
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 1142

1938 July 3

Gettysburg, PA - Address

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

GETTYSBURG - Pa.

JULY 3, 1938.

~~I accept~~ On behalf of the people of the United States
I accept this monument in the spirit of brotherhood and
Immortal deeds and immortal words have created here ~~peace~~.

a shrine of American patriotism. We are encompassed by
"The last full measure of devotion" of many men and by the
words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith
for which they died.

It seldom helps to wonder how a statesman of one
generation would surmount the crisis of another. A statesman
deals with concrete difficulties --- with things which must
be done from day to day. Not often can he frame conscious
patterns for the far off future.

But the fullness of the stature of Lincoln's nature
and the fundamental conflict which events forced upon his
Presidency, invite us ever to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he restated on this spot seventy-five years ago will be the continuing issue before this nation so long as we cling to the purposes for which it was founded -- to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation a people's government for the people's good.

The task assumes different shapes at different times. Sometimes the threat to popular government comes from political interests, sometimes from economic interests, sometimes we have to beat off all of them together.

But the challenge is always the same -- whether each generation facing its own circumstances can summon the practical devotion to attain and retain that greatest good for the greatest number which this government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field, and the years have laid their balm upon its wounds.

Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see.

All of them we honor, not asking under which Flag they fought then -- thankful that they stand together under one Flag now.

Lincoln was commander-in-chief in this old battle; he wanted above all things to be commander-in-chief of the new peace. He understood that battle there must be; that when a challenge to constituted government is thrown down, the people must in self-defense take it up; that the fight must be fought through to a decision so clear that it is accepted as being beyond recall.

But Lincoln also understood that after such a decision, a democracy should seek peace through a new unity. For a democracy can keep alive only if the settlement of old difficulties clears the ground and transfers energies to face

responsibilities
new ~~tasks~~. Never can it have as much ability and purpose as it needs in that striving; the end of battle does not end the infinity of those needs.

That is why Lincoln -- commander of a people as well as of an army -- asked that his battle end "with malice toward none, with charity for all".

To the hurt of those who came after him, Lincoln's plea was long denied. A generation passed before the new unity became accepted fact.

In later years new needs arose, and with them new tasks, worldwide in their perplexities, their bitterness and their modes of strife. Here in our land we give thanks that, avoiding war, we seek our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under the Constitution.

It is another conflict, as fundamental as Lincoln's, fought not with glint of steel, but with appeals to reason and justice on a thousand fronts -- seeking to save for our common country opportunity and security for citizens in a free society.

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning
and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the
humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(Orig. reading copy)

#1142

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial
Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
Sunday, July 3, 1938, 5:45 P.M.

GOVERNOR EARL, VETERANS OF THE BLUE AND THE GRAY:

On behalf of the people of the United States I accept
this monument in the spirit of brotherhood and peace.

Immortal deeds and immortal words have created here at Gettysburg a shrine of American patriotism. We are encompassed by "The last full measure of devotion" of many men and by the words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith for which they died.

It seldom helps to wonder how a statesman of one generation would surmount the crisis of another. For a statesman deals with concrete difficulties -- with things which must be done from day to day. Not often can he frame conscious patterns for the far off future.

But the fullness of the stature of Lincoln's nature and the fundamental conflict which events forced upon his Presidency invite us ever to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he restated (on this spot) here at Gettysburg seventy-five years ago will be the continuing issue before this Nation so long as we cling to the purposes for which (it) the Nation was founded -- to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation a people's government for the people's good.

The task assumes different shapes at different times. Sometimes the threat to popular government comes from political

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

In event Congress fails to act, we must proceed

immediately and as quickly as possible to enact a program which will give you time to "adjust to circumstances and set up" a public and private administration to carry on the work of government during the

vacancy due to president's removal or death.

Such legislation is just as important to those who remain here as it is to those who leave — especially when this is the last and surviving member left us and unto him falls the task of

the people's right to elect another for him.

President and Congress should make full and complete arrangements for the transfer of power at the earliest possible date. This will not only shorten the period of uncertainty but will

also give time for all the necessary arrangements to be made for the new administration. It is important that the new administration be given every opportunity to do its work without unnecessary hindrance. The

new administration should be given every opportunity to do its work without unnecessary hindrance.

Therefore, when you have completed your arrangements,

interests, sometimes from economic interests, sometimes we have to beat off all of them together.

But the challenge is always the same -- whether each generation facing its own circumstances can summon the practical devotion to attain and to retain that greatest good for the greatest number which this government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field; and the years have laid their balm upon its wounds. Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see.

All of them we honor, not asking under which Flag they fought then -- thankful that they stand together under one Flag now.
(Applause)

Lincoln was commander-in-chief in this old battle; he wanted above all things to be commander-in-chief of the new peace. He understood that battle there must be; that when a challenge to constituted government is thrown down, the people must in self-defense take it up; that the fight must be fought through to a decision so clear that it is accepted as being beyond recall.

But Lincoln also understood that after such a decision, a democracy should seek peace through a new unity. For a democracy can keep alive only if the settlement of old difficulties clears the ground and transfers energies to face new responsibilities. Never can it have as much ability and as much purpose as it needs in that striving; the end of battle does not end the infinity of those needs.

That is why Lincoln -- commander of a people as well as of an army -- asked that his battle end "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

To the hurt of those who came after him, Lincoln's plea was long denied. A generation passed before the new unity became accepted fact.

And in later years new needs arose, and with them new tasks, worldwide in their perplexities, in their bitterness and in their modes of strife. Here in our land we give thanks that, avoiding war, we seek our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under the Constitution. (Applause)

But it is another conflict, a conflict as fundamental as Lincoln's, fought not with (glint of) steel, but with appeals to reason and justice on a thousand fronts -- seeking to save for our common country opportunity and security for citizens in a free society. (Applause)

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln. (Prolonged applause)

(At the conclusion of the President's address a soldier of the South and a soldier of the North, using the rays of the sun, lit a flame designed to burn eternally atop the Peace Memorial.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE
OCCASION OF THE REDEDICATION BY THE
ETERNAL LIGHT PEACE FESTIVAL,
GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD, PENNSYL-
VANIA, SUNDAY, JULY 3rd, 1926.

Immortal deeds and immortal words have already have a history
of American patriotism. We are encompassed by "the best /& truest
of devotion" of many men and by the words to which former leaders
expressed the single faith for which they died.

It seldom helps to wonder how a generation of one generation
should surmount the crisis of another. A generation can't rise above
difficulties -- with things which must be done from day to day. Nor
often can we frame conscious patterns for the far off future.

But the fullness of the stature of Lincoln's genius and the
fundamental conflict which events forced upon his party, invites us
ever to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he faced in 1863 is the issue of 1926 -- 63 years ago will be the continuum, from which we must draw as we
cling to the purposes for which it was founded or to perceive what
the changing conditions of each generation & people's government for
the people's good.

The task assumes different shapes at different times. Some
times the threat to popular government comes from powerful interests,
sometimes from economic interests, sometimes it may be both all at
of them together.

But the challenge is always the same as it faced each generation
facing its own circumstances and calling the greatest devotion to
attain and retain that greatest good for the people toward which this
government of the people was created to strive.

Lincoln spoke in justice for all who fought upon that field;
and the years have laid their halo upon the soldier. But the sons and
brothers and men who wore the Gray are here again, a fragment spared by
time. They are brought here by the memory of our divided brothers,
but they meet here in united loyalty to a cause which in the half
folding years have made it easier to see.

All of them as before, yet weary, worn with fire they fought
then -- thankful that they should remember under this firm sky.

Lincoln has commanded us in this old meeting; he waited
above all things to be remembered as the great preserver. He under-
stood that battle there must be; that when a nation of so constituted
government is there over, the people must reconstitute and set it up;
that the fight must be fought because of a conviction so clear that it
is accepted as being beyond recall.

But Lincoln also understood that after such a sacrifice, a
democracy should peace through a just army. Not a democracy can
keep alive only if the institutions of the Constitution renew the
ground and transfers energies to save our responsibilities. Today
can it have as much utility and purpose as it does in that striving; the
end of battle does not end the authority of those needs.

That is why Lincoln -- commander of a people as well as of
an army -- said that the battle had "the noblest cause, with
charity for all".

To the sons of those who came after him, Lincoln's place has
long denied. A generation grows; but the new unity has been accepted
fast.

In better years we wrote new, and still live new charters,
worldwide in their perspectives, older institutions and other modes of
strife. Here in our land we glad dinner here, uniting us; we seek
our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under
the Constitution.

It is another conflict, as fundamental as Lincoln's, fought not with glint of steel, but with appeals to reason and justice on a thousand fronts -- seeking to save for our common country opportunity and security for citizens in a free society.

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln.

* * * * *

face present perplexities.

GETTYSBURG

Immortal deeds and immortal utterance have consecrated this place ~~as~~ a shrine of American patriotism. No one ~~can~~ ever speak at Gettysburg without ^{will} ~~being conscious of the substance~~ ^{surround him (A)} and beauty of Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

It is usually folly to ask how a statesman long dead would meet present day problems, for the situations with which Statesmen deal ^{with} concrete difficulties ^{with things which must be done} ~~are~~ day to day, ^(B) necessities, but in the case of Lincoln, not only the ^{seldom helps to wonder how} ~~Lincoln, and~~ ^{of his nature,} but the fundamental character of the issue ^{with} ~~events forced upon~~ ^{invites} which he was concerned throughout his Presidency, ^{enable us to} turn to him for help.

For the issue which he formulated on this spot ^{restated} ~~before~~ seventy five years ago will be the continuing issue of the nation so long as we shall maintain the purposes for which the nation was founded -- how to preserve a government ^{for} ~~under the changing conditions of each generation~~ by the people and for the people". That problem ^{is seen in} ~~assumes a different shape~~ sometimes the threat to different aspects ^{comes from} at different times. Popular government ^{may} be threatened by political institutions or political difficulties, ^{sometimes from} and at another time it may be threatened by economic ^{and} ~~institutions~~ institutions and economic difficulties; sometimes we have to beat off both together. Whatever the sources of the threat, the issue raised

(A) the last full measure of devotion of many
men and the ~~thought~~^{and} words
of one man.

B and rest with conscious patterns for the distant
future.

~~For ever mind at they~~

~~olden~~

last generation facing its own
set of facts have known
the destination and practical
inpiration to

of But the challenge

by the threat is always the same -- whether we can attain and
retain in the [practical] every day life of the every day man,
[citizen], that greatest liberty of the greatest number [of the
people] which [a] government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln on that November day, [dedicating a national
cemetery to the northern dead,] spoke in solace for all them who
had fought [and bled] upon this field. [Today, when time has] The
^{years} laid his ^{the} healing balm upon these wounds, the men who wore the
blue and the men who wore the gray, are here ~~gathered~~ together,
a fragment spared by time. They are brought [together] by the
memories of old divided loyalties, but they [are] ^{live} ~~not~~ united by ~~the~~ a
common loyalty that ~~later years supplied~~.

We honor them ^{all} today, not asking under which flag they
^{then,} fought but thankful that they stand ^{tied together under one flag now} today under our common
flag.

~~of common interest~~

to a common interest
which the ~~passing~~ ^{unfolding} of events
have made it easier to
see.

From this old battle and
from this new

Lincoln was the commander in chief in this old battle; ~~but~~ and, above all things, he wanted to be commander in chief of this new peace. He knew that whenever ~~the~~ the recurring ~~comes to~~ challenge to government for the people ~~is~~ is thrown down it must be taken up and the fight fought to a ~~fin~~ decision which ~~can~~ can never be reopened. He also knew that the end ~~winning~~ of a battle does not ~~mean~~ ~~last~~ ~~it can~~ mean ~~the end~~ ~~of the~~ ~~new~~ ~~warring~~ problems ~~which come~~ ~~to a~~ from

mean the end of the need for democracy to call upon all of its resources and its people to meet the ~~new~~ newer problems created by the settlement of the old.

DRAFT #2

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT

GETTYSBURG

JULY 3, 1938

Immortal deeds and immortal utterance have consecrated this place -- a shrine of American patriotism. No one will ever speak at Gettysburg without sensing around him the last full measure of devotion of many men and the and words of one man.

It seldom helps to wonder how a statesman long dead would face present perplexities. Statesmen deal with concrete difficulties -- with things which must be done from day to day, and not with conscious patterns for the distant future. But the grandeur of Lincoln's nature and the fundamental invite issue which events forced upon his Presidency, ~~invites~~ us to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he restated on this spot seventy five years ago will be the continuing issue before the nation so long as we persist in the purposes for which the nation was founded -- how to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

That problem assumes a different shape at different times. Sometimes the threat to popular government comes from political institutions or political difficulties, sometimes from economic institutions and economic difficulties, sometimes we have to beat off both together.

But the challenge is always the same -- whether each generation facing its own set of facts can summon the devotion and practical imagination to attain and retain in the every day life of the every day man, that greatest liberty of the greatest number, which this government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln on that November day spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field. The years have laid their healing balm upon the wounds of that day. The men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here united by a common loyalty to a common interest which the unfolding of events has made it easier to see.

We honor them all today, not asking under which Flag they fought then, but thankful that they stand together under one Flag now.

Lincoln was the Commander-in-Chief in this old battle; and, above all things, he wanted to be Commander-in-Chief of this new peace. He knew that whenever this recurring challenge to government for the people is thrown down it must be taken up and the fight fought to a decision which can never be reopened. He also knew that the end of a battle does not mean the end of the need for democracy to call upon all if its resources and its people to meet the newer problems created by the settlement of the old.

DRAFT #3

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

GETTYSBURG

JULY 3, 1938

Immortal deeds and immortal utterances have ~~consecrated~~ ^{were} created him
a shrine of American patriotism. ~~No one will~~
~~We are encamped by~~
~~ever speak here without coming around him (feeling about him)~~
the last full measure of devotion of many men and the beauty-
words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith
for which they died.

It seldom helps to wonder how a statesman ~~long-dead~~ ^{of his generation}
~~permuted the views of another,~~ &
~~would face peasant perplexities.~~ Statesmen deal with concrete
difficulties -- with things which must be done from day to
~~Not often can he frame~~
~~day, and not within~~ conscious patterns for the far off future.
~~But the~~ ^{Fathers of the Nation}
But the ~~genius~~ of Lincoln's nature and the fundamental
conflict which events forced upon his Presidency, invite us ~~now~~
to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he restated on this spot seventy-
five years ago will be the continuing issue before this nation
~~so long as we persist in~~ ^{cling to} the purposes for which it was founded --
~~to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation~~

government ~~of~~ ^{for} the people, by the people and for the people's good.

The Task
That problem assumes different shapes at different times. Sometimes the threat to popular government comes from political institutions or political difficulties, sometimes from economic institutions and economic difficulties, sometimes we have to beat off all of them together.

But the challenge is always the same -- whether each generation facing its own ~~set of facts~~ circumstances practical and the practical imagination to attain and retain ~~in the every~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~every day-life of the every day man,~~ ^{good} ~~liberty~~ of the greatest number which this government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field and the years have laid their balm upon its wounds. Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here ⁱⁿ united ~~by a common~~ loyalty to a ^{united cause} common interest which the unfolding ^{years} ~~of events has~~ made it easier to see.

All of them we honor, not asking under which Flag they fought ~~each other~~ then -- thankful that they stand together under one Flag now.

Lincoln was commander-in-chief in this old battle; he wanted above all things to be commander-in-chief of the new peace. He understood that battle there must be; that when ~~this~~ ^{constituted government} recurring challenge to ~~summoned~~ ^{it} for the people is thrown down, the people must in self-defense take ~~the~~ challenge up; that the fight must be fought through to a decision so clear ~~that~~ that it is accepted as being beyond recall.

But Lincoln also understood that after such a decision, ~~should seek peace through new unity,~~ a democracy ~~must have peace and the united effort of peace.~~ For a democracy can keep alive only if it struggles ever toward perfection, only if the settlement of old difficulties clears the ground ~~leaves~~ to face new tasks. Never can it have as much ability, ~~and~~ ^{and purpose}, as it needs in that striving; ~~but~~ the end of battle does not end the infinity of those needs.

That is why Lincoln -- commander of a ~~nation~~ people, as well as of an army -- asked that his battle end ~~widely~~ ^{meritless toward none} ~~charity for all~~ ^{merit} ~~bitterly~~, "with charity ~~toward all~~, with malice ~~toward none~~".

(A) This generation of the American People is ~~beginning~~ ^{beginning} a long battle, with ~~new~~ weapons, ~~new~~ fields, to preserve the ~~old~~ ^{new} ~~order~~ ^{order}.

~~We must I hope to let the victory over here that we may~~

~~fulfill our mission to save democratic government from disintegration.~~

We are near to winning ~~the~~ battle. ~~to~~ ^{This} independence and beyond

In its winning and through the years may
come. ~~May we follow Lincoln's wisdom as we preserve it.~~

We live by the wisdom and the humanity of
victory.

The heart of Abraham Lincoln.

(A)

~~the~~ the hurt of
To those who came after him, ~~not because~~
~~of~~ ~~any~~ ~~of~~ Lincoln's plan was long
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new unity became accepted fact.

In later ^{years} new needs arose, and with them
new tasks worldwide in their perplexities,
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war, we stick our ^{enemies} through ^{the peaceful process} of popular
government under the Constitution.

It is another conflict, as monumental as
Lincoln's, fought not with ~~glory~~ of steel, but with
appeals to reason and justice on a thousand frontier -
offering to save for our common country ~~the~~
opportunity and security for citizens in a
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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
GETTYSBURG
JULY 3, 1938.

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* * *

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning
and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the
humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln.

A few more
pieces of
infected

16.08.2006

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8' x 12' x 1.5"

120' x 4' x 2"

8' x 12' x 1.5"

120' x 4' x 2"

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W. L. M. -
L. G. S. -
J. A. -

S

J. C. P. -
W. C. R. -
J. M. S.

R. J. S. -
A. M. V. -

43

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannan

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

C-A-U-T-I-O-N: This address of the President, ~~to be delivered~~ on the occasion of the dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, Gettysburg Battlefield, Pennsylvania, is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 6:45 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time, Sunday, July 3rd, 1938.

PLEASE GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. MCINTYRE,
Secretary to the President

(4)

Immortal deeds and immortal words have created here a shrine of American patriotism. We are encompassed by "The last full measure of devotion" of many men and by the words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith for which they died.

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Lincoln spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field; and the years have laid their balm upon its wounds. Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see.

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and purpose as it needs in that striving; the end of battle does not end the infinity of those needs.

That is why Lincoln — commander of a people as well as of an army — asked that his battle end "with malice toward none, with charity for all".

To the hurt of those who came after him, Lincoln's plea was long denied. A generation passed before the new unity became accepted fact.

In later years new needs arose, and with them new tasks, worldwide in their perplexities, their bitterness and their modes of strife. Here in our land we give thanks that, avoiding war, we seek our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under the Constitution. (S)

It is another conflict, as fundamental as Lincoln's, fought not with glint of steel, but with appeals to reason and justice on a thousand fronts — seeking to save for our common country opportunity and security for citizens in a free society.

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln. (S) (S) (S)

2 AM

August 5, 1957

This unused draft of a speech to be delivered at the dedication of the memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1938, was erroneously placed in the drafts of the University of Georgia speech of August 11, 1938.

The notation "University of Georgia" should be ignored.

JVD

Cruise file

University of Georgia

Seventy-five years ago, on this field of consecrated sorrow, Abraham Lincoln dedicated this nation to a new brotherhood, founded on those principles of liberty and union in whose blending lie the dignity and strength and hope of common men.

When Lincoln spoke here, in November, 1863, the battle of Gettysburg was less than five months past. These rolling hills and meadows, which now lie green about us, were cut with the bright and cruel scars of breastworks. The scattered trees lifted their broken limbs, shattered by cannon ball and shell, and the dead leaves that drifted over the soldier dead were cut by the very bullets that took the lives of those who lay below.

Lincoln, on that November day, dedicated a national cemetery to the Northern dead, but in the imperishable words he uttered there was solace for all who fought and bled upon this field; there was support to all who in later years sought to bind up the wounds of war.

The rebirth of freedom which Lincoln asked for, the determination he expressed that government by the people and for the people should not perish - these were to be realized through triumph of arms, but beyond that triumph, foreshadowed on this field where we stand today, Lincoln saw that real victory could be won only through a rebirth, in North and South alike, of the spirit of freedom blended with the spirit of unity.

"Let us judge not, that we be not judged," said Lincoln in his second inaugural, and thereupon he asked the victorious North, "with malice toward none, with charity for all, ... to bind up the nation's wounds." Today, when time has laid its healing balm upon those wounds,

and upon later wounds inflicted with less reason, we can see more clearly that the wounds of all came from the same sources in human nature. However mistaken one side or the other may have been, in choice of policy, the sense of right was deep and firm and tenaciously held to. The cost of that war, in blood and anguish and material wealth, was multiplied by the human factors that gave nobility to the struggle, and thereby heightened the sadness of it.

Seventy-five years have passed since Pickett's men charged up Cemetery Ridge, and, shattered by withering fire, carried the doom of the Confederacy with them in their retreat. Today the men who wore the Blue, and the men who wore the Gray, are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are here together, united by the memory of old, divided loyalties, and united more firmly by the common loyalty that later years supplied. We honor them today, not asking under which flag they fought, but thankful that they stand today under our common flag, and seeing in their unity a symbol of national strength and progress.

The spirit of this gathering today was in Abraham Lincoln when he called upon the nation, in 1865, to rebuild its broken structure on a foundation of goodwill. The germ of this spirit was in his utterance ^{here} at Gettysburg, when the roar of battle, hardly hushed upon this field, still was echoing elsewhere. It is a tragedy, some may say a greater tragedy than the war itself, that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the spirit to which he gave voice while the armies of North and South were still in the field, did not dominate the peace that followed, the peace that was no peace.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all," Lincoln would have sought to rebuild a nation devoted to freedom and democratic unity. The southern states, he said, had never legally left the Union, therefore the people of the South should return to the duties and privileges of citizenship as soon as possible without punishment or deprivation of rights. In law, a supreme arbitrament supported Lincoln's theory, for indissoluble union had been proclaimed on the battlefield. But the weight of military victory, uniting the states, was overbalanced by the weight of human shortcomings, driving them once more apart.

So we had the tragedy of Reconstruction. With Lincoln dead at the hand of a half-mad assassin, President Andrew Johnson was overwhelmed by those sinister forces of fanatical reaction that seem to gain power at the end of every war, and the South went through the terrors of economic ruin, social chaos and political exploitation.

Let us not assume too confidently that all this would have been avoided had Lincoln lived. The radical Republicans who reduced Andrew Johnson to a presidential shadow, the zealots who lacked but one vote of removing him from office by impeachment, were punishing him for courage, not cowardice; for wisdom, not folly. They were punishing him for attempting to carry out the policies of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln himself had been the target of their anger when, using his power as commander in chief of the army, he showed mildness and fairness in reconstructing the governments of Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia. I can well believe that all the venomous hatred and calumny heaped upon Andrew Johnson would have fallen to the lot of Lincoln had he undertaken, after the lapse

of his war powers, to stem the current of revenge that swept the congressional elections of 1866 and reduced the South to the status of conquered provinces.

Perhaps Lincoln would have been victorious. But the mighty moral force that now attaches to his name had not then been built up. Whoever occupied the White House, from 1865 to 1869, was bound to be confronted and challenged by elemental forces of incalculable strength and destructiveness, and these forces triumphed.

So perished the old South, whose better spirit, shorn of the incubus of slavery, had survived four years of furious battle, and so perished the hope of a quick and peaceful return to national unity. The lasting evil of Reconstruction was not in the field of politics. The abuses of carpetbag government were so plainly visible that the North itself aided in bringing them to an early end. The heavy blow dealt by Reconstruction was in the realm of the people's livelihood. The South was torn to pieces economically. The ravaged fields and burned houses that testified to the inherent nature of war had their counterpart in an economic prostration that was a needless accompaniment of peace. With one system of labor upset, with markets lost, with local industries prostrated and local capital wiped out, nothing could be put in systematic place of them except a feeble dependence upon a single staple, cotton. And the same combination that won the war - the union of industrial east and agricultural west - put forward a tariff policy that narrowed the market for cotton and heightened the cost of the goods for which cotton was to be exchanged.

Thus, for at least four decades, the South struggled under its burden, before anything more than a shadow of economic reconstruction had become visible. When genuine reconstruction came, with the rise of southern manufactures in the twentieth century, it proved to be a reconstruction largely in the interest of absentee owners, absentee financial interests, while the common people of the South were subjected to a new system of exploitation that threatened them with permanent degradation.

Early in the development of southern industrialism, the discovery was made that northern industries could move South, and, through lower wage rates and longer hours, undersell their northern competitors. With labor organized in the North, unorganized in the South, the discrepancy was sharpened, and many northern industries were forced South to preserve themselves from bankruptcy.

A period of expansion, when factories are being built, produces evidences of prosperity going beyond the factory payrolls, but when that expansion is based on low wages, the final level of prosperity is determined by the wage level itself. Therefore, in the South, there can be no lasting advantage in an industrialism based on exploitation of workers, while the effect nationally is to drag the general level of wages and of wealth down to the lowest stratum. Today the interests of North and South alike demand that we reconstruct this reconstruction, and turn from the exploitation of underpaid men and women to an economy based on fair treatment of all.

I address these remarks, not primarily to the people of the South, but to all the citizens of America, to wage earners, farmers, and industrial leaders, to those who speak in our pulpits, to editors and political leaders, as well as to the voiceless multitude that determines the basic course of democratic government.

In a democracy, seeking to lift the economic level by common action, the interests of all these groups are fundamentally the same, and are opposed by only a handful of deliberate exploiters. The vast majority of industrialists are the victims of forces they do not like, but which they cannot stand against or do not understand.

Speaking to the people of the South, I say but this: You need not have, nor should you tolerate, a lower level of living than the rest of the country. But to escape from such a level, more is needed than to build up the income of the factory workers in your new industrial empire. It is impossible, in any commonwealth of men, to have one large group prosperous while pitted against a lower group. The welfare of the white race in the South, the well being of the millions who work in factories and upon southern farms, depends in the last analysis upon the welfare of the Negro race. You may not have, perhaps you will not have for centuries, economic parity between the races, but they will rise together or go down together in any industrial economy based on political democracy and individual freedom.

And just as there can be no sectional prosperity where men and women are stratified in varying levels of poverty, so there can be no national prosperity where one great section is below the national level. By common efforts, the section below that level can be lifted up, but in the unrelieved interplay of competitive forces it will drag the other down.

We had, on this field of Gettysburg, an example of the courage and tenacity of the common man. The war that reached its culmination on these hills was not a contest between brilliant military leaders, nor a rivalry in the cold mechanics of death. It was a test of the staying power, the will and devotion of the people of America, their willingness, unhappily divided, to pay the price for the things they believed in most deeply. So measured, that war of brother against brother is not to be judged by its outcome, for in the weighing of the human spirit devoted to that contest, no man can discover a tilting of the scales. The Blue and the Gray alike were victorious, and they both met defeat. They were victorious, because they gave themselves, to the uttermost limit of their beings, to the cause they believed to be right. They met defeat, because these fine human talents were pitted against each other in processes of destruction, each cancelling the other, when they might have been devoted in concert to a peaceful settlement of more questions than the war involved.

But if this is true, it gives America at this moment a foundation upon which to attack the problems we face today, problems that overhang us as heavily in the economic field as slavery did in its political aspect.

Let us, then, make the attack in concert, a nation united for a common objective, a people who have learned through error, as well as trial and precept, that in union there is strength.