

Thaddeus Stevens in the Cause of Education: The Gettysburg Years

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The seventy-six years of life of Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868) fall into three roughly equal periods. Most of the first third were spent in New England, where the personal characteristics for which he was long known were developed and where he learned to cope with the fact that he was partially crippled. The second third of his life was lived in Adams county, Pennsylvania. The final third was spent as a resident of Lancaster. During those years, thirteen of them as a member of Congress, he became a national figure.¹

Thaddeus Stevens arrived in the seat of Adams county in the fall of 1816 and began to practice law. Although a complete stranger to Gettysburg, he quickly gained considerable acceptance in the community. By the time he left for Lancaster in the summer of 1842, in search of larger opportunities, there were few aspects of Adams County life which he had not influenced in some major way.

Between 1822 and 1831 Stevens served six one-year terms on the Gettysburg borough council; he was elected its president at the beginning of his first year in office. Between 1824 and 1833 he was a director of the Bank of Gettysburg, the only such institution in Adams county. In 1822 he began acquiring real estate in addition to his Chambersburg street residence, both in Gettysburg and in numerous other places in the county. As early as 1826 he and a partner had begun to develop significant ironmaking interests in the western part of the county. A champion of internal improvements, in 1837 he was elected president of a newly chartered railroad company. Through it all, Stevens maintained a flourishing law practice and, thanks to the manner of his frequent approach to people, became and remained a controversial figure.²

During his Gettysburg years Stevens was a tireless champion of causes. He supported temperance, opposed slavery, and befriended blacks. When opposition to Freemasonry became a political issue in Pennsylvania about 1830, he joined the Antimasonic party and in a short time was one of its chief leaders in the state. In April 1830 he founded a weekly newspaper in Gettysburg, first called the *Anti-Masonic Star*.³ An article in the issue of that paper for June 5, 1830, which

described the new party as one “opposed to Aristocracy and Moral Treason,” undoubtedly expressed the way in which Stevens might have stated his opposition to Freemasonry.⁴

One of Stevens’s most earnest causes, and the main concern of this paper, was education, in many forms and at all levels. In 1822 he helped found the Gettysburg Library Society and was one of the committee named to prepare a list of suitable books to be purchased for its use. Three years later he was one of two men whom the voters of Adams county elected to four-year terms as trustees of the Gettysburg Academy. Chartered by the legislature in 1810, with state financial aid this institution had built a building and begun operating in it four years later.

Stevens became a trustee of the academy at the very time when declining student enrollment and unmet financial obligations called its future into question. As a trustee, he was a party to the negotiations by which the Rev. Samuel Simon Schmucker took over the academy building in the fall of 1826 for the use of a Lutheran theological seminary. Immediately aware of the need for improved preparation of the students coming to him, Schmucker opened what he called a classical school in 1827. After adding an additional teacher in 1829 and offering the equivalent of a three-year college program, he changed its name to the Gettysburg Gymnasium.

Both classical school and Gymnasium attracted students. It was only a matter of time before Schmucker would want to take another step: secure a charter for a college, which could offer the customary four-year program and grant bachelor’s degrees, as the Gymnasium could not. For that purpose, he needed the promise of additional financial and other support. Since his Lutheran clerical friends were then helping build a seminary building at the west end of town, he concluded that he had to look elsewhere on behalf of his proposed college. Accordingly, in 1831 he called a meeting of about six fellow-townsmen, all but one non-Lutherans, and sought their help when he asked the state legislature for a charter. They agreed, with the understanding that in return they would have some voice in the government of the college, should the effort be successful. The charter was granted in April 1832 and seven months later the new college—then Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg but now Gettysburg College—began its instructional program in the academy building which the seminary had only recently vacated.

From the very beginning everyone understood that there was not nearly enough space in the building’s four rooms for the new college to operate for very long. Within a matter of weeks after the school opened, the trustees appealed to the

state legislature for an appropriation of \$18,000 to build a new, large building of their own. After one of Adams county's two representatives in the lower house of the legislature, James Patterson, declared at the last minute that his constituents were opposed to an appropriation for the college, the body reversed itself and the measure was defeated in April 1833.

Thaddeus Stevens was not one of the men whose help Schmucker had solicited in 1831 and he took no known part in organizing the college. But when word reached Gettysburg that the college appropriation had been defeated, he was elected chairman of a largely attended public meeting in the court house which thanked county legislators who had supported the measure and condemned Patterson for opposing it. Those present named a committee of seven "to proceed to Harrisburg, to correct the . . . misrepresentation of James Patterson, Esq."⁵ At their meeting later that month, the college trustees voted to renew their request for state aid in the next session of the legislature, scheduled to begin in December 1833.

In preparation for the October election, the Antimasonic party named James Patterson and Thaddeus Stevens as its candidates for Adams county's two seats in the lower house of the legislature (the terms were then one year). Both men were easily elected. One had already voted against financial aid for the college and, presumably, would do so again. The other had let it be known that he favored an appropriation and would vote for it, if given the opportunity.

As he prepared to assume his new duties, Stevens believed that most of the resident trustees of the college, who were Masons, had used unfair tactics during the campaign in an attempt to defeat him. Some of his friends advised him that, by so doing, the college men had dissipated any claim they might have upon his vote. Many of his Antimasonic associates regarded colleges as undemocratic institutions which were not entitled to public financial support. At a recent party meeting, a majority of the participants had in fact voted to oppose the college aid bill again.

Writing from Harrisburg on January 13, 1834, Stevens replied to thirteen of his "personal and political friends" who had urged him to vote the party line. At his request the editor of the *Star and Banner* published the response in the issue of January 21. After reviewing the brief history of the college and its evident need for money, Stevens informed his friends that, in supporting the college in the past, he had acted together with his political enemies "on a subject which it is a shame to permit Politics to affect. I have not gone against the cause of Education," he explained, "because they were for it!" To those who argued that his proposed

course would "shake the confidence" of his firmest Antimasonic friends, Stevens could only reply that, "if such must be the consequence of bestowing a blessing upon your Children, and the State at large, let it come. I would sooner lose every friend on earth, than violate the clearest dictates of my own conscience."

As for the stand which his party had taken on the aid bill, he had this to say: "Pardon me, therefore, while I tell you I cannot obey your orders—I will not sacrifice your posterity to selfish views." Some of his friends had implied that his vote for the college bill would injure both them and their party politically. For this, Stevens had a blunt answer: "I have already resolved that the weight of my name shall never again burthen [sic] your ticket. . . . And if it be necessary to the well-being of our country, dear to me as are my Friends and Constituents, I will withdraw from your county to some place, where the advocates of Anti-Masonry may still be the advocates of knowledge." He signed the letter as the "Faithful, if not obedient Servant" of his friends.

A few days after this letter was written, the college aid bill came up for consideration in the lower house. As was to be expected, James Patterson again spoke against it. On the same day, January 21, Stevens was ready with his answer. "I hold that the creation and endowment of literary institutions; the establishment of common schools, and spreading the means of information throughout the Commonwealth, are as necessary to the permanency of our free institutions; to intellectual enjoyment and respectability, as food is to the existence of animal life." Unfortunately, he argued, Patterson "and those who think with him, deem it of much more importance, that the mud holes in their roads should be filled up, that their horses go dryshod to mill, than that the rubbish of ignorance should be cleared away from the intellects of their children."

As for Patterson's charge that their constituents had directed them to oppose the bill, he replied that once elected, "and I have taken upon me the oath of office, I consider every man in the country my constituent, and trust I shall be able to legislate for them all impartially." When one's constituents have "formed their opinions under mistaken impression of facts, or through an imperfect knowledge of the subject, and under the influence of such opinions . . . order their own destruction," it becomes the duty of their representatives "to resist their will, and do them good, however unthankful they may be for it." If that means defeat at the next election so be it. "It may be, that the great cause of education in Pennsylvania," he argued, "requires that some victim should be offered up on the altar of ignorance and avarice." He announced himself ready to accept "that honored post

of martyrdom." All he asked in return was that his exertions might earn "the benediction of the friends of learning, and the poor man's children."⁶

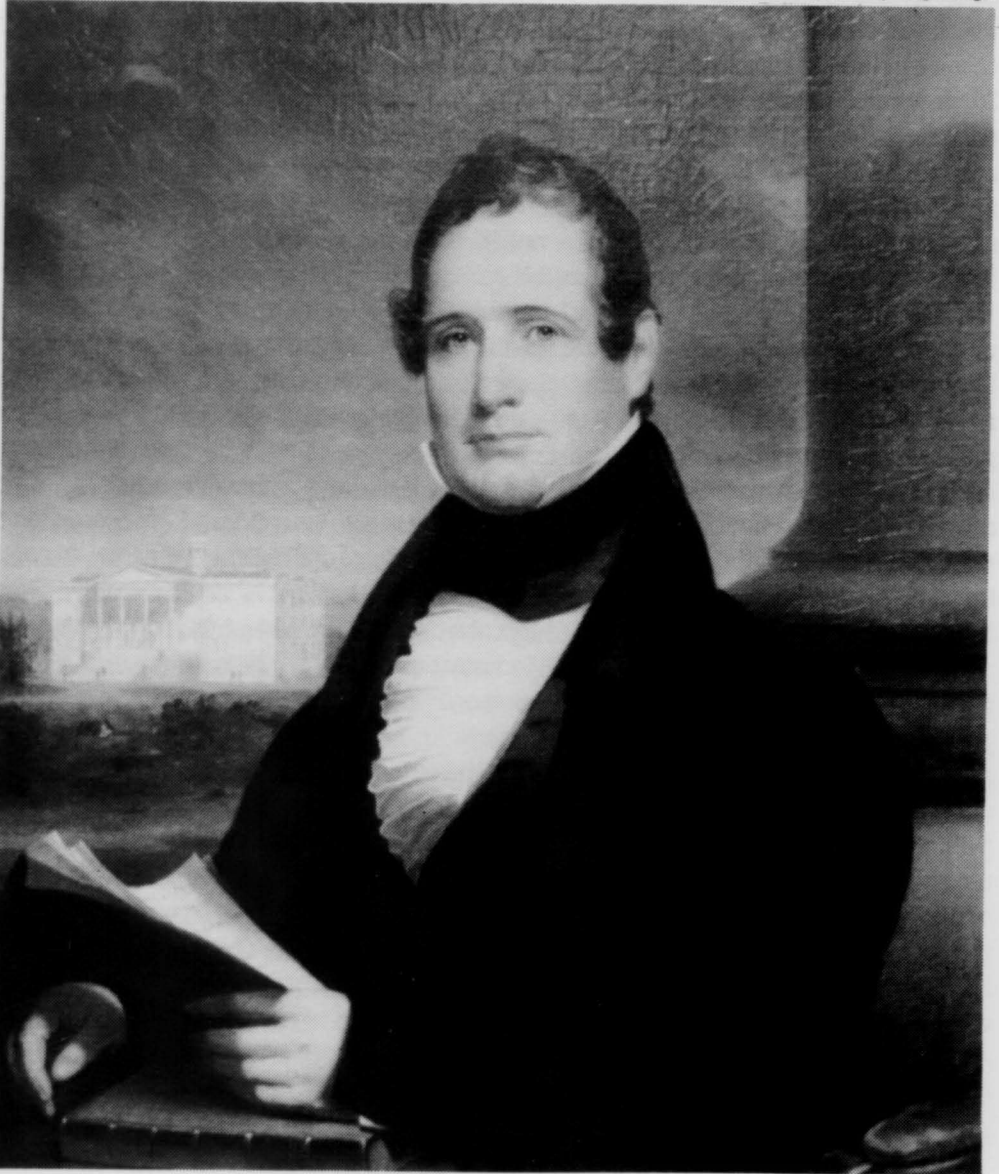
On January 23 the lower house passed the college aid bill by a vote of 64 to 25. Several days later the senate concurred and the governor signed the measure on February 6. It appropriated \$18,000 over a period of six years, subject to certain conditions, all of which were easily met. The money was used to purchase land and build what is now Pennsylvania Hall on the present Gettysburg College campus. It is difficult to see how the college could have constructed and paid for its first building without this state aid.⁷

Samuel Simon Schmucker had journeyed to Harrisburg in January 1834 to exert all of his influence in securing passage of the aid bill. Before he returned to Gettysburg, he wrote to the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, the weekly church paper then being published in Baltimore, conveying his "feelings of no ordinary pleasure" at the outcome of the legislative deliberation. He thanked everyone who had helped in any way, especially Stevens, who, he wrote, "in a speech of consummate legislative tact and most commanding eloquence, beat down before him the combined forces of ignorance and prejudice."⁸ When the college's electing board met in Gettysburg in April 1834, it chose Stevens a trustee, a position which he held until his death in 1868, even though after 1842 he rarely attended meetings.⁹

The legislative session of 1833-1834 lasted until mid-April. Before adjourning, and with only four dissenting votes (three in the senate and one in the house), it passed and, on April 1, the governor signed "An Act to Establish a General System of Education by Common Schools." This measure, enacted after several years of concerted effort from many quarters, established the state's first system of free public schools. It divided the state into about one thousand districts, consisting of townships, boroughs, and city wards. Voters in each would decide for themselves whether they wanted public schools and the inevitable taxes necessary to support them, or whether they wanted to continue to operate under the Act of 1809. This law required counties to pay for the education of children whose parents were willing to declare publicly that they were paupers, too poor to pay for it themselves. At elections held in September 1834, about half of the districts voted to establish common schools and about half rejected them. Those districts voting in favor were promised state financial aid to supplement local taxation.

At their first opportunity, the voters of Gettysburg decided to adopt common schools and elected Thaddeus Stevens, a bachelor, one of the first six borough school directors. He served until the spring of 1839 and played a leading role in

Courtesy of Gettysburg College.



This portrait of Thaddeus Stevens by Jacob Eichholtz was evidently painted in the late 1830s. The original building of Pennsylvania College (now Gettysburg College) is in the background. The words featured in the manuscript Stevens is holding are "Common Schools," "Colleges," and "Academies."

establishing the borough's program in elementary education.¹⁰

Despite Stevens's promise in January 1834 that he would not again "burthen" the Antimasonic ticket, some months later he allowed his party to renominate him for the lower house. At the same time, it dropped James Patterson as the second candidate and replaced him with James McSherry. In many places in the state, one of the main issues in the ensuing campaign was the fate of the common school act. Clearly, for a variety of reasons, many voters wanted to see the measure repealed and the Act of 1809 restored to its previous position. There was little about repeal appearing in the three newspapers then being published in Gettysburg. More attention was paid to discussion of Stevens's previous support of the college aid bill and what this should mean in determining his fitness for a second term. At the October election, the team of Stevens and McSherry garnered about 57 percent of the votes cast.

In his annual message in December, Governor George Wolf, a consistently strong supporter of free schools, reminded the legislators that the state constitution in effect since 1790 required a system of public education. The Act of 1834 represented the first serious attempt to honor that old, and presumably serious, commitment. While acknowledging that it was not a perfect measure and probably needed some revisions, Wolf believed it manifestly superior to anything which preceded it and deserving of a fair chance to prove its worth.¹¹ As the legislators got down to work, in addition to the governor's counsel, they were greeted by more than five hundred petitions with more than 30,000 signatures, urging repeal of the free school law. There were sixteen such petitions from Adams county, with 550 signatures.¹²

On March 18 and 19 the senate considered a bill to restore the 1809 act and passed it. The only recorded vote, taken on second reading, was 19 to 11. The measure then went to the lower house, where action was not expected until the closing days of the session, which was scheduled to end on April 15, 1835.

The editors of each of Gettysburg's three newspapers ventured their informed opinion of what would finally happen to the school law. Robert G. Harper, as a Whig and a Mason, was a vigorous political opponent of Stevens, but he was also his colleague on the college board of trustees and the Gettysburg borough school board. In his paper, the *Sentinel*, Harper wrote (March 23) that "the House, it is thought, will still be in favor" of common schools. "If it should join the Senate in the repeal," he believed, "the Governor will exercise his veto against the repeal." A Harrisburg correspondent of the Democratic organ, the *Compiler*, was quoted

(April 6) as predicting that the "School bill, which is so much opposed, will not be touched this session," especially since the "great majority" of house members "are opposed to any thing like a repeal, modification or suspension." As the time for house action approached, the editor of the *Star and Banner* was dealing with serious illness in his family, but for the April 13 issue he took time to say "it is thought that the School Law will not be repealed."

The issue of repeal first came up for serious consideration in the lower house on April 11, 1835. Members began their deliberations with a bill reported from the committee of the whole which substituted for the senate-passed measure one which was an amendment to, rather than a repeal of, the Act of 1834. After voting on a number of proposed amendments, accepting some and rejecting others, by a vote of 57 to 30 the House reaffirmed and supplemented the Act of 1834. In the haste to adjourn, the senate reversed itself and concurred in the House action. The governor signed the measure on April 15, 1835.¹³

During the session of April 11, 1835, Thaddeus Stevens rose and delivered one of the most effective speeches of his long legislative career. After observing, as had the governor earlier, that the state constitution then in effect called for a system of public education, he argued that "it would seem to be humiliating to be under the necessity, in the nineteenth century, of entering into a formal argument to prove the utility, and to free governments, the absolute necessity of education." Nevertheless, he proceeded to do just that. The "cultivation and diffusion" of education, he insisted, "is a matter of public concern; and a duty which every government owes to its people," especially if that government is "an elective republic."

By Stevens's calculation, the new law would provide for the education of more children at less cost than the old system. He branded the pauper-school law a measure "of a most hateful and degrading character," since "the names of those who have the misfortune to be poor men's children shall be forever preserved, as a distinct class, in the archives of the county!"¹⁴ For Stevens, "hereditary distinctions of rank are sufficiently odious; but that which is founded on poverty is infinitely more so."

Stevens responded to a series of arguments against public schools: they do not benefit those without children, they benefit the children of the "profligate spendthrift" as well as "those of the most industrious and economical habits," and they deprive the "industrious money-making man" of the services of his family. He was well aware, he said, "how difficult it is for the great mass of the people who

have never seen" public education "in operation, to understand its advantages." He was only asking his colleagues "to let it go into full operation, and learn its results from experience." He was in agreement with Governor Wolf that the time for repeal of the law was, not when the system had yet to be fairly tried, but only if and when the system "prove useless or burthensome."

The last part of Stevens's address sought to answer the charge that the school law was unpopular and that the people wanted its repeal. His response recalled the arguments which he had advanced in favor of the Gettysburg College aid bill a year earlier. "Every new reform in the condition of man" meets resistance. It is the duty of the faithful legislator, not to go with the tide, but "to create and sustain such laws and institutions, as shall teach us our wants—foster our cravings after knowledge, and urge us forward in the march of intellect." Some opponents of the 1834 law may wish to repeal it because they want to be popular with their constituents, but such popularity is ephemeral at best. If one wishes to acquire popularity, one should build monuments not "of brass or marble," but of "ever-living mind."

In conclusion, Stevens voiced the hope that when the time for action comes "we shall all take lofty ground—look beyond the narrow space which now circumscribes our vision—beyond the passing, fleeting point of time on which we stand; and so cast our votes that the blessing of education shall be conferred on every son of Pennsylvania."¹⁵

Many persons then and since have recognized in Stevens' remarks on April 11, 1835 a most compelling argument in favor of free public education in Pennsylvania. In his issue of the *Sentinel* for April 20, Robert G. Harper quoted approvingly a Harrisburg newspaper which asserted that Stevens had never exerted his "acknowledged talents . . . in a nobler cause or with greater effect. . . and we feel assured that a more powerful effort of oratory was never listened to within the walls of this or any other legislative hall."¹⁶

The question remains: did Stevens's speech, as has so often been claimed, singlehandedly save the public school law from certain and overwhelming repeal? The available evidence indicates that it did not. While it may have changed some votes and reinforced others, there is simply no good credible evidence that, despite the many petitions against the law, there was ever a majority in the lower house which was committed to its repeal. A close reading of the house journal for April 11 makes very clear that, on one after another of the crucial votes (of which there were about six), those wishing to retain the law, albeit with some amend-

ments, had about ten votes for every seven favoring outright repeal. After the issue was decided, none of the three Gettysburg editors, not even Robert Middleton of the *Star and Banner*, advanced the claim that Stevens had "saved" public schools.¹⁷

Thaddeus Stevens and James McSherry were both reelected to the legislature in October 1835. The Antimasonic ticket was narrowly defeated a year later, but with Stevens and Charles Kettlewell as its standard bearers it carried the day in October 1837. During the legislative session which followed, Thaddeus Stevens once more had an opportunity to espouse the cause of public support of education. Under consideration was a bill to establish a school of arts in Philadelphia and also to authorize small annual grants to Pennsylvania academies and colleges which met minimum standards of enrollment and instruction.

While acknowledging that, "within the last few years, Pennsylvania has acquired more honor by her legislation upon the subject of Education, than she had ever done before," in urging the passage of the bill Stevens hoped that "she is not yet exhausted." Nations are to be measured by their "permanent laws" in support of "common schools and common education, and to the higher branches of knowledge." For Stevens, education was a continuum:

Nor does it seem possible to separate the higher from the lower branches of education, without injuring, if not paralyzing [sic] the prosperity of both. They are as mutually dependent and necessary to each other's existence and prosperity, as are the ocean and the streams by which it is supplied.

Since he believed that the worth of higher learning still needed to be demonstrated to the public by "careful examination and candid argument," Stevens returned to some of the themes which he had employed in 1834. To those who argued that colleges are available only to the rich, for example, he had this answer: "extend public aid to these institutions, and thus reduce the rate of tuition; and in short, render learning cheap and honorable, and he who has genius, no matter how poor he may be, will find the means of improving it."

The bill before the house was one intended to replace the sporadic, and sometimes large, grants of land or money to individual Pennsylvania colleges which had been made on a rather regular basis since 1786. Stevens argued that annual, but small, appropriations, in addition to being good public policy, would be "true economy," actually "a less sum than you appropriate annually to keep in repair a single section of your canals, to be disbursed and expended by a single agent." The existing policy, he believed, actually promoted a feast-or-famine atti-

tude for some institutions, which, when they were "full of funds for a while . . . neglected what was necessary for their future prosperity and preservation."

As he did on other occasions when he was discussing education, Stevens related the nineteenth century to both Ancient and Classical civilizations, insisting that what has truly lasted from earlier times was learning more so than buildings and monuments. When he compared "the arts, and sciences, and knowledge which existed in antiquity, with those of modern times," he was "humbled and mortified at our little advance in any, and inferiority in most of them." By voting for the bill before the house, his colleagues could do something about this situation.¹⁸

At the end of the 1837-1838 session, the legislature obliged Stevens by passing, and on April 12 the governor signed, the bill providing annual sums, ranging from \$300 to \$1,000, to qualified academies and colleges. Also, on April 14 the governor signed a measure incorporating the Gettysburg Female Academy, a school which occupied the building the college had just vacated and which could now qualify for a small annual grant. Among the school's nine original trustees, named in the act, were Samuel Simon Schmucker, Robert G. Harper, and Thaddeus Stevens.¹⁹

After surviving the onslaught waged upon it during the year following its passage, the free school law of 1834 prospered. Wisely, its authors had given each district the opportunity to decide for itself whether it wanted public education and, in fact, whether to reverse previous decisions for or against. By the time Stevens left Gettysburg in 1842 there were common schools in more than 80 percent of the districts.²⁰ His exertions on behalf of state aid for academies and colleges were much less lasting. In 1843, when the state was facing bankruptcy, the legislature repealed the program. Although the sums voted to individual academies and colleges, however small, were a significant fraction of their budgets for many of them, years passed before state aid to any such schools was resumed. The Gettysburg Female Academy might have become a useful long-term adjunct to the educational program in that community. Unfortunately, by 1842 the school was already experiencing financial difficulties. Although for many of the next thirty years the old academy building was used as a private school for young women, the hopes of Thaddeus Stevens for it in 1838 were not realized.

In the issue of the *Sentinel* for April 16, 1838, in which he announced that the legislature had authorized annual grants to academies and colleges, as well as the incorporation of the Gettysburg Female Academy, Robert G. Harper acknowledged that he and Stevens "have not acted together for some years, and, indeed, have

been antipodes to each other, in particular matters." These differences, however great as they had been, had not blinded Harper to "the exertions of this gentleman in the cause of Education generally, and his particular furtherance of the interests of his constituents, in regard to local benefits in that particular." Thus, he observed, "we cannot be suspected of flattery or other improper motive, in giving to him this tribute of approbation, deserved as we believe it to be." This rather remarkable compliment is a reminder that, during his Gettysburg years at least, the commitment of Thaddeus Stevens to the cause of education at all levels was consistent and commanded the respect of at least one of his political foes.²¹

Notes

1. The text of this paper is adapted from an address given by the author on April 4, 1992 in Lancaster, on the 200th anniversary of Stevens's birth, and printed in the June 1992 issue of the *Newsletter* of the Adams County Historical Society, and from a commentary on Stevens' role in preventing the repeal of the 1834 school law, printed in the July 1992 issue of the same newsletter.
2. With much exaggeration but probably with an element of truth, a political opponent who called himself A Voter, writing in the *Democratic Compiler* for October 1, 1833, asked whether Stevens was "ever known to speak favorably of any living creature? But, on the contrary, has it not been his uniform and daily practice to abuse and slander every body?" The *Compiler* was a Gettysburg paper hostile to Stevens.
3. During its existence this paper had many different names, including the *Star and Banner*, the one which will be used hereafter in this paper.
4. In his famous April 1835 speech, Stevens referred to "the pernicious influence of secret, oath-bound, murderous institutions." *Sentinel*, May 4, 1835. In a letter published in the *Star and Banner* on January 21, 1834, Stevens said that in espousing Antimasonry he had "to part with old and valued friends." The *Sentinel* was a Gettysburg paper.
5. *Star and Banner*, April 8, 1833.
6. For the text of Stevens' speech, see the *Sentinel* for February 10, 1834.
7. Pennsylvania Hall was built on land purchased from Thaddeus Stevens. During its 1833-1834 session the legislature appropriated a total of \$25,500 for Lafayette, Washington, and Allegheny Colleges. Obviously, Stevens represented majority sentiment in that body far better than Patterson.
8. *Lutheran Observer*, February 8, 1834.
9. For a fuller treatment of the college's first two years, see Charles H. Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence: Gettysburg College, 1832-1985*, 2 vols. (Gettysburg, 1987), 1: 3-70. Trustees who were absent from meetings for three consecutive years forfeited their seats. Stevens was the only member regularly reelected whenever his membership expired.
10. The part which Stevens played can be traced in the minutes of the school board, beginning September 19, 1834, the originals of which are in the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg.
11. The pertinent parts of the governor's message are in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, 6: 188-192. The governor certainly implied he would veto any measure to repeal the 1834 act.
12. The house committee appointed to examine and classify these petitions found 558 advocating

repeal, 50 favoring amendment, and 49 against repeal. *Journal of the Forty-Fifth House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, . . . (Harrisburg, 1834-5), 2: 650-653.

13. The new measure was titled A Supplement to the Act to Establish a General System of Education by Common Schools. The editor of the *Star and Banner*, in the issue of April 20, 1835, said he was "proud to find recorded the names of both the Representatives from Adams" on the majority side.

14. Little did Stevens know that, in 1993, a number of Pennsylvania county historical societies would have among their original and primary sources, available for use by all patrons, lists of poor children created before the townships in which they lived had common schools.

15. Note that Stevens in referring to every son of Pennsylvania failed to include every daughter. The text of his speech was printed in many newspapers in 1835 and has been reprinted in many places since. The text used here appeared in the *Sentinel* for May 4, 1835.

16. As one would expect, the *Star and Banner* proudly reprinted praises of the speech from papers in Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, Carlisle, and elsewhere.

17. The record of house action is contained in the *Journal of the Forty-Fifth House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, . . . (Harrisburg, 1834-5), 1: 885-899. Years later, Alexander K. McClure recalled Stevens's telling him shortly before his death in 1868 that "I gave free schools to Pennsylvania, my adopted state" and that this "was the proudest effort of my life. It gave schools to the poor and helpless children of the State." This claim, made by a man then bitterly disappointed by the course of Reconstruction, runs

counter to the evidence. A. K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 264.

18. The text of this speech can be found in the *Sentinel* for April 2, 1838. It was delivered on March 10 of that year.

19. The measure authorizing aid to academies and colleges was Section 4 of a general public education act (Act 57), which made no mention of a Philadelphia school of arts. The charter of the Gettysburg Female Academy was contained in Sections 24-30 of an omnibus act (Act 68), the rest of which had nothing to do with education. This school operated under the name Gettysburg Female Seminary.

20. The legislature felt sufficiently confident about the permanence of the common school system to include in an act approved on April 11, 1848 the statement that it "shall be deemed, held, and taken to be adopted by the several school districts in this commonwealth," even though the last of these did not actually fall into line until 1874.

21. The dictionary defines antipodes as two places on the face of the earth which are directly opposite each other. Stevens was not above giving praise where he thought it was due, but it had a distinctly Stevens flavor to it. In his famous 1835 speech, he defended George Wolf, the Democratic governor whom he despised, for his support of free public education: "I am not the eulogist of that gentleman; he has been guilty of many deep political sins. But he deserves the undying gratitude of the people, for the steady untiring zeal, which he has manifested in favor of common schools. I will not say that his exertions in that cause have covered all, but they have atoned for many of his errors." *Sentinel*, May 4, 1835.