

## LINCOLN'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

**I**T is seldom safe to anticipate the verdict of history; for time makes many abatements of the estimates men put upon their contemporaries, and seen through the interval of a century, with its cold light and long perspectives, many who were heroes to their own times shrink pitifully. But it is already safe to say that Abraham Lincoln was not one of these. The amazing growth he made in the esteem of his countrymen and of the world, while he was doing his great work, has been paralleled by the increase of his fame in the years since he died. More and more, as men have realized the tremendous import of that struggle in which he was the trusted leader, have they come also to appreciate the proportions of this man who bore so large a share of its burdens. So that one may venture to say some things of Abraham Lincoln such as would be rash and premature if said of one less assured of his place in the esteem of the future. He made his mark upon his contemporaries — a mark so clear, so easily read, so ineffaceable, that time can only deepen it, and the disclosures of reminiscence and history but serve to keep its lines sharp and well defined.

The personality of Abraham Lincoln ranks him easily as the greatest of Americans since Washington; and it is by no means a heresy to the rising thought of the age to see in Lincoln and in Ralph Waldo Emerson types of American greatness more thoroughly our own than even that of Washington.

But every great man has, besides his own personal place in the lists of character, another place which he holds by virtue of the service he has rendered to his fellow-men by means of that character and moral life. He has what may be called a biographical standing. He has also a historical standing. That is, he takes one rank according to what he is, and another according to what he does. In this latter light it is not as yet at all common to think of Abraham Lincoln. Consider as said, therefore, all that the most sincere admirer could say of Lincoln's stalwart character, his original nature, trained by unparalleled events, his genius, so entirely American, shaped in circumstances America alone could supply; but remember also that when we study him from this point of view, we are taking him, after all, only in his national relations as a country-

man and an American. We have not yet sought his place in the larger human circle which includes the world. What place does he hold there? What are his relations to humanity? Has he any claims to rank beside the heroes whose fame, far from being provincial, the heritage of a state or a race, is swept up into the loftier glory that belongs to the great men of all time and all ages and all races? It is time for us to put our man of the West in his world relations. If our nation itself has a clear function in the development of the world's social and political life, then this man who sustained such important relations to our national existence had certain equally important functions in the economy of international progress. This man, who stepped from the prairies of Illinois to the leadership of the most momentous struggle of modern times, was by that very fact brought into relation with the whole scheme of the world's political history, and was called to one of the most important posts in the march of civilization. Yet men have hardly begun to understand the full import of Lincoln's influence in the great struggle which shook this continent a quarter-century ago. He was a wiser man and a more opportune man than we have realized. He comprehended the circumstances of the hour, and saw their relations to the political life of the ages, with an intuition the accuracy of which is all the more impressive from the fact that it seems to have been half unconscious. When a man, in the midst of the babel of policies and principles which fills the ears in a time of excitement and uncertainty, singles out the one transcendent and supreme thought, holds to it firmly, and makes it the guide of all his acts and the test of all his methods, he gives incontestable evidence of greatness and genius. How marvelously Lincoln fulfilled the test of greatness we are just beginning to see. For we are beginning to perceive the connection of our struggle with the evolution of the nations, and how definite a relation it had to the world's advance from barbarism to political order, from anarchy to constitutional freedom, from a state of perpetual feuds to a condition nearer to essential peacefulness than the world has previously known.

Glance for a moment at the train of events in the world's history of which the civil war in America was an integral part, and see what we were called to do when Abraham Lincoln became the leader of this people.

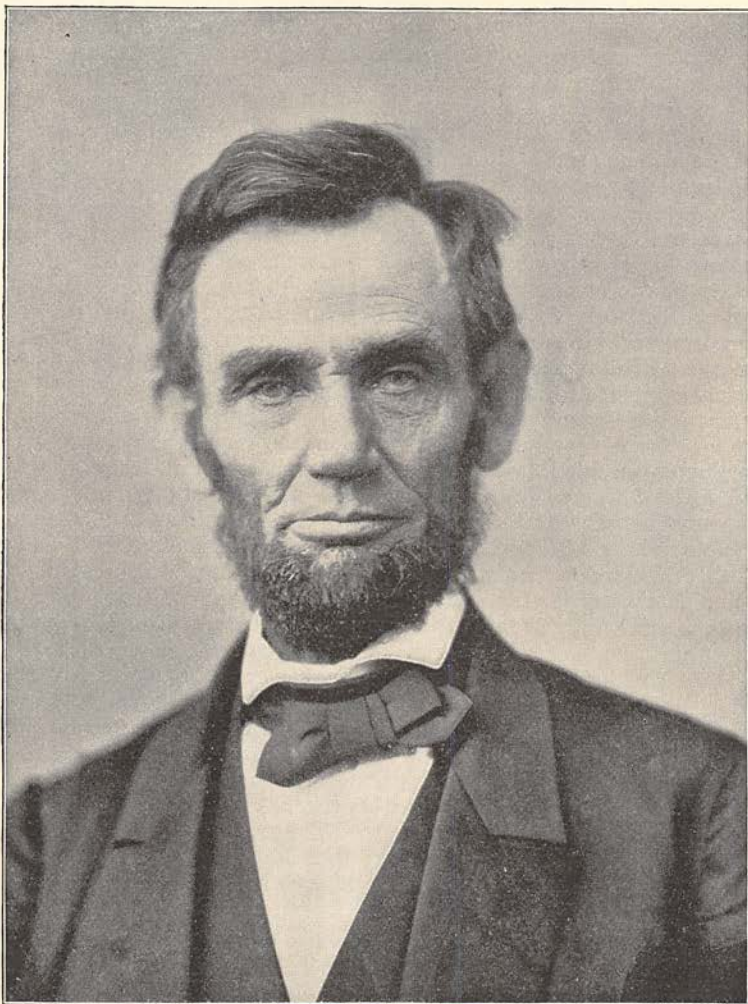
It is possible to trace the evolution of social organization and the progress of mankind along many and differing paths. The battles of progress have been fought on many lines and under many names. One historian traces the rise of civilization in the "progress of religious ideas." Another follows the gains made in the direction of personal liberty, the enlarging opportunity and security of the individual under law. There is an economic interpretation of history, and a growth illustrated in letters and the arts. There are great names identified with any one of these phases of progress—names before which the world makes obeisance for their service in advancing human interests, each along his own path and with recourse to his own powers. Lincoln's place, however, was in none of these categories. His was not the work of a Moses or of a Paul, a Montfort or a Hampden, a Cobden, a Shakspeare, or a Michelangelo. To find his historical place, we must turn to still another phase of human society and its expanding life.

It is becoming an accepted thought among intelligent students of history, especially since the suggestive treatises of Mr. Herbert Spencer upon sociology have so impressed modern thought, that the development of mankind has been a continual struggle after conditions of orderly and peaceful living. The aspiration of man has been from the earliest times toward a state in which he could live in quietness and safety, harmless and unharmed. His experiments in statecraft have been efforts to frame a political system which should secure him in this right by means of institutions and laws. History fully bears out this theory. It has always been the struggle of the more intelligent of mankind to establish a social and political condition in which they should be at liberty to pursue the higher ends of living, without molestation from the savage and barbarous elements of society. In almost every great war there has been some element of this sort to give it a significance beyond the mere collision of brute forces. The great conflicts of arms show one party striving in the interests of order and social stability. Most of the fighting which men have done has been in the interest of tranquillity. The great wars of the world have been for the sake of peace. The question which was decided on the field of Marathon was not whether the Persian or the Greek was the better fighter, but whether the civilizing and peaceful forces at work in Greece should be annihilated by a horde of barbarous satraps. It was a triumph in the interests of enlightenment, peace, and progress in tranquil living. "These are world-historic victories," says Hegel, speaking of this war; "they were

the salvation of culture and spiritual vigor." The internal contentions among the Greeks, after the expulsion of the Persians, were struggles between the forces of coöperation and paternity among the cities, and tendencies toward disruption and municipal individualism, and it was a reverse to the cause of civilization when the attempts at federation failed, and the civic bodies fell apart, and the autonomy of the states—the "state-sovereignty" principle of the Hellenic world—asserted itself in the destruction of the spirit of Pan-Hellenism.

So, too, when Ariovistus led the Germanic tribes against the borders of the Roman empire, it was in the interest of peace that Cæsar went out against him and extended the limits of civilization. For, in the words of John Fiske, "It occurred to the prescient genius of Cæsar to be beforehand and conquer Gaul, and enlist all its giant barbaric forces on the side of civilization. This great work was as thoroughly done as anything that ever was done in human history, and we ought to be thankful to Cæsar for it every day we live." The full fruit of this work of the first emperor was not gathered till that mighty wrestle between the invading Huns and the allied defenders of Gaul which culminated in the victory of those whom Julius Cæsar had converted into the friends of civilization over the fierce and barbarian Kalmuck hordes. The destructive career of Attila was arrested at the battle of Châlons-sur-Marne, which was, as John Fiske says again, "The last day on which barbarism was able to contend with civilization on equal terms." That was a fight in the interest of peace.

The wars of the early English, in which John Milton could see only "mere battles of kites and crows," are described by John Richard Green as "The Making of England," a phrase which identifies them at once as a part of the great struggle for unity among men and a chance to live without dread of the restless and destructive barbarian. When the French fled from their opponents on the Plains of Abraham it was decided that English ideas—that is, the principles which give the most repose and tranquillity to society—should prevail on the American continent. Francis Parkman says of the Peace of Paris, to which this signal victory so largely contributed: "[It] makes an epoch than which none in modern history is more fruitful of grand results. With it began a new chapter in the annals of the world." John Richard Green gives the grand reason which justifies so sweeping a declaration, in saying "[The] Conquest of Canada . . . laid the foundation of the United States." ("A Short History of the English People," p. 725.) And when Corn-



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*A. Lincoln.*

FROM AN ORIGINAL, UNRETOUCHED NEGATIVE, MADE IN 1864, AT THE TIME THE PRESIDENT COMMISSIONED ULYSSES S. GRANT LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND COMMANDER OF ALL THE ARMIES OF THE REPUBLIC. IT IS STATED THAT THIS NEGATIVE, "WITH ONE OF GENERAL U. S. GRANT," WAS MADE IN COMMEMORATION OF THAT EVENT.

wallis gave up his army at Yorktown, a war was ended which presented this nation to mankind as the most marvelous embodiment of the forces of political and social stability as yet known to man. The war of the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution were two of the most momentous events in the whole history of advancing civilization. They marked a double victory. The Revolution secured the *independence* of the States, the Constitution established their *interdependence*. Nor would the first have been of the least avail to humanity without the second. "Liberty or Death" was a good war-cry, and it wrought independence; but after independence was won, Franklin's old motto, "Join or Die," helped to secure that interdependence which was the only guarantee of freedom. The glory of the men who carried through that twofold struggle is not merely that they freed themselves from England, but that they bound themselves to one another. It was not only that they displayed so intractable a spirit of independence, but also that they showed such aptness for concert of action. They not only vindicated the right of a man to his own freedom, but they showed that the only way in which liberty can be made available is by joining it to some form of political community. They founded a free nation. But that nation was made up of thirteen United States. It was and is in reality a federation of nations. For every State in this nation is as good as an independent nation; and yet the aggregate makes but one organic whole. And by far the most valuable lesson which this nation has given to the world at large is in demonstrating the possibility of the voluntary union of small political groups into a great political group. We have shown that it is possible for some fifty States, covering an area of 3,600,000 square miles, to organize themselves on a basis of peaceful coöperation. And we can hardly realize what a vast gain upon the past this success implies, unless we remember that Europe, for example, with her twenty-two states lives to this day in armed and threatening jealousy and disunion, every nation watching its neighbors with sinister and hostile disposition. Independence indeed was a noble prize, well earned, and well worth the struggle which won it; but the safeguard of independence was federation. The security of our liberties lies in our union of States. There was more than magnificent rhetoric, there was all the inspiration of statesmanship, in that eloquent burst of Webster's, when he exclaimed in the Senate, "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable!"

It would be difficult to lay too much stress upon this truth for which our national existence stands. This nation is a perpetual exam-

ple of the tendency of the human race toward more humane, peaceful, and fraternal ways of living together. Its very system of government is an embodiment of those peaceful aims which grow with the growth of civilization, and which are destined at last to rule mankind. It has been well said by an American writer: "The principle of federalism . . . contains within itself the seeds of permanent peace between nations, and to this glorious end I believe it will come in the fullness of time. . . . It was indeed reserved for this nation to show the world the way to this pacific mode of national life, but ours will not be the last among the lands of the earth to profit by it."

Thus, from the beginning of time, the wars of society have tended to the peace of society. The fighting men have been continually playing into the hands of the men of peace. The iron plow of war has broken up the soil for the sowing of the seed of quietness and assurance among men. And thanks to the larger knowledge of our time, and the more intelligent study of the march of mankind, he who listens down the past and hears

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched  
asunder,  
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade,  
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder  
The diapason of the cannonade,

this trembling listener may confirm, out of the historian's cautious prophecy, the hope of the poet,

Down the dark future, through long generations,  
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then  
cease;  
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,  
I hear once more the voice of Christ say,  
"Peace."

Now, when Abraham Lincoln was thrust forward to lead the American people, he found himself called to face a new peril to the interests of mankind. The conspiracy against the national life was a threat to all the world. It was an attempt to undo the work of centuries. It was a reaction from that splendid work which had been achieved, in the way just indicated, through twenty-five centuries of strife and war. For the world had been learning how men could live together in fraternity, and had been incorporating that knowledge into its laws and institutions. It had learned how the individual could live more comfortably if he had the help of his family, his kin; and so they had stopped fighting their relatives. It had learned that families might with advantage stop fighting one another, and secure a little more peace by banding themselves in a clan against

some other annoying and quarrelsome family. Then it had found how to combine families and tribes into nations, and under some common ruler, and some compact and constitution, get a still larger portion of peace and tranquillity.

For a long time it got no further than this, but when at last the genius of the American people, embodied in the intellects of Hamilton and Madison, framed that Constitution, well called the "finest specimen of constructive statesmanship the world has ever seen," it advanced mankind one step more. For now it showed the nations how separate states, with all their own internal interests and concerns going on harmoniously, can dwell in peace, side by side, held by a mutual compact, adjusting their disputes by established tribunals, loyal to one another through their loyalty to a common government. It was the sublimest work of statesmanship the world had achieved. It was the solution of the last great problem in the search for methods of peace and law among men. The American Union is the highest political embodiment of Christianity. It is the highest proof of the possibility of a universal peace. It is the most convincing test of man's capacity for unity in diversity and diversity in unity. It is evidence, incontestable, that states, like individuals, can decide their differences not by brutal war, but by systematic legislation, or by a common tribunal. This Union is the consummation of all the struggles of all men toward a state of universal peace. It is the life and aspiration of the world organized into a nation.

This was the result, so pregnant with the highest destiny of all people, which was put in peril by the revolt of the South. The first test had come to this new principle of government and of civilization, and it was a test which may fairly be called terrific. Never were forces better in hand for the overthrow of a great principle. Bold and compact, shrewd and determined, fully equipped, and with definite purposes and aims pursued relentlessly, the Southern leaders arrayed themselves to destroy this peaceful compact, and to rive into fragments this splendid fabric to which the centuries had given their best work. It was a well-organized attempt, and it was as likely as not to succeed. Because the issue did not appear as simple as we have pictured it, the dispute was made to seem as if it were a question of the rights of certain States, or as if it were a quarrel over the emancipation of the slaves. There were many at the North who were so full of burning indignation against negro slavery that they could see no other issue than this; while to most of the Southern people the defense of their right to hold slaves seemed

a supreme and compelling crisis, demanding the extreme measures of civil war.

And yet both were wrong. The abolition of slavery was only an incident of the war. It was an involved issue, and not the main one. Emancipation was a priceless gain to this nation; it was deliverance from a plague, a pest, a curse, as North and South alike agree to-day. The nation bought that deliverance cheaply, even at the price of a horrible war. But that was not the main question. This other one under-ran and over-weighed it. The gravest matter involved in that struggle was not the freeing of the slaves; that would have come anyhow in time, for it was impossible that slavery should continue in this land. But the one momentous issue of that trial hour, and the one in which not the fate of the negro race alone, but of all races and nations, was involved, was whether, in the first real difficulty in its administration, this principle of the peaceful union of great states should survive, or be overthrown and destroyed. If the Union was maintained, the way was clear for other peoples to go on and enter into the promised land of peace. If it was destroyed, its ruins would block the way of progress, and delay the advance of the nations, perhaps for a thousand years.

It is here that we come to the application of all this matter to the name and the nature of Abraham Lincoln. These facts out of the histories throw a white light of disclosure upon the character of the great war President. How easy in that confusing hour for the wisest to make mistakes! How easy for the calmest judgment to miss the real issue, and be diverted to lesser and to false ones! How easy to undervalue the real signs of the times, and to be the fool of fate by following the lures of the crafty or the stupid! It is such hours as those of the great Rebellion which test men's minds, and show the true leaders and the master heads. To stand upon the swinging deck when the rising gales are roaring in one's ears; when the threatening cloud just skims the wave and the wave tosses up to the cloud; when the blinding wrack of foam sweeps against the breath, and the eye can scarcely see the swaying compass as the ship goes plunging among hidden reefs; when the hardest sailor turns his back and the coolest is confused, uncertain, anxious, or appalled; to be cool, to be clear,—to read the signs of the trackless sea, and, undaunted by the play of all these raging elements and these distracting dangers, to guide the keel straight down the channels where lie safety and salvation,—this marks the man of God's own making, called forth to be the helmsman for a stormy hour, the pilot of mighty destinies,

dowered by heaven for his task. And this, all this, was Abraham Lincoln.

He saw, from the moment that he became convinced of the intentions of the South, the one imperative, absolute aim he must keep in view. He seized the one transcendent issue of the hour, and, disentangling it from all that could confuse or deceive, held it up for his own guidance, and kept it continually before the nation. It was the preservation of the Union. It was the vindication of the great principle of the pacific federation of states for the cultivation of a larger life of order and fraternity. Of course Lincoln never reasoned about the matter at all as we have done. He had no time for that. He had no facilities for entering upon the subject from this side. So much the more is his wonderful genius approved, if thus, instinctively, and by the innate good sense and political sagacity of his nature, he came straight at the truth and took hold of his real work. He had the instinct of the highest statesmanship, the sense of what things are essential, præminent, absolutely needful to be done. And for this high qualification for the work set before him his fame will grow with every century. With this conviction firm and foremost in his mind, nothing in all those four years,—no difficulty, hardship, peril, criticism at home or hostility abroad, persuasion of friend or threat of foe, trial to patience or test of courage,—nothing could swerve or turn him from the central aim of his mind. To preserve the Union was his purpose; whatever would effect that end he would try. He would listen to any one who had that at heart. He would listen to none who had not. He would sacrifice anything, any man, all the resources at his command, tears, treasure, troops, the blood of the bravest men, his own strength, pride, ambitions; but he would not sacrifice the Union.

This conviction is pronounced with a full sense of the possible shock it may bring to those who love to think of Lincoln's chief renown as connected with the race he freed from bondage. It is hard for many of us not to feel that emancipation was the great achievement of that struggle, and that the war was waged to decide whether this should be a free nation or a land of bonds and stripes. But the wiser years will decide against us. All our thankfulness and honor to the man who made the act of emancipation a weapon with which to strike rebellion must not blind us to the fact that this splendid stroke of policy, this noble deed of statecraft, was only an incident and not the aim of the struggle. Viewed in its relations to the long world-history, the development of mankind, the work of civilization, the American people under their great leader were en-

gaged in determining whether the great principle of federation, the peaceful coexistence of great states, should succeed or fail. They were in a struggle to decide whether the rule of peace and good-will should extend, or stop and go no further. And Abraham Lincoln's clear, unerring eye perceived the meaning of the struggle, his strong mind grasped its vital import, and his steadfast soul clung to that thought with a tenacity that could be expressed only in some such words as Paul's, "This one thing I do."

We have thus far been accustomed to rank our great President among the heroes of our own land, and seldom have dared to talk of him in connection with his place among the world's famous ones. Sometimes it has seemed to come to us that he was worthy a fame outside the limits of this land. Some rare voices have found courage to say, as Lowell said,

Here was a type of the true elder race,  
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us  
face to face.

There is enough in his personality, so fresh, so strong, so inspiring, to justify our highest pride in him, and to make us hold up this new product of our new land, whose honesty and strong good sense, whose earnest faith and indomitable purpose, fit him to stand like a modern Aristides or a New World Cato. But when the slow judgment of the years is made up, it will take this man of the West, who led us through the fires of a terrible civil strife, and, seeing how his achievement reached out to all mankind and secured the work which cost the toil and struggle of ages, will range him side by side with the men who saved Greece from Persian barbarism, and those who saved Rome from Gallic anarchy, and those who gave this continent to the free institutions of the English race.

I praise him not; it were too late;  
And some innate weakness there must be  
In him who condescends to victory  
Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,  
Safe in himself as in a fate.

So always firmly he:  
He knew to bide his time,  
And can his fame abide.  
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,  
Till the wise years decide.

There stands in the city of Chicago the noblest statue of this man which the artistic genius of the land has yet produced. The sculptor has entered with most wonderful sympathy into Lincoln's nature, and has shown us the man in all the simplicity, the honest humanity, the rugged grandeur of his soul. There could be no nobler expression of the faith, the sincerity, the wise insight of the man, than that

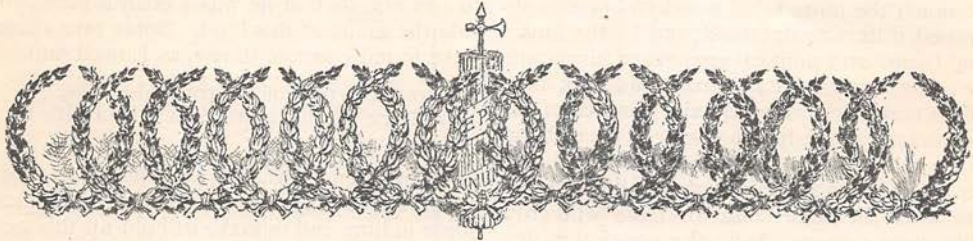
statue, which, "standing like a tower," will draw the loving gaze of millions in the coming years. But the artist has shown as keen an insight into the historic place of Lincoln as he has into his personal traits, in the words which he has chosen from Lincoln's rejoinder to his old friend Greeley, inscribed at the base of the statue:

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If

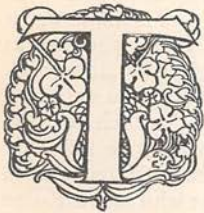
I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear, because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."

There spake God's man, instinctively grasping the truth for which he was brought into this world; and those words, above all others, shall finally give him his niche in the temple set apart for those who have signally served in the world's great wars of progress toward peace.

*John Coleman Adams.*



## LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.<sup>1</sup>



HERE are three sources of authority for Lincoln's Gettysburg address, or, to speak more concisely, three successive versions of it—all identical in thought, but differing slightly in expression. The

last of these is the regular outgrowth of the two which preceded it, and is the perfected product of the President's rhetorical and literary mastery. The three versions are:

1. The original autograph MS. draft, written by Mr. Lincoln partly at Washington and partly at Gettysburg.

2. The version made by the shorthand reporter on the stand at Gettysburg when the President delivered it, which was telegraphed, and was printed in the leading newspapers of the country on the following morning.

3. The revised copy made by the President a few days after his return to Washington, upon a careful comparison of his original draft and the printed newspaper version with his own recollections of the exact form in which he delivered it.

Mr. David Wills, of Gettysburg, first suggested the creation of a national cemetery on the battle-field, and under Governor Curtin's direction and coöperation he purchased the land for Pennsylvania and other States interested, and superintended the improvements. It had been intended to hold the dedication ceremonies on October 23, 1863, but Edward Everett, who was chosen to deliver the oration, had engagements for that time, and at his suggestion the occasion was postponed to November 19.

On November 2 Mr. Wills wrote the President a formal invitation to take part in the dedication.

These grounds [said his letter in part] will be consecrated and set apart to this sacred purpose by appropriate ceremonies on Thursday, the 19th inst. Hon. Edward Everett will deliver the oration. I am authorized by the governors of the different States to invite you to be present, and to participate in these ceremonies, which will doubtless be very imposing and solemnly impressive. It is the desire that, after the oration, you, as Chief Executive of the nation, formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks.

<sup>1</sup> In Chapter vii., Vol. VIII, of "Abraham Lincoln: A History," the authors have given the authentic text of the famous address delivered by President Lincoln at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery,

both in type and in facsimile of the President's handwriting, as well as the principal points in its history. To show how that text was established, and to explain some additional details, are the objects of this paper.