with him have differed on this question. While not raised within the Church, his early years were not without close contact with religious people. He ascribed most of his success in life to the consistent Christian character of a devoted stepmother, who lived to see him

elected to the presidency. That he was a diligent student of the Bible is attested not only by his own confession but by the evidence shown in his writings and speeches. Theodore Roosevelt made a most interesting allusion to this in an address in 1901, before the American Bible Society, on "Reading the Bible": "Lincoln, sad, patient, kindly Lincoln, who, after bearing upon his shoulders for four years a greater burden than that borne by any other man of the nineteenth century, laid down his life for the people, whom living he served so well, built up his entire reading upon his study of the Bible. He had mastered it absolutely, mastered it as later he mastered only two or three other books, notably Shakespeare; mastered it so that he became almost a man of one book."

He was a man of prayer. All his references to religious matters, in the period when the world knew him, are in a reverent spirit. He never fails in his confession of dependence upon providential guidance, and in asking, in every great emergency, for the prayers of the people. At Gettysburg he makes this confession in the words, "The nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom,"

As the crisis of his life approaches, the religious side of his character comes more and more to expression. It is not unusual to find a deepening of the religious life attending the increasing weight of grave responsibilities. Nor should we think that the prayers of hundreds of thousands of devout Christians for him should have been without an answer. One of the most eminent of English lawyers, Professor Dicey, of Oxford University, says in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1919:

"One cannot doubt that in the case of Lincoln increase of power went on constantly increasing his sense of responsibility, and his intense determination to perform to the full his duty to the nation and to God."

Bidding his neighbors at Springfield goodbye, as he goes to undertake a task which he divines "may be greater than that which rested on Washington," he confesses: "Without the assistance of the Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope that in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

In replying, on May 6, 1862, to an address sent him by the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, he said among other things that "This gov-

ernment places its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it please the Divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, this shall remain a united people.”

In one of the darkest hours of the war, publishing a proclamation for a Day of Humiliation and Prayer, on April 30, 1863, he says:

“We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of heaven; we have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity; we have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God... . We have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all those blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us.”

Then when, in answer to prayer, the hour of victory came; when Gettysburg had been won and Vicksburg had fallen simultaneously, there came a second proclamation, this time of thanksgiving: "No human counsel hath decreed, nor hath any mortal counsel wrought out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

And yet, during the same summer, he warns against over-confidence: “Let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy and final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful results.” This is the echo of the words with which he ended his great Cooper Institute speech in February, 1860: “Let us have faith that right makes might, and, in that faith, let us to the end do our duty as we understand it.”

In his second inaugural it seems almost as though one of the Old Testament prophets were speaking: “The Almighty,” he declared, “has His own purposes. ‘Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man through whom they come.’ If we shall suppose that African slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope,

ferverently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil, shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be drawn with the sword, so still it must be said, as it was said three thousand years ago, The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.”

Such are the confessions of a man to whom his contemporaries, with common consent, accorded the title of “honest” — one whose reputation it was that he meant every word that he spoke.

Pleading, in his third message, for the North American Indians, he urges: “Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the government demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilization, and above all to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations of the Christian faith.”

Deeply concerned about the threatened secularization of Sunday, he issued, November 15, 1862, a “General Order Respecting the Observance of the Sabbath Day in the Army and Navy.” The order begins: “The President, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of sheer necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause be imperiled by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High.” He closes in the words of the father of his country, “in the first General Order after the Declaration of Independence.” “The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country.” President Wilson is to be commended for having reissued this order during the late war.

Many pages could be filled with the testimony of men of established reputation concerning his confidential conversations on religious subjects. That in his earlier years he thought and spoke differently, detracts nothing from the sincerity of his utterances or the firmness of his mature religious faith.

Every advocate of the Christian faith, it may be said, once regarded it not simply with indifference, but with positive hostility. The Lincoln of whom we here speak is the Lincoln of the Gettysburg message, tempered in the fires and disciplined in the school of adversity, who realized that he faced the greatest crisis in American history.

In one of these interviews, reported by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois of that time to have occurred on the eve of his election to the presidency, Mr. Lincoln is quoted as having said, "I am not a Christian — God knows I would be one"; and then, in almost the same breath, "I am nothing, but truth is everything. I know I am right, because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God... These men will find that they have not read their Bible aright." But one who thus reads the Bible and implicitly follows its directions, and who, on its testimony, believes that Christ is God and calls God to witness that he "would be a Christian," has already that which he earnestly desires. "No man can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." Men may be true Christians, and, nevertheless, unable to adjust their interpretation of Christianity to conflicting standards, which they find set up, as the tests of the truth of their profession.²

1. Thorpe's "Short Constitutional History of the United States," p. 305. ←

2. References may be made to the following books:

"*Abraham Lincoln the Christian*. By W. J. Johnson. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1913." This is an excellent discussion, rich in citations and incidents. Its value is increased by the Foreword of Dr. W. H. Roberts, the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, who for over a year worshiped in the same church with Mr. Lincoln and writes of the impression made upon him by the President's regular attendance not only on Sundays but also at the weekday service.

"*Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln*. By Ervin Chapman. New York: F. H. Revell & Co., 1917." The fruit of over fifty years' collection of data.

As to Mr. Lincoln's right to claim that we are "a Christian people," see Supreme Court of U. S. (Story) on Girard Will (1844): "Although

Christianity be a part of the Common Law of the state, yet it is so in a qualified sense — that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and, therefore, it is not to be openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers and the injury of the public. Compare Daniel Webster's elaborate argument in same case, and decision of Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1824, *Updegraff vs. the Comm.*, 11 Sergeant and Rawle, 394.↩

6. Summary

THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED “four score and seven years” before the events that made Gettysburg conspicuous, was a great experiment. Unlike any that had preceded, the very attempt to balance conflicting interests and to afford checks against one-sided and premature administrative acts, necessitated a high degree of intelligence and character for the carrying out of its complicated provisions. Its one great safeguard was what many regarded its greatest weakness. The highest human court of appeal which it constituted was the conscience of a well-informed, free and God-fearing people. The principle upon which it rests is that of the inherent strength of what is just and true, and the confidence that God has so constituted man’s moral sense that in the long run he can be satisfied with nothing that conscience does not approve. The government of the many is more to be trusted than that of the few; for out of the many those may be expected to arise who, in their assertion of the claims of justice, will ultimately prevail, when the majority betray great principles. Hence the force of Mr. Lincoln’s often quoted adage to the effect that while some of the people may be always deceived, and all the people may be sometimes deceived, it is impossible to deceive all the people for all time.

To devise and establish such a government was a great achievement. To administer it successfully for a century and more, so that the elements of which it is composed did not fall apart of their own weight, but were only more thoroughly consolidated as time advanced, was still more important. President Lincoln stands forth for all time as the wise leader in the crisis when popular government was put to its severest test. Then, this peril having passed, it bore the scarce less severe strain of unprecedented prosperity. The rapid development of its territory of imperial proportions; the vast accumulation of wealth with its corresponding depreciation of spiritual standards; the great swell in the waves of immigration incorporating with our body politic large masses of imperfectly assimilated material, whose ideals require many years to change; as well as widely differentiated revolutionary

theories of social organization, arraying class against class, revealed new dangers. Then, too, so suddenly has the change come that we can hardly realize it, in spite of all our inclinations, we have been drawn in recent days into a position of which neither the founders of our nation nor President Lincoln ever dreamed. His name has become the rallying cry for freedom throughout the world. That government which was contemptuously regarded by some as the very weakest, has come forth from the most deadly conflict the world has ever seen, as the very strongest. It has become a recognized leader in the government of the earth, and the arbiter among the historic nations of the Old World. All predictions of the purely ephemeral character, the incoherence and inefficiency of democratical institutions when applied to world issues have failed, and, as in the general earthquake which has overwhelmed all Europe, monarchy after monarchy topples into disaster and ruin, the fact is recognized that, so far as its secular course is concerned, the one hope of the world lies in those words of Lincoln spoken at Gettysburg, which, Lord Bryce says, "have passed into the minds of all educated men everywhere."

But let not those final words be misunderstood. He spake no prophecy, but sounded an alarm and a call to duty. He announced that even such a government could fail, and inevitably would fail, if those to whom it was entrusted were negligent in the maintenance of their rights. Its perpetuation is conditioned upon the average intelligence of its citizens, their appreciation of the blessings of liberty, and that deep and controlling sense of individual responsibility that is rooted in the religious life. No people is so highly favored that it is incapable of sinking to a level beneath which the administration of a democratic government is an impossibility. For this reason the address aimed to arouse the country to the seriousness of the task of holding fast to that to which it had already attained. If America fail in this task, it announces that the great idea of popular government throughout the world will vanish. The same thought of the world-wide mission of the United States was expressed by President Lincoln in his Independence Hall address (February 22, 1861): "The Declaration of Independence gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an even chance."

“For the people throughout all the world,” was the legend which his mind’s eye clearly read, as he rose to speak, on the thousands of graves that lay before his feet. “From the coasts beneath the eastern star,” said the chaplain of Congress in the opening prayer, “from the shores of northern lakes and rivers, from the flowers of western prairies, and from the homes of the midway border, they came here to die for us and our nation.”

So when, twenty months later, surrounded by a heart-broken group of his closest associates, he lay breathing his last in that humble room in Washington, whither he had been carried, he put his seal upon his Gettysburg World-Message. For no more appropriate legend could be written above that sad scene than:

HE LIVED AND HE DIED
THAT
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE
BY THE PEOPLE
FOR THE PEOPLE
SHOULD NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH

O GOD, who in this land hast made the people the ministers of Thy just rule: So turn their hearts unto Thee that, holding their citizenship as a trust from Thee, they may guard, defend and use it according to Thy will, and that, serving Thee with willing, joyful and obedient hearts, they may cherish their freedom as a blessing of Thy Gospel, and strive to bring it to all peoples; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

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Originally published 1919 by The United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia.

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719 – v5

ISBN: TBD (paperback)

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