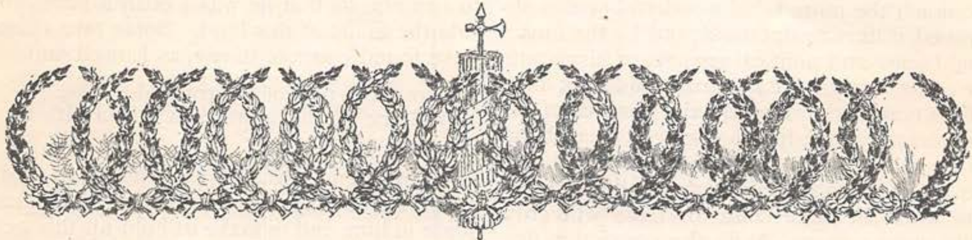
statue, which, "standing like a tower," will draw the loving gaze of millions in the coming years. But the artist has shown as keen an insight into the historic place of Lincoln as he has into his personal traits, in the words which he has chosen from Lincoln's rejoinder to his old friend Greeley, inscribed 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.[1]

THERE 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.

[1] 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.

Accompanying this official invitation was also a private note from Mr. Wills, which said:

> As the hotels in our town will be crowded and in confusion at the time referred to in the inclosed invitation, I write to invite you to stop with me. I hope you will feel it your duty to lay aside pressing business for a day to come on here to perform this last sad rite to our brave soldier dead, on the 19th inst. Governor Curtin and Hon. Edward Everett will be my guests at that time, and if you come you will please join them at my house.

From the above date it will be seen that Mr. Lincoln had a little more than two weeks in which to prepare the remarks he might intend to make. It was a time when he was extremely busy, not alone with the important and complicated military affairs in the various armies, but also with the consideration of his annual message to Congress, which was to meet early in December. There was even great uncertainty whether he could take enough time from his pressing official duties to go to Gettysburg at all. Up to the 17th of November, only two days before the ceremonies, no definite arrangements for the journey had been made. The whole cabinet had of course been invited, as well as the President, and on the 17th, which was Tuesday, Mr. Lincoln wrote to Secretary Chase:

> I expected to see you here at cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed; but when it shall be I will notify you.

However, Mr. Chase had already written a note to Mr. Wills, expressing his inability to go, and apparently a little later on the same day Secretary Stanton sent the President this "timetable" for the trip:

> It is proposed by the Baltimore and Ohio road: First, to leave Washington Thursday morning at 6 A. M. Second, to leave Baltimore at 8 A. M., arriving at Gettysburg at twelve, noon, thus giving two hours to view the ground before the dedication ceremonies commence. Third, to leave Gettysburg at 6 P. M., and arrive at Washington at midnight, thus doing all in one day.

Upon this proposition Mr. Lincoln, with his unfailing common-sense judgment, made this indorsement:

> I do not like this arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely; and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gantlet. But any way.

There is no decisive record of when Mr. Lincoln wrote the first sentences of his proposed address. He probably followed his usual habit in such matters, using great deliberation in arranging his thoughts, and molding his phrases mentally, waiting to reduce them to writing until they had taken satisfactory form.

There was much greater necessity for such precaution in this case, because the invitation specified that the address of dedication should only be "a few appropriate remarks." Brevity in speech and writing was one of Lincoln's marked characteristics; but in this instance there existed two other motives calculated to strongly support his natural inclination. One was that Mr. Everett would be quite certain to make a long address; the other, the want of opportunity even to think leisurely about what he might desire to say. All this strongly confirms the correctness of the statement made by the Hon. James Speed, in an interview printed in the "Louisville Commercial" in November, 1879, that the President told him that "the day before he left Washington he found time to write about half of his speech."

The President's criticism of the time-table first suggested must have struck Secretary Stanton as having force, for the arrangement was changed, so that instead of starting on Thursday morning, the day of the ceremonies, the President's special train left Washington at noon of Wednesday the 18th. Three members of the cabinet — Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, Mr. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. Blair, Postmaster-General — accompanied the President, as did the French minister M. Mercier, the Italian minister M. Bertinatti, and several legation secretaries and attachés. Mr. Lincoln also had with him his private secretary Mr. Nicolay, and his assistant private secretary Colonel John Hay. Captain H. A. Wise of the navy and Mrs. Wise (daughter of Edward Everett) were also of the party; likewise a number of newspaper correspondents from Washington, and a military guard of honor to take part in the Gettysburg procession. Other parties of military officers joined the train on the way.

No accident or delay occurred, and the party arrived in Gettysburg about nightfall. According to invitation Mr. Lincoln went to the house of Mr. Wills, while the members of the cabinet, and other distinguished persons of his party, were entertained elsewhere.

Except during its days of battle the little town of Gettysburg had never been so full of people. After the usual supper hour the streets literally swarmed with visitors, and the stirring music of regimental bands and patriotic glee-clubs sounded in many directions. With material so abundant, and enthusiasm so plentiful, a serenading party soon organized itself to

Executive Mansion,

Washington, ..., 186

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought
forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived
in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that
"all men are created equal"

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing
whether that nation, or any nation so conceived,
and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met
on a great battle field of that war. We have
come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final rest=

ing place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate— we can not consecrate— we can not hallow, this ground— The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, ~~to stand here,~~ we here be dedicated

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST SHEET OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT. THIS, AND THE PREVIOUS PAGE, FORM THE FIRST SHEET.

ted to the great task remaining before us—
that, from these honored dead we take in-
creased devotion to that cause for which
they here, gave the last full measure of de-
votion— that we here highly resolve these
dead shall not have died in vain; that
the nation, shall have a new birth of free-
dom, and that government of the people by
the people for the people, shall not per-
ish from the earth.

FACSIMILE OF THE SECOND SHEET OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

call on prominent personages for impromptu speeches, and of course the President could not escape.

The crowd persisted in calling him out, but Mr. Lincoln showed himself only long enough to utter the few commonplace excuses which politeness required. He said:

> I appear before you, fellow-citizens, merely to thank you for this compliment. The inference is a very fair one that you would hear me for a little while at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. The most substantial of these is that I have no speech to make. In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things. [A voice: If you can help it."] It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg of you to excuse me from addressing you further.

The crowd followed the music to seek other notabilities, and had the satisfaction of hearing short speeches from Secretary Seward, Representatives McPherson and McKnight, Judge Shannon, Colonel John W. Forney, Wayne MacVeagh, and perhaps others. These addresses were not altogether perfunctory. A certain political tension existed throughout the entire war period, which rarely failed to color every word of a public speaker, and attune the ear of every public listener to subtle and oracular meanings. Even in this ceremonial gathering there was a keen watchfulness for any sign or omen which might disclose a drift in popular feeling, either on the local Pennsylvania quarrel between Cameron and Curtin, or the final success or failure of the Emancipation Proclamation; or whether the President would or would not succeed himself by a renomination and reëlection in the coming campaign of 1864.

There were still here and there ultra-radical newspapers that suspected and questioned Seward's hearty support of the emancipation policy. These made favorable note of his little address in which he predicted that the war would end in the removal of slavery, and that "when that cause is removed, simply by the operation of abolishing it, as the origin and agent of the treason that is without justification and without parallel, we shall henceforth be united, be only one country, having only one hope, one ambition, and one destiny."

Speech-making finally came to an end, and such of the visitors as were blessed with friends or good luck sought the retirement of their rooms, where in spite of brass-bands and glee-clubs, and the restless tramping of the less fortunate along the sidewalks, they slept the slumber of mental, added to physical, weariness.

It was after the breakfast hour on the morning of the 19th that the writer, Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, went to the upper room in the house of Mr. Wills which Mr. Lincoln occupied, to report for duty, and remained with the President while he finished writing the Gettysburg address, during the short leisure he could utilize for this purpose before being called to take his place in the procession, which was announced on the program to move promptly at ten o'clock.

There is neither record, evidence, nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing, or made any notes, on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg. The train consisted of four passenger-coaches, and either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid all the movement, the noise, the conversation, the greetings, and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of the train, rendering writing virtually impossible. Mr. Lincoln carried in his pocket the autograph manuscript of so much of his address as he had written at Washington the day before. Precisely what that was the reader can now see by turning to the facsimile reproduction of the original draft, which is for the first time printed and made public in this article. It fills one page of the letter-paper at that time habitually used in the Executive Mansion, containing the plainly printed blank heading; both paper and print giving convincing testimony to the simple and economical business methods then prevailing in the White House. (See pages 598 and 599.)

This portion of the manuscript begins with the line "Four score and seven years ago," and ends "It is rather for us the living," etc. The whole of this first page — nineteen lines — is written in ink in the President's strong clear hand, without blot or erasure; and the last line is in the following form: "It is rather for us the living to stand here," the last three words being, like the rest, in ink. From the fact that this sentence is incomplete, we may infer that at the time of writing it in Washington the remainder of the sentence was also written in ink on another piece of paper. But when, at Gettysburg on the morning of the ceremonies, Mr. Lincoln finished his manuscript, he used a lead pencil, with which he crossed out the last three words of the first page, and wrote above them in pencil "we here be dedica," at which point he took up a new half sheet of paper — not white letter-paper as before, but a bluish-gray foolscap of large size with wide lines, habitually used by him for long or formal documents, and on this he wrote, all in pencil, the remainder of the word, and of the first draft

of the address, comprising a total of nine lines and a half. (See page 600.)

The time occupied in this final writing was probably about an hour, for it is not likely that he left the breakfast table before nine o'clock, and the formation of the procession began at ten. The grand marshal of the day had made preparations for an imposing procession, and to this end, instead of carriages ordinarily used on such occasions, had arranged that the President and other dignitaries should ride to the grounds on horseback. We learn from the newspaper reports that at about ten o'clock the President issued from Mr. Wills's house attired in black, with white gauntlets upon his hands; that as soon as he had mounted he was besieged by a crowd eager to shake hands with him, and that the marshals had some difficulty in inducing the people to desist and allow him to sit in peace upon his horse. Secretaries Seward, Blair, and Usher also mounted horses, as did others of the official retinue. There were the usual delays incident to such occasions, rather aggravated in this instance by the fact that intense curiosity to see the battle-field had already drawn thither the larger part of the great crowd in the village without waiting to join the procession; so that for want of numbers the pageant did not make the imposing display which had been anticipated.

The procession, however, finally moved, and at about eleven o'clock the Presidential party reached the platform. Mr. Everett, the orator of the day, arrived fully half an hour later, and there was still further waiting before the military bodies and civic spectators could be properly ranged and stationed. It was therefore fully noon before Mr. Everett began his address, after which, for two hours, he held the assembled multitude in rapt attention with his eloquent description and argument, his polished diction, his carefully studied and practised delivery.

When he had concluded, and the band had performed the usual musical interlude, President Lincoln rose to fill the part assigned him in the program. It was entirely natural for every one to expect that this would consist of a few perfunctory words, the mere formality of official dedication. There is every probability that the assemblage regarded Mr. Everett as the mouthpiece, the organ of expression of the thought and feeling of the hour, and took it for granted that Mr. Lincoln was there as a mere official figure-head, the culminating decoration, so to speak, of the elaborately planned pageant of the day. They were therefore totally unprepared for what they heard, and could not immediately realize that *his* words, and not those of the carefully selected orator, were to carry the concentrated thought of the occasion like a trumpet-peal to farthest posterity.

The newspaper records indicate that when Mr. Lincoln began to speak, he held in his hand the manuscript first draft of his address which he had finished only a short time before. But it is the distinct recollection of the writer, who sat within a few feet of him, that he did not read from the written pages, though that impression was naturally left upon many of his auditors. That it was not a mere mechanical reading is, however, more definitely confirmed by the circumstance that Mr. Lincoln did not deliver the address in the exact form in which his first draft is written. It was taken down in shorthand by the reporter for the "Associated Press," telegraphed to the principal cities, and printed on the following morning in the leading newspapers.

It would also appear that a few, but only a very few, independent shorthand reports or abstracts were made by other correspondents.

For all practical purposes of criticism, therefore, the three versions mentioned at the beginning of this article, namely: (1) The first draft; (2) the Associated Press report; (3) the revised autograph copy, may be used as standards of comparison, and for this purpose these three versions are here arranged in successive lines. The middle line, or Associated Press report (the one printed in the New York dailies), is in italics, and the transition which the address underwent at the hands of Mr. Lincoln himself is thus exactly shown.

(Autograph Original Draft.)— Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth,
(Associated Press Report.)— Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth
(Revised Autograph Copy.)— Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth

upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that
upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that
on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that

"all men are created equal."
all men are created equal. [Applause.]
all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation or any Nation so
Now we are engaged in a great civil war; testing whether that nation, or any nation so

conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.
conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.
conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died
We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who
We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who

here, that the nation might live. This we may in all propriety do.
here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we
here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we

should do this.
should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—
But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow
But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—

this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it far above
this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above
this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above

our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remem-
our power to add or detract. [*Applause.*] *The world will little note nor long remem-*
our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remem-

ber what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here. It is
ber what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. [*Applause.*] *It is*
ber what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is

rather for us, the living,
for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they
for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who

we here be dedicated to the great
have thus far so nobly carried on. [*Applause.*] *It is rather for us to be here dedi-*
fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedi-

task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that
cated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devo-
cated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devo-

cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve
tion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly re-
tion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly re-

these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation,
solve that the dead shall not have died in vain [*applause*]; *that the nation shall, under God,*
solve that these dead shall not have died in vain— that this nation, under God,

shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the
have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people by the people and for the
shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the

people, shall not perish from the earth.
people, shall not perish from the earth. [*Long continued applause.*]
people, shall not perish from the earth.

If now we make the comparative analysis, we find that between the first draft as Mr. Lincoln wrote it, and the Associated Press report as he delivered it, the following essential changes occurred:

1. The phrase, "Those who died here," was changed to "Those who here gave their lives." This was a gain in rhetorical form.

2. The entire sentence, "This we may in all propriety do," was changed to "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this." It was a mere recasting of the phrase for greater emphasis.

3. The sentence in the original draft, "It is rather for us the living we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us," was transformed into two sentences, thus: "It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us." This is a repetition and slight amplification of the sentence and thought. The "we" in the original was of course a mere slip of the pencil — "to" having been intended.

4. The phrase, "Shall have a new birth of freedom," was changed as follows: "Shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom," a change which added dignity and solemnity.

The above changes show that Mr. Lincoln did not read his address, but that he delivered it from the fullness and conciseness of thought and memory, rounding it out to nearly its final rhetorical completeness. The changes may have been prompted by the oratorical impulse of the moment; but it is more likely that in the interval of four hours occupied by coming to the grounds, and the delivery of Mr. Everett's oration, he fashioned the phrases anew in his silent thought, and had them ready for use when he rose to speak.

The other changes were merely verbal: as, "have come" changed to "are met"; "a" changed to "the"; "for" changed to "of"; "the" changed to "that"; "hallowed" changed to "consecrated"; the word "poor" omitted; "while" changed to "but"; "these" changed to "that the"; "government" changed to "governments"; and the word "and" interpolated in the last sentence. Most, if not all, of these are clearly errors of the shorthand. Such variation as existed between the print in New York dailies and in other cities (excepting of course the independent abstracts) seem due either to telegraph operators or newspaper type-setting and proof-reading.

The delivery of the address formed the conclusion of the dedication ceremonies, and the same evening about six o'clock the Presidential party left Gettysburg on their special train, arriving at Washington near midnight. It has sometimes been stated that Mr. Lincoln's Gettysburg address received little attention or appreciation from those who heard it. On the contrary, the Associated Press report printed above shows that during its delivery it was six times interrupted by applause; and on the next day Mr. Everett, who had accompanied the President to Washington, sent him the following note:

> MY DEAR SIR: Not wishing to intrude upon your privacy when you must be much engaged, I beg leave in this way to thank you very sincerely for your great thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday, and much kindness to me and mine at Gettysburg. Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes. My son, who parted from me at Baltimore, and my daughter concur in this statement.

Mr. Lincoln's acknowledgment of this compliment from so fine a critic was in his usual tone of frank modesty.

> Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that in your judgment the little I did say was not a failure. Of course I knew that Mr. Everett would not fail; and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Four days after Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington, Mr. Wills once more wrote him, saying:

> On behalf of the States interested in the National Cemetery here, I request of you the original manuscript of the dedicatory remarks delivered by you here last Thursday. We desire them to be placed with the correspondence and other papers connected with the project.

To comply with this request, the President reëxamined his original draft, and the version which had appeared in the newspapers, and saw that, because of the variations between them, the first seemed incomplete, and the others imperfect. By his direction, therefore, his secretaries made copies of the Associated Press

report as it was printed in several prominent newspapers. Comparing these with his original draft, and with his own fresh recollection of the form in which he delivered it, he made a new autograph copy — a careful and deliberate revision — which has become the standard and authentic text.

In addition to that from Mr. Wills, other requests soon came to him for autograph copies. The number he made, and for what friends, cannot now be confidently stated, though it was probably half a dozen or more, all written by him with painstaking care to correspond word for word with his revision. If in any respect they differed from each other, it was due to accident, and against his intention. At this period of the war unusual efforts were being made to collect funds for the use of the Sanitary Commission in sending supplies and relief in various forms to sick and wounded soldiers in army hospitals and camps in the South. During that autumn the President had given the original manuscript of his final Emancipation Proclamation to a fair held at Chicago for this object, at the close of which the manuscript was sold at auction for the handsome sum of three thousand dollars. The managers of other fairs naturally wished to take similar advantage of his personal popularity. Thus Mr. Everett wrote him under date of January 30, 1864:

I shall have the honor of forwarding to you by express, to-day or on Monday next, a copy of the authorized edition of my Gettysburg address and of the remarks made by yourself, and the other matters connected with the ceremonial of the dedication of the Cemetery. It appeared, owing to unavoidable delays, only yesterday.

I have promised to give the manuscript of my address to Mrs. Governor Fish of New York, who is at the head of the Ladies' Committee of the Metropolitan fair. It would add very greatly to its value if I could bind up with it the manuscript of your dedicatory remarks, if you happen to have preserved it.

I would further venture to request, that you would allow me also to bind up in the volume the very obliging letter of the 20th November, 1863, which you did me the favor to write me. I shall part with it with much reluctance, and I shrink a little from the apparent indelicacy of giving some publicity to a letter highly complimentary to myself. But as its insertion would greatly enhance the value of the volume when sold at the fair, I shall, if I have your kind permission, waive all other considerations.

To this request Mr. Lincoln replied under date of February 4:

Yours of January 30th was received four days ago; and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it. I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20th, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Baltimore also was being stirred by the same spirit of national patriotism, and a novel attraction was planned in aid of its Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair, the opening day of which was fixed for April 18, 1864. On the 5th of February a committee consisting of the Honorable John P. Kennedy, author of "Swallow Barn" and other novels, and Colonel Alexander Bliss, then serving on the military staff of General Schenck commanding at Baltimore, sent a circular to prominent American authors, soliciting from each a page or two of autograph manuscript to be published in facsimile in a small quarto volume and to be sold for the benefit of the fair. Some time in the month of February George Bancroft, the historian, who was in Washington, made verbal application to the President, on their behalf, for an autograph copy of his Gettysburg address, to be included in the volume. Mr. Lincoln wrote and sent them a copy; and when it was discovered that it was written on both sides of a letter sheet, and on that account was not available to be used in the process of lithographing, he made them a second copy, written only on one side of the letter pages. This was sent to the committee on March 11, 1864, and Mr. Bancroft was permitted to keep the first; which appears recently to have passed, with other papers of the great historian, into the possession of the Lenox Library. The Baltimore committee had the other duly lithographed and printed in their volume, and it was sold at the fair. The first facsimile in the book of two hundred pages is that of the "Star-Spangled Banner," the second, Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and the last, "Home, Sweet Home"; while between them are autograph specimen-pages from the writings of nearly a hundred American authors.[1] It is this Baltimore facsimile which by frequent photographs, and therefore exact reproduction, has properly become the standard text, and which, not having heretofore been given in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE, is printed on pages 606 and 607, slightly reduced in size. The originals of the whole collection are still in the possession of Colonel Alexander Bliss, of Washington, D. C., who, as one of the committee, conducted the correspondence in gathering it.

Having made a comparison of the President's original draft with the Associated Press report printed in the newspapers, it will now be interesting to compare the Associated Press report with the final revision. A careful examination shows that there were in all thirteen

1 "Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors." Baltimore: Cushings and Bailey. 1864.

changes; that seven of these are a mere return to, or restoration of, words in the first draft, correcting the errors which evidently occurred in the transmission by telegraph and the newspaper type-setting, namely: "are met" changed back to "have come"; "the" changed back to "a"; "of" changed back to "for"; "power" changed back to "poor power"; "the" changed back to "these"; "governments" changed back to "government"; "and" omitted from the last sentence, as at first.

The other six changes are the President's own deliberate revision, namely: "upon" changed to "on"; "it" changed to "that field"; "they have" changed to "they who fought here have"; "carried on" changed to "advanced"; "they here gave" changed to "they gave"; and the phrase "shall under God" transposed to read "under God shall."

By this comparative analysis we have clearly before us in every detail the whole process of growth and perfection which the Gettysburg address underwent from the original draft to the final artistic form in which, after mature reflection, he desired it should stand. That this amplifying process was important and valuable in a literary point of view is evident. But if we count the changes, five in number, between the original draft and the spoken address, and six more between the spoken address and the final revision, and then study the nature and quality of the changes, we see that in the elements of brevity and force of statement, philosophic breadth of thought, and terse, vigorous expression — in short, in everything except mere rhetorical finish, the first draft is as complete and worthy of admiration as the final revision.

In the almost universal attention and comment which the address has received from scholars and critics, it is not unnatural that many attempts should have been made to trace its source by a search for parallels to some of its

Address delivered at the dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedi-

cate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19. 1863.

FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN FOR THE BALTIMORE FAIR — THE STANDARD VERSION.

phrases, especially to the sentence with which it closes, "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The following among others have been cited:

1. The depressed vassal of the old Continent becomes co-legislator, and co-ruler, in a government where all power is from the people, and in the people, and for the people. — [From "The Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion." By James Douglas. Edinburgh, 1830, 3d edition, p. 70. First edition published in 1825. Also in "Rhetorical Reader," by Ebenezer Porter. Andover, 1831, p. 196.]

2. The people's government: made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people. — [From Webster's reply to Hayne, United States Senate, January 26, 1830.]

3. A democracy — that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.

—[From a speech by Theodore Parker at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Boston, May 29, 1850.]

4. Unlike Europe, there are no disaffected people in this country for a foe to tamper with. The government is by the people, for the people, and with the people. It is the people.—[From Lieutenant M. F. Maury's Report of August, 1851, on the Subject of Fortifications, H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 5, 32d Congress, 1st Session.]

The mere arrangement of these quotations in their chronological order shows how unjust is any inference that Mr. Lincoln took his sentence at second hand. There is no more reason to suppose that he copied his phrase from Theodore Parker, than there is that Parker copied his from Daniel Webster, or Webster his from James Douglas. All these are plainly coincidences growing out of the very nature of the topic.

Mr. Lincoln's humble birth, the experiences of his boyhood, and all the incidents in the rugged path of his self-education for political service, imbued him with a deep sympathy for, and an unswerving faith in, the people as a political entity and power. His speeches probably contain more genuine expressions of this sympathy and faith than those of any other American statesman. The whole of the great Lincoln-Douglas debate hinged itself upon this essential idea, which Douglas crystallized into his phrase "popular sovereignty," the issue between the disputants being only in what manner the popular will should be exercised. In Lincoln's Ohio speeches of 1859 are found some of his strongest formulas embodying this idea: "Public opinion in this country is everything"; "The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution." In his first inaugural he said he would execute the laws of the Union, as far as practicable, "unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary." "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it." "Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people?" "If the almighty ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people." And in his first message to Congress he said, describing the insurrection: "It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes." "This is essentially a people's contest." "I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this."

Such expressions, such definitions, such quotations might be greatly multiplied. Enough are cited to show that the idea was ever present in his philosophy of government, and that he had no need to draw upon the memory of his early political reading to enable him to formulate the closing sentence of the Gettysburg address.

It may be pertinent here to point out an error which, if uncontradicted, may confuse and mislead readers and students of the Gettysburg incident in the future. In a recent biography of President Lincoln by Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., the following, referring to the Gettysburg address, occurs in a foot-note on page 216 of Vol. II.

> It is, perhaps, not generally remembered that Mr. Lincoln added to the words which he himself had written a quotation of one of Daniel Webster's most famous flights of oratory—that familiar passage in the reply to Hayne, beginning: "When my eyes turn to behold for the last time the sun in Heaven," etc. The modesty was better than the skill of this addition; the simplicity of the President's language, and the elevation of the sentiment which it expressed, did not accord well with the more rhetorical enthusiasm of Webster's outburst. The two passages, each so fine in its own way, were incongruous in their juxtaposition.

The accomplished biographer has been seriously misinformed. President Lincoln added no quotation from Daniel Webster to his Gettysburg address, nor any word other than those set forth in this paper.

John G. Nicolay.

NOTE.—The reader is referred to the "Open Letter" in this number for comments on the "Variations in the Reports of the Gettysburg Address."

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same person. Mr. Francis Galton's remarks, in his work "Finger Prints," are to the point:

The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are covered with two totally distinct classes of marks. The most conspicuous are the creases or folds of the skin, which interest the followers of palmistry, but which are no more significant to others than the creases in old clothes; they show the lines of most frequent flexure, and nothing more.

Another statement in the same work is pertinent:

The fact of the creases of the hand being strongly marked in the newly-born child has been considered by some to testify to the archaic and therefore important character of their origin. The crumpled condition of the hand of the infant, during some months before its birth, seems to me, however, quite sufficient to account for the creases.

For lines to be an indication of anything mental, moral, or emotional, it would be necessary for them to be evolved under the influence of nerves connected with the brain centers, in which the said intellectual and moral qualities inhere; but superinduced from the periphery, they can mean nothing except more or less of different motions and use.

The palmist should never be allowed to hear of or see the persons who are testing his pretensions, for the eye, the changing lights and shades of the countenance, the voice, the general bearing, abound with indications which, though often delusive, are direct; and the conclusions of the palmist are read into instead of from the marks on the hand. In testing palmists of repute, I found differences among them, amounting to flat contradictions, concerning the indications of the same hands, and marked divergencies from the facts where anything more than general characteristics were under consideration.

Of the puerility of the evidence adduced one instance may suffice:

A young lady, a few weeks ago, hearing our name mentioned at the country house where we were staying, came up merrily, and, holding out her hand, said: "Can you tell me anything?" She was a perfect stranger to us until we sat down to luncheon. We looked at her hand, and said, "I see you were engaged to be married, but your pride interfered; you dissolved the engagement a year or two ago, and your health suffered in consequence." She at once withdrew her hand, saying, with a vivid blush, "Quite right; and I *have* suffered; no one but my sister ever knew the real cause. You have told the truth. It *was* pride."

This might be safely said to many intelligent, unmarried ladies; and no remark more likely to be acquiesced in than that "pride interfered" could be made.

Running over the whole field of human nature in his descriptions, the palmist can make many apparent hits; and if he appeals to vanity, the subject will be likely to think "there is more in palmistry than the skeptics believe," of which a conspicuous instance has recently been publicly displayed by the subject.

As an amusement for those who find pleasure in holding each other's hands, and talking airy nothings, or for the uses of writers of fiction, palmistry has great possibilities; but for anything beyond, respect for it indicates a mind either uninformed or unbalanced.

J. M. Buckley.

Variations in the Reports of the Gettysburg Address.[1]

THE variations between the several contemporary reports of the dedicatory address delivered by President Lincoln at Gettysburg on the 19th of November, 1863, and the innumerable versions since published, are remarkable, especially because of the brevity of the address, its importance alike in subject and matter, the circumstances under which it was spoken, and the character and office of the orator. Attention has more than once been attracted to these variations, and because of the differences between the earlier reports and the version published in autographic facsimile in 1864, it has been assumed that the discrepancies are due either to the blunders of the reporters or to their attempts to improve its rhetorical composition. Somewhat careful examination of a number of versions justifies the conclusion that while reporters, telegraphers, and printers are doubtless responsible for some minor variations, they are not accountable for the rhetorical differences, because these are due to Mr. Lincoln's own revision.

All authorities agree that the address was read from manuscript; if, therefore, that could be produced, any discussion as to its original form would be needless.

In Arnold's "Lincoln and Slavery" (1866) the version of the address there given is said, in a foot-note on page 424, to have been "copied from the original," but as it differs in several particulars from the words upon which contemporary and independent reports agree, it is questionable whether it was so copied. Probably it is a transcript from the autograph copy made by Mr. Lincoln in 1864, with which it verbally agrees, except in the insertion of "and" in the clause "by the people and for the people."

Curiously enough, in his later book, "Life of Abraham Lincoln" (1885), Arnold gives another version agreeing verbally, except in a single word, with the New York "Tribune" report, November 20, 1863, but without reference to its source, or explanation why he selected that in preference to the one he had previously quoted.

In 1875 it was stated by "The Congregationalist" that the original manuscript was then in possession of Mrs. Carlos Pierce of Boston, being bound in the same volume with the manuscript of Mr. Everett's oration, which, with the address, had been presented to the New York Sanitary Fair to be disposed of. A copy of this so-called original manuscript of the address was printed by "The Congregationalist," but comparison with contemporary reports warrants the belief that the manuscript, if an autograph and not a facsimile of the 1864 revision, was an autograph of later date than the original address. [See page 605.]

In view of the doubts which have been expressed concerning the existence of the original manuscript, it would be remarkable that, if it is extant, no facsimile reproduction has been made, or that the fact of its existence has not otherwise been fully established.

In the absence of the original manuscript, we are relegated to the contemporary reports for the form of

[1] Major W. H. Lambert prepared the manuscript of which this article is a condensation as "A Plea for a Standard Version of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address." Mr. Nicolay, on page 606, supplies the "standard version," but part of Major Lambert's paper is interesting as explaining the confusion of statements that has obtained in regard to the address.—EDITOR.

the address as it was delivered; but unfortunately, these differ verbally to such an extent as to make it uncertain which, if any, is absolutely correct.

Opinions differ as to the place and circumstances of the composition of the address. Arnold, in his "Life of Abraham Lincoln" (page 328), asserts that the President, "while in the cars on his way from the White House to the battle-field, was notified that he would be expected to make some remarks also"; that, "asking for some paper, a rough sheet of foolscap was handed to him, and, retiring to a seat by himself, with a pencil he wrote the address." So late a notice is inherently improbable, and it is not consistent with the statements made by others who had equal or greater opportunity for acquaintance with the facts. Similarly, Ben Perley Poore says ("Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," page 228) that "his remarks at Gettysburg . . . were written in the car on his way from Washington to the battle-field, upon a piece of pasteboard held on his knee."

On the contrary, General James B. Fry in the same book (page 403) declares that he is confident that the statement that the Gettysburg speech was written in the car *en route* to that place is an error. He was in the car as an escort to the President, and had therefore opportunity to know whereof he speaks. He says: "I have no recollection of seeing him writing or even reading his speech during the journey; in fact, there was hardly any opportunity for him to read or write."

The Hon. Edward McPherson and Judge Wills of Gettysburg are of the opinion that the address was written in Mr. Lincoln's room at Judge Wills's house, where he was a guest during his stay in Gettysburg. There appears to be no doubt of the correctness of Mr. McPherson's assertion that before retiring on the night of the 18th the President inquired the order of the exercises of the next day, and wrote out his remarks there, and it is probable that what he wrote was the final draft of his address before its delivery.

Noah Brooks, in his "Life of Lincoln" (page 394), and with still more detail in his "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln," published in this magazine for February, 1878, declares that a few days prior to the 19th of November, 1863, the President told him that Mr. Everett had kindly sent him a copy of his address in order that the same ground might not be gone over by both, and he added: "There is no danger that I shall. My speech is all blocked out. It is very short." In answer to Mr. Brooks's question whether the speech was written, Mr. Lincoln replied, "Not exactly written; it is not finished, anyway."

Mr. Brooks states that the speech was written and rewritten a great many times, and was revised somewhat after Mr. Lincoln reached Gettysburg. "As he read it from the manuscript he made a few verbal changes. These changes did not appear in the report printed at the time by the newspapers, but they were embodied in the draft" afterward made for publication. Mr. Brooks in his "Life" gives a facsimile of this draft, repeating it in print, but with the fatality that has attended the publication of this address his printed version is not a literal transcript of his facsimile.[1]

The introductory phrase, "The President then delivered the following dedicatory speech," is practically identical in all the Associated Press reports, as are also the locations of the bracketed words denoting applause. There are verbal differences between the several reports, but there appears to be no doubt of the common origin.

The reports printed in the Philadelphia papers agree, except that those in the "Ledger," "Press," and "Bulletin" differ each in a single instance from one another, and from the report in the "North American," the differences being obviously misprints. The reports in the New York papers also agree with one another save in a single instance, probably due to a typographical error. The Boston papers also agree substantially, with only three verbal variations. But the Boston, Springfield, New York, and Philadelphia versions differ from one another in a number of details, probably due to errors in telegraphing, but which are correct and which erroneous is not easily determined.

The "Philadelphia Inquirer," November 20, 1863, and the Cincinnati "Daily Gazette," November 21, published reports of the address which differ materially from each other and from the Associated Press reports, and, while apparently independent in source, are rather paraphrases than literal reports. They are, however, probably free renderings of stenographic notes made at the time of delivery.

Henry Edwards, George William Bond, and Charles Hale, commissioners appointed by Governor Andrew to represent Massachusetts at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, appended to their report, printed with the governor's address to the legislature, January 8, 1864 (Senate Document No. 1), a copy of President Lincoln's speech. They assert that this speech "has not generally been printed rightly, having been marred from errors in telegraphing," and that it "is appended, . . . in the correct form, as the words actually spoken by the President, with great deliberation, were taken down by one of the undersigned."[2]

But because of the possibility of doubt concerning the exact verbal accuracy of the commissioners' report, and of the eminent desirability that there should be an absolutely standard version of the immortal production, and because of the impossibility so to reconcile all of the discrepancies in the newspaper reports as to obtain the standard from them, as well also in respect to the evident desire of President Lincoln that by the "final form he gave the address . . . he intended it should be judged" (McPherson, in the "Nation," September 9, 1875), and to his rights as an author, there should be no hesitancy to accept the words as with his own pen he transcribed them when asked for an autograph for the benefit of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair in Baltimore, in 1864, and as in facsimile they were reproduced in "Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors" (Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey, 1864), published for the benefit of the fair.

In an address so brief but so momentous every syllable tells, and though the differences between this version and the earlier reports are few and seemingly immaterial, the changes intensify the strength and pathos of the speech, and add to its beauty, and as so written these words cannot be too jealously perpetuated as the final expression of the sublime thought of the immortal author.

[1] In Stoddard's "Life of Lincoln," pages 413–15, the facsimile is also given, with a printed copy, which likewise differs from the facsimile.

[2] Mr. Charles Hale of the "Boston Advertiser."

Increasing appreciation of the grandeur of Lincoln's character, and of his preëminent fitness for the great work to which in the providence of God he was called, enhances the value of his every word, and emphasizes the judgment of the "Nation," uttered fifteen years ago, "that what promises to be the most classic and most enduring of American orations ought to be as carefully preserved without alteration or abridgment as a standard of weight and measure."

William H. Lambert.

Abraham Lincoln as an Advocate.

IN the summer of 1881 I spent some time at Saratoga Springs, and had many conversations with the Hon. David Davis, then one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. He related to me some of his early experiences as a judge, and one of them made a very deep impression. I asked him the secret of Lincoln's success as a lawyer. He said that when he was a young man he was judge of a circuit court in Illinois, and one time, while holding that court, two men came up for trial on the charge of murder. They had rich relatives, and one of them employed Abraham Lincoln to defend him, and the other employed Leonard Swett, afterward an eminent criminal lawyer, who lived in Chicago and died a few years ago.

Judge Davis said that one evening, as it was the custom, Lincoln and Swett came to his room in the hotel, and during the conversation Lincoln spoke about as follows: "Swett, Davis, and I are old friends, and what we say here will never be repeated to our injury. Now, we have been engaged in this trial for two days, and I am satisfied that our clients are guilty, and that the witnesses for the State have told the truth. It is my opinion that the best thing we can do for our clients is to have them come in to-morrow morning, and plead guilty to manslaughter, and let Davis give them the lowest punishment." Mr. Swett said he would do nothing of the kind. He said, "Mr. Lincoln, you don't know what evidence I have got in reserve to combat the witnesses for the State." Mr. Lincoln replied, "I don't care what evidence you have got, Swett; the witnesses for the State have told the truth, and the jury will believe them." Mr. Swett said, "Mr. Lincoln, I shall never agree to your proposition, and propose to carry on our defense to the end." Mr. Lincoln replied, "All right."

They went on with the trial. The defendants put their witnesses on the stand, and the time came for the arguments. Then Mr. Lincoln said to Mr. Swett, "Now, Swett, I cannot argue this case, because our witnesses have been lying, and I don't believe them. You go on and make an argument." Swett made the argument, the case went to the jury, and the men were acquitted.

The next day Mr. Lincoln went to Mr. Swett and said: "Swett, here is the $500 which I have received for defending one of these men. It all belongs to you; take it."

Of course Mr. Swett did not take the money, but it showed, as Judge Davis said, that Mr. Lincoln felt he had done nothing to earn the money.

Judge Davis told this story as illustrating the honesty and integrity of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer.

Ratcliffe Hicks.

NEW YORK, November 10, 1893.

American Artist Series.

LOUIS LOEB. (SEE PAGE 527.)

LOUIS LOEB is a good example of what, in an unfriendly environment, a patient, direct purpose may accomplish when pushed to its development by a man of artistic taste and impulse.

He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1866. When only fourteen years of age he was apprenticed to a lithographer of that day, and his next nine years were spent as a lithographic draftsman. While yet an apprentice, feeling his need of art instruction, and the lack of facilities for it in Cleveland, he conceived the idea that by the aid of a friend, a former student of L'École des Beaux Arts, an evening life-class might be established. By dint of energy and enthusiasm this was done, and the school was open four evenings of each week for two seasons. When its affairs were wound up there remained one cent in the treasury.

In 1885 Mr. Loeb accepted an engagement in a lithographic house in New York, and became an evening student at the Art Students' League, and in 1889 was elected its vice-president. In that year, feeling that he had outgrown lithography, he abandoned it. In 1890 he went to Paris, and became, under Lefebvre and Constant, a student at the Julian Academy, and, under Gérôme, at the Beaux Arts, where he gained the Premier Prix d'Atelier. In 1891 and 1892 his pictures were accepted at the Salon.

It is not an easy matter to gage Mr. Loeb's status as a painter, for he is too new a recruit in our art ranks. The only pictures of his with which I have any acquaintance are a portrait of his mother, shown at the exhibition of the Society of American Artists in 1890, the portrait on page 527, shown at the same society's exhibition two years later, and some studies and sketches. The 1890 portrait is a literal bit of representation — so literal as to be almost photographic. It is well constructed, well drawn, shows earnestness of purpose and conscientious study, but nothing of the artistic quality apparent in the later portrait.

His black-and-whites, of which he has made many for THE CENTURY since his return from Europe a year or so ago, possess in an eminent degree the blending of the artistic and the realistic. Taken with the paintings, they display a true artistic temperament, and a tender, sympathetic intuition, an accomplished though not a powerful draftsmanship. In addition to these qualities his types are always well chosen, and his composition is good.

W. Lewis Fraser.