Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources illuminating aspects of this most well-known Presidential speech

Sources and Interpretations

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection
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SANTAYANA ASKS
TRUE INTENT OF
LINCOLN'S WORDS

Writing a 'Last Book'
on Government

ROME, April 26 (AP) - George Santayana, aged poet, philoso-
pher, teacher and novelist, wonders whether the real mean-
ing of Abraham Lincoln's Get-

tyburg Address is known.

The question - a probing for
what Lincoln was in the great
President's mind - arises in
connection with what Santayana
calls his final book, a task
in political philosophy at
which he thinks death may over-
take him. He is 84.

Often thought of as an Ameri-
can, Madrid-born Santayana re-
mained legally Spanish and
spiritually Latin thru boy-
hood in Boston and education
and 23 years of teaching at
Harvard university. For 23 years
Santayana has lived in Rome,
close to the seat of the Ro-
man Catholic church, whose
culture he has always felt
necessary to his tranquility.

Deals With Government

The brilliant mind is still
alert and independent. His
last book, called "Dominations
and Powers," significantly
caps his long life of thought
with an examination of gov-
ernment versus the will to
freedom.

In sounding relations be-
tween the governed and gov-
ernments, Santayana found
Lincoln's famed phrase, "Gov-
ernment of the people, by the
people and for the people," apt
to illustrate different
aspects of government.

But he is wondering whether
Lincoln had in mind three, as
generally supposed, or two
qualities of government -
whether Lincoln paused after
he said "government," as do
orators declaiming the Gettys-
burg address, or whether he
said "government of the people"
without pause.

Santayana thinks Lincoln
probably meant and said it
without the pause.

Should Be Governed

"That would indicate Lincoln
only meant to say the people
should be governed, and that
the government should be by the
people and for the people - not
there should be a government
of, by and for the people.

Then the questions arise: who
is the people, and for what
should they be governed?"

Government "for the people"
should mean, Santayana be-
lieves, for the "supreme good
of the people," but he pointed
out that both democracy and
communism claim this end,
while employing widely dif-
ferent methods.

The philosopher charges
many of the world's troubles
to a lack of great men.

"There are no great men
today," he said. "Napoleon
was a great man." Stalin, he
thinks, comes as near as any
today to being truly great.

The world is moving toward
the "universal state" of A. J.
Toynbee's "Study of History,
" Santayana thinks, and he says
that the "most probable" ruler
is Soviet Russia. "It will be
Russia, the United States or
the United Nations."

No Vital Liberty

Santayana feels that neither
democracy nor communism pro-
vides "vital liberty" - a funda-
mental concept of his philo-
sophy involving "the natural
impulses of man."

Santayana supposes three
orders of authority - gener-
ative, militant and rational.

A government which provides
the "supreme good of the
people" would be in the third,
rational order, the ideal one.

But, "the order, not the
things in it, can be rational,"
Santayana cautions. "Things
can be rationalized, not ra-

tional. Reason is not a power,
but an ideal."

"Christianity, Islamism,
communism, fascism and demo-

cracy under Franklin D. Roose-
velt" belong to his second
order. "A militant person
is one who thinks he knows
better than nature. Each
militant body has a plan to
impose on the world. This is
a danger."

The first order is "conserva-

tive" - "people keeping on with
what is."
Santayana Ponders Meaning Of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

ROME, Apr. 24.—(AP)—George Santayana, aged poet, philosopher, teacher and novelist, wonders whether the real meaning of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is known.

The question—a subtle one probing for what exactly was in the great President's mind—arises in connection with what Santayana calls his final book, a task in political philosophy at which he thinks death may overtake him. He is 84.

The philosopher charges much of the world's troubles to a lack of great men. "There are no great men today," he said in an interview. "Napoleon was a great man."

Stalin, he thinks, comes as near as any today to being truly great.

The world is moving toward the "universal state" of A. J. Toynbee's "Study of History," Santayana thinks, and says that the "most probable" ruler is Soviet Russia.

Lives In Rome

"It will be either Russia, the United States or the United Nations."

For 23 years Santayana has lived in Rome, close to the seat of the Roman Catholic Church, whose culture he has always felt necessary to his tranquility. He goes to church, but is not a formally practicing Catholic. Since 1942 he has lived in the hospice of the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary, a British order of nuns, in the grounds of an old church near the center of ancient Rome.

The brilliant mind time may give a greater influence on modern civilization than any other of its era is still alert and independent, probing for its own meanings regardless of tradition. His last book, called "Dominations and Powers," significantly caps his long life of thought with an examination of the central question of his time—government versus the will to freedom.

His book, about half finished, deals only incidentally with such subjects as democracy, communism and fascism, which are but incidental to the larger concept of the philosophy of government he is evolving.

Finds Famed Phrase Apt

In sounding relations between the governed and governments, Santayana found Lincoln's famed phrase, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people," apt to illustrate different aspects of government.

But he is wondering if Lincoln had in mind three, as generally supposed, or two qualities of government—whether Lincoln paused after he said "government," as do orators declaiming the Gettysburg Address, or whether he said "government of the people" without pause. In standard printed ver-
Proof That Lincoln Long Had in Mind Right Idea of What the War Meant.

Hay referred to Browning's suggestion that the North should subjugate the South, exterminate the whites, set up a black republic, and protect the negroes "while they raised our cotton."

"Some of our Northerners seem bewildered and dazzled by the excitement of the hour," Lincoln replied. "Doolittle seems inclined to think that this war is to result in the entire abolition of slavery. Old Colonel Hamilton, a venerable and most respectable gentleman, impress upon me most earnestly the propriety of enlisting the slaves in our army."

"For my own part," he said, "I consider the central idea pervading this struggle is the necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. We must settle this question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose. If we fail, we will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves. There may be one consideration used in stay of such final judgment, but that is not for us to use in advance: That is that there exists in our case an instance of a vast and far-reaching disturbing element which the history of no other free nation will probably ever present. That, however, is not for us to say at present. Taking the government as we found it, we will see if the majority can preserve it."

This statement, spoken offhand to his secretary, reveals the foundation of Lincoln's judgment on the Civil war; there was at stake something more precious than the preservation of the Union, something more urgent than the abolition of slavery—and that was democracy. Two years and a half later, in his address at Gettysburg, he put into one imperishable sentence the thought of which this was the germ.—From the Diary of John Hay, edited by William Roscoe Thayer for Harper's Magazine.
Here's a Question we've been saving for Lincoln's birthday: Who coined the phrase, "government of the people, by the people, for the people"? No, it wasn't Abraham Lincoln, although his use of it at the conclusion of his Gettysburg address is perhaps the best known quotation in the English language outside the Bible. Nor was it originated by Theodore Parker, noted Boston preacher, who in an address in 1834 and again in a sermon in 1838 defined—

"...a democracy—that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; of course a government of the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God: for shortness' sake I will call it the idea of Freedom."

Nor was the phrase devised by Daniel Webster, who in a speech in 1830 extolled—

"...the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people."

It can be traced back farther than all these, to a translation of the Bible into English by Wyclif and Herford, published in 1388, in which this foreword appeared:

"This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Certainly the phrase thus became familiar in many English homes two centuries before the colonization of North America began, and so came down to Webster and to Parker. We know, moreover, that Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, gave a set of Parker's sermons and addresses to Lincoln, and that the latter marked with pencil the portion quoted above. So it is not difficult to guess where Lincoln found the phrase with which he climaxed the greatest piece of prose written in our tongue.

In the same way most immortal phrases can be traced back to obscure beginnings—for instance, Winston Churchill's summons of Britons to "blood, sweat and tears," the most memorable utterance of our own times, traces back to a reference by John Donne, English clergyman and poet, to "tears, and sweat, and blood" in a verse written about 1600.

There's food for our thought, on this Lincoln's birthday which finds us in midstream in our fight for a free world, in the circumstance that the famous words which we associate with Lincoln go back at least to 400-odd years before his time. The evolution of human freedom on this earth is a process in which many generations have played a part—a process in which this nation played a part heroically in 1776, and in 1863, and in 1918, and plays a part again in 1944. We are the inheritors, the custodians of freedom. If we play our part as manfully as did our forebears of Washington's, of Lincoln's, of Wilson's day we will add a lustrous page not only to American history but to the annals of mankind.
November 19, 1863.

Mr. Editor: As Memorial Day approaches, it may be worth while to give attention to the authentic form of the Gettysburg address. The above copy, in word, capitalization, and punctuation, follows Mr. Lincoln's autograph copy of the Gettysburg address, made by him for the soldiers' and sailors' fair at Baltimore in 1864. A facsimile thereof is to be found in "Abraham Lincoln: A History," by Nicolay and Hay, and has been reproduced in several histories. For one, see John Fiske's History of the United States, 1894, pages 370-7.

Dr. Fiske remarks: "For its quiet depth of feeling and solemn beauty of expression this speech is rightly regarded as one of the great masterpieces of English prose." This is the utterance of a universal opinion.

The address is marked by a strong logical unity from beginning to end,—from declaration of independence and equality, to civil war, to dedication of cemetery, to personal devotion, to perpetuity of popular government. No sentence can be omitted; no word slighted or twisted; no punctuation mark disregarded. The soul and vigor of Lincoln speak in every line.

Hence, the great address should be preserved and reproduced verbatim, literatim, and punctiliously, as Lincoln wrote it. Too commonly, a more or less garbled form of it is published in journal or history, and it is recited in a way not strictly according to sense. Some examples may be noticed. "Poor" is omitted in "far above our poor power to add or detract." The word is characteristic. The sequence of "ths" in the last sentence is sometimes not appreciated,—the first two conjunctive "ths" introducing the motive and spirit of our self-dedication and the last two supplying the object of devotion and martyrdom. Just here, a gross error in recitation occurs in the insertion of a definite "that" or "the" before "government" and an "and" before "for," thus promoting heavy emphasis upon "of," "by," and "for," as though the three adjuncts were entirely similar. "Government of the people" without a preceding adjective clearly means "popular government," the phrase being abstract and subjective. The "of" should take no emphasis. The other two adjuncts elucidate the first,—each by itself and not coupled,—and so, next to emphasis on "people," stress on "by" and "for" is proper; "that government-of-the-people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

A. D. S.
In this nation, more than anywhere else in the world, highways are the heritage of all the people—a most vital part of their livelihood and their happiness.

And intercity buses—which have carried nearly three billion wartime passengers since Pearl Harbor—seek constantly to bring to the people of America the full benefits of their priceless highway heritage. Through the years, intercity buses have extended the convenience and economy of highway travel to the people of every State. They take millions to and from their daily employment. They bring trade and prosperity to small towns and giant cities alike. They lead the way to all the scenic grandeur of America.

All who depend upon bus transportation may count on the bus lines to keep pace with the continuing development of America's highways, which are growing steadily longer, and smoother and broader. Bus operators already have completed plans for spacious new terminals, and inviting new wayside inns.

And in the buses themselves, the greatest advances in travel comfort yet known can be achieved through important changes in bus size and design. Plans call for wider, roomier seats for greater riding ease . . . increased leg room . . . wider aisles . . . thicker wall insulation for better control of inside temperatures. Engineering progress would, at the same time, enhance the traditional safety of bus travel with larger brakes, wider tires and increased road stability.

These and a host of other improvements are just around the "bend in the road" for the millions of people whose social and economic welfare is daily enriched by bus transportation.

To assure that better day of travel, highway authorities all over America are now considering progressive steps to modernize regulations enacted in the days of narrow highways. Their revision of outmoded limitations on bus size and design will permit the finest and safest public travel ever known on the highways.

Write for the new and interesting booklet, "Modern Highways and How They Can Serve You Better."
Abraham Lincoln Always
Of, By and For the People

"So long as there is a man willing
to work, but unable to find employ-
ment, the hours of labor are too long."

The words quoted above are not
those of a modern-day economist;
they came from the mind and lips of
one who long ago had his finger on
the pulse of American affairs. He
came from the people and rose to high
estate and esteem by mere force of
character and indomitable will. He
was more self-educated than learned.
He held no degree from a great uni-
versity; he discovered no new planets;
he flew no oceans; he amassed no
colossal fortune. Yet he did, at a time
when it required a degree of courage
rare in history, stand firm for his con-
victions. Class meant little to him
beyond a division set aside for self-
centered ends. He was of, by and
for the people.

He had visions, yet was not vision-
ary. His judgment may not have been
Infallible, yet it was based on logic
and foresight. His work was ardu-
ous, yet he never turned aside. Hard
labor was his portion in early life, his
choice later. Of lowly origin, he rose
to heights never dreamed of. Out-
wardly uncouth, perhaps, but polished
as the finest steel beneath. Rough at
times, perhaps, yet tender as a woman
to those in distress, he who spoke the
words quoted saw far into the future
and the thought came from the heart.
He was the workers' friend.

He is so still. As long as the world
exists, down through the ages will re-
verberate Abraham Lincoln's forceful
words of consolation and encourage-
ment to all who earn a livelihood by
the sweat of the brow. The world
may never see his like again, but his
memory will never perish.
We, the People

"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."

How these words of the great and simple Lincoln, spoken at Gettysburg, on a gray November day, stand out like stars in the night of our time, amid falling cities and nations.

Our great war was fought, said Lincoln, to test whether our Nation or any other, conceived in liberty and dedicated to equality of human rights and hopes can long endure.

Today, over vast stretches of the earth, the whole idea and spirit of Lincoln are denied and derided. A democracy—even a republic—is held to be too weak and flabby to exist. The "test" of which Lincoln spoke is still going on, whether any democracy is capable of the discipline and decision, the unity of aim and action, needed to make itself effective.

At the moment, we have among us "a fifth column of the mind," as someone has called it, more dangerous by far than any number of foreign agents planted here to sow discord.

It is the idea, the fear, that democracy is a way of life good only in times of prosperity, peace and safety, but indecisive and inefficient in times of stress and danger. Whether this deadly defeatism is true or not depends on whether we, the people, know how to think together and work together to get things done, and not merely haggle and wrangle.

Can we, the people, achieve solidarity without regimentation, and maintain unity of purpose through a long period of stress—are we able to grip reality and cope with it? We, the people, means each one of us—whether we are able and willing to make the common good supreme, at any cost of sacrifice and service, to preserve, defend and keep our liberty.

By Joseph Fort Newton
It is maintained that neither the thought nor the phraseology was original with Lincoln. He borrowed both from Theodore Parker, a noted minister and abolitionist, who on several occasions employed nearly the same words which Lincoln later used in the last sentence of his Gettysburg address. On May 29, 1850, Parker used the following expression in a speech on “The American Idea” before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston: “A democracy—that is government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.”

William Herndon, Lincoln’s law partner, was in the habit of procuring copies of speeches made by the leading anti-slavery men of the time. In 1858 he went to New York and Boston. “I brought with me additional sermons and lectures by Theodore Parker, who was warm in his commendation of Lincoln,” wrote Herndon in his life of Lincoln. “One of these was a lecture on ‘The Effect of Slavery on the American People,’ which was delivered in the Music Hall in Boston and which I gave to Lincoln, who read and returned it. He liked especially the following expression, which he marked with a pencil, and which he in substance afterwards used in his Gettysburg address: ‘Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people.’

Lincoln improved the phrase and put the stamp of his genius on it. As a matter of fact the same thought had been expressed many times before the time of Parker by Webster, Marshall, Wirt and even men of an earlier age.
Lincoln's Popular Phrase.

The expression in President Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," is a literary gem which for several centuries had passed unnoticed until thus used by him, an exchange scholarship.

In the preface of the first translation of the Bible in the English language known as the Wycliffe Bible, there is the following: "The Bible is for the government of the people, by the people for the people." The date of this is, according to Encyclopedia Brittanica, about 1382, but cannot be later than the time of Wycliffe's death in 1384. This same authority credits him with being "the founder of English prose literature." This same expression from the Standard dictionary, under the word "government."
"Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth" was the closing sentence of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. It is by that speech, doubtless, that the quotation with respect to "government of, by and for the people" has been popularized. But it was not original with Mr. Lincoln. His biographer, Herndon, says that the expression, almost in the identical words of the Gettysburg speech, was used in a letter written to Mr. Lincoln by Theodore Parker, the celebrated New England preacher, a year or two before his election to the Presidency, and that Lincoln was much struck by it. Nor was the expression original with Parker. It had been many times used before by writers who believe in that kind of government—the only kind that is fit to live under.
George Bernard Shaw was quoted by the British radio yesterday (Saturday) as saying that he believed in two-thirds of Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy, but not in government "by" the people.

The broadcast, recorded by the O.W.I., quoted from an article by Shaw in the British magazine "Time and Tide," in which the 89-year-old playwright wrote:

"By democracy, I mean a social order aiming at the greatest available welfare for the whole population, and not for a class. I most emphatically do not mean government by an assembly.

"I believe in government of the people and for the people, but I do not believe in Lincoln's Gettysburg addition of government by the people.

"Division of labor is the law of nature—alias providence—in this matter. The belief that the human race is divided—into men and supermen is not anti-democratic. The fact stares us in the face all through history, past and present."
"Government of the People."
To the Editor of The Sun—Sir:
It may seem ridiculous, at this late day, to raise a question concerning the meaning of that phrase in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. When I was teaching English in Japan, I used that oratorical gem every year in the most advanced class. I always carefully explained it from various points of view (historical, political, literary, &c.), and often assigned it as a "recitation." I never had a doubt in my own mind, that "government of the people" meant "government belonging to the people" and "emanating from the people." Then, in order, came government carried on "by the people" themselves or their elected representatives, for the sake of the people.

But I have been informed that I am in error, that the first phrase of the three means "government over the people" (with "of" as an objective genitive, not a possessive). I am free to say that such an interpretation fails to satisfy me; but I am willing, if I am mistaken, to stand corrected. However, I should like very much to have a statement from some person who can speak as one having authority.

E. W. C.

Floral Park, February 11.
ORIGIN OF A LINCOLN PHRASE.

In a big New York church yesterday the pastor, people and a group of veterans observed the fifty-third recurrence of the date of Lincoln's address at Gettysburg. In coincidence with the anniversary occasion, attention is called to the origin of the phrase in that address concerning "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Dr. Frank H. Vizetelly, a scholar of extensive research among literary monuments of the past, has discovered this form of words in Wycliffe's preface to the translation of the Bible which he published somewhere between the years 1380 and 1384. "The Bible," wrote the doctor, "is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Lincoln may or may not have heard of this passage. It makes little difference save as a matter of curiosity. The Wycliffe utterance has had to be dug out of antiquity to reach the popular eye. The phrase spoken at Gettysburg in 1863 rang with the note of a living hour. It has continued to ring ever since, and it will carry the living word so long as words endure. The phrase belongs to the man who gave it immortality.
GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR PEOPLE WOULD PERISH

President Abraham Lincoln closed his Gettysburg address with these words:

"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."

The stock argument against prohibition of the liquor traffic is that it can not be enforced; that is, the Government is incompetent to deal successfully with the liquor law violators. Therefore, the Government must surrender to the lawless element and repeal the law. If this element conquers the Government in this contest it can in another and another until the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall perish from the earth.

D. H. GARRETT, Colorado, Texas, in Dallas News.

LAMANAH, TEX., LEADER
FEB. 27, 1931
Of the people, by the people, and for the people!

Lincoln's famous definition of our American form of government might well apply to the mutual savings bank idea.

A mutual savings bank is created for the people, owned by the people, and managed solely in their interest. It is owned wholly by the depositors. There are no other stockholders—the profits go to the depositors in the form of interest.

This bank is an excellent example of what a good mutual savings bank means to its community. For 89 years it has provided "Safety for Savings"—and in those 89 years it has never omitted or postponed the payment of interest.

Eutaw SAVINGS BANK
Incorporated 1847
EUTAW AND FAYETTE STS.
A Question of Emphasis.

Abraham Lincoln's definition of the American system of government, in his Gettysburg address, as "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is well known.

The way in which Lincoln delivered this famous passage is not so well known. The passage is almost universally read incorrectly, with the emphasis on the prepositions "of," "by," and "for." It has been established by the testimony of persons who heard Lincoln at Gettysburg that he placed the emphasis on the word people, which he made stronger with each repetition.

This emphasis was natural, because it represents Lincoln's interpretation of the essence of Americanism.        Grace B.
IT WAS to a tense and hushed audience at Gettysburg in 1863 that Abraham Lincoln made his immortal address.

He opened his speech with a fitting tribute to the founding fathers who “brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty” . . . and closed with a soul-stirring picture of America as a “government of the people, by the people, for the people.”

For long seconds after he finished, the audience was silent. Then the suppressed excitement burst forth—and a wave of applause went up. That applause has never died down. America always responds to a statement of her most cherished ideals.

Just as America is responding today in her titanic struggle to remain free.

It is of such American traditions—and the maintaining of such American ideals—that you should think when you buy War Bonds.

And remember—holding War Bonds is as vital as buying them!
"...OF the people---
BY the people---
and FOR the people"

This widely quoted phrase, from
Lincoln's famous Gettysburg Address,
is particularly fitting on the birthday
of that great historical figure . . .
And nowhere more decidedly applic-
cable than to the Classified advertising
columns of The News and American.

"OF the people"—because the truly
reliable qualities of our Classified Ads
for producing results have been
built through constant use over a
period of years by the people of this
community—

"BY the people"—because it is this
constant use of the Classified Ads by
our citizens in supplying thousands of
daily needs that enables them to main-
tain their high standard of service—
and

"FOR the people"—because our
Classified advertising columns are open
to ALL—buyer and seller alike.

"Let us resolve"—that from this
time on we will build for ourselves a
deeper appreciation of the service
qualities of News-American Classified
Ads; and we'll begin NOW by turning
to them and reading them.

News—American
Classified Ads Bring Results
Museum
Four or five quotations in which a phrase similar to "government of the people, by the people, for the people" may be found in the standard dictionaries of quotations. One of the best discussions appears on page 332 of Hoyt's new encyclopedia of practical quotations, compiled by Kate Louise Roberts (New York, Funk & Wagnalls (1940):

"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 - Speech at Gettysburg, 1863. The phrase 'of the people, for the people, and by the people' is not original with Lincoln. There is a tradition that the phrase, 'The Bible shall be for the government of the people, for the people, and by the people' appears in the preface of the Wyclif Bible of 1384, or, in the Hereford Bible, or in a pamphlet of the period treating of that version. See Notes and Queries, Feb. 12, 1916, p.127. Albert Mathews, of Boston, examined the reprint of 1850 of the Wyclif Bible, and finds no reference to it. There is a preface to the Old and New Testament, and a prologue to each book, probably written by John Purvey. Phrase used by CRÈON, Athenian demagogue, 450 B.C.: Patrick Henry see Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, Ed. 1818: MATHEW F. MAURY, U.S. Navy, in a report, 1851: President MONROE to Congress, 1820: SCHINZ, a Swiss, in 1830: HENRY WILSON of Mass., 1860. (See also ADAMS, LAMARTINE, MARSHALL, PARKER, THOMPSON, WEBSTER; also DICKENS under LITERATURE: DISRAELI under TRUST (PUBLIC): O.H. CARMICHAEL in Dial, Oct. 25, 1917: J.W. Weik in Outlook July 12, 1915)."
Beat Lincoln to it.

Editor of The Record:

I attended a sale at Henkels' last week of autograph letters. Among the letters sold was one from Nathaniel Pitcher, Governor of New York, to Jesse Buel. This letter, dated July 24, 1834, contained a scathing criticism of President Jackson, and these lines: "A Government established by the people should be administered by the people and for the people." Are not these the same lines used by President Lincoln in his famous Gettysburg address?

J. A. FINNEGANG.

Fourscore and 14 Years Ago

One of the most persistent legends concerning Abraham Lincoln is that he scribbled the Gettysburg Address on the back of an old envelope while riding the train to the battlefield where he spoke on Nov. 19, 1863.

Actually, Lincoln wrote two drafts of the address before its delivery, one in Washington on Executive Mansion stationery, which he corrected in pencil apparently after his arrival at the home of Judge Willits in Gettysburg, where he spent the night before the dedication of the cemetery; the second apparently on the morning of the 19th between breakfast and the start for the cemetery.

The second draft, which was the one from which the president read at the ceremony, made a number of changes, several of them minor, but the first part of the third paragraph was rephrased entirely. In Washington Lincoln had written: "It is rather for us the living, to stand here dedicated to the great task remaining before us . . . " In pencil he later crossed out "to stand here," and wrote above it, "we here be." In the second draft he changed the sentence to start out: "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us . . . ."

These two drafts of the address were given by Lincoln to his secretary, John Hay, and on April 11, 1916, they were presented by Col. Hay's three children to the United States Government, and are now on permanent display in the Library of Congress.

As is well known, Lincoln's brief address was preceded by a lengthy oration by the 69-year-old Edward Everett, former president of Harvard, former congressman and senator from Massachusetts, former governor of his state, former secretary of state, and candidate for vice president in 1860 on the Constitutional Union ticket. After delivering his own address, Lincoln turned from the audience, which was applauding politely, and said to Marshall Lamon who had introduced him: "Lamon, that speech won't count. It is a flat failure."

It is not true, however, that the greatness of the Gettysburg Address was unrecognized until some time later. It was widely reprinted next day by the newspapers, and Everett wrote the president: "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."

At Everett's request, Lincoln wrote a third draft of the address to be sold at a fair for the benefit of soldiers in New York, and this draft was given to the Illinois State Historical Library by popular subscription. A fourth copy was written out for George Bancroft, the historian, and remained in his family until 1929. In that year it was purchased by Mrs. Nicholas H. Noyes of Indianapolis, who gave it in 1949 to the Cornell University Library.

Lincoln copied out a fifth draft also for Bancroft, for facsimile reproduction in a book to be sold for the benefit of Baltimore soldiers and sailors. This copy was passed on to Bancroft's step-children, whose name was Bliss, and in 1949 the estate of Dr. William J. A. Bliss sold it for $34,000 to Oscar B. Cintas, former Cuban ambassador to the United States.

In making these subsequent drafts, Lincoln did some minor editing, so that the official version of the address differs very slightly from that delivered at the battlefield. For one example, both the first and second drafts read: "... our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation ... ." The official version reads: "... our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation ... ."

The paper on which the first page of the first draft was written bore the letterhead, "Executive Mansion, Washington . . . ., 186 . . ." "Executive Mansion" was the official name of the President's residence at that time. When it was first occupied in 1800, the house was known as the "President's Palace," but in Jefferson's administration it came to be called "the President's House." The name "White House" was sometimes used as early as 1814, but in 1818 the official name became "Executive Mansion." However, "White House" became the popular term, and in 1902, at the suggestion of President Theodore Roosevelt, Congress made this the official name.
Telling THE UNTOLD STORY

By Roscoe Simmons

A full month is to be devoted to celebration of one of the greatest speeches in the story of eloquence—Lincoln's talk at Gettysburg. It has been called unequalled in the literature of any tongue.

That speech was made on an immortal field of battle, where white men contended, one against the other, unto death, over, first, a matter thought settled at the Constitution movement and, second, over freedom and equality for colored people who were, and from earliest times had been, closely bound to the founders and builders of the Republic.

Speaks in Their Behalf

Colored people, often careless of a precious heritage and not infrequently wary and flippant with names and deeds that should stir the grateful bosom, could increase their stature by quoting the Gettysburg speech.

In the highest sense, Lincoln at Gettysburg was speaking in their behalf. It was their misery that lifted him to heights not before attained.

More than any battle of the Civil war, Gettysburg was the field of fate. From Virginia, Gen. Lee had made one of the great ventures in the annals of war.

Colored soldiers had made a name as fighters in bloody engagements all over the south, and even with Gen. Grant at Vicksburg, but they were denied the fame of Gettysburg. This contest, fate decreed, should be between those who made war and those who accepted it when all else had failed.

Supreme Effort

It was here that Lee brought from the south lieutenants whose exploits are still celebrated as if they were among the victors and not the vanquished. All converged there for the supreme effort of the Confederacy—Lee himself, A. P. Hill, Ewell, Longstreet, the impetuous Early, J. E. B. Stuart, and the heroic Pickett, whose name is found in every military history.

Military men never cease to speculate as to Gettysburg if Grant had led the Union forces or Stonewall Jackson could have been with Lee. After Gettysburg, Lee was never the same, and none doubted that the slave would soon be free, that the Confederacy would soon give up, and the Union saved. All this was in Lincoln's heart as he prepared himself for the Gettysburg talk Nov. 19, 1863.

The year 1863 saw the beginning of Lincoln's triumphs. In that year he let loose the Emancipation proclamation and in his message to congress declared, "While I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the proclamation." In 1863 he saw Grant take Vicksburg and move into Tennessee for the conquest of Chattanooga and the mountains. He saw Lee retreat from Gettysburg.

Draft Riots Assailed

In 1863 Lincoln, whose patience and purpose never failed, rebuked Gov. Seymour of New York for delay in putting down the draft riots in New York.

In that year Lincoln wrote the famous letter to James C. Conkling, Springfield lawyer, in which he declared: "The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea... and then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to his great consummation."

Lincoln had planned the 13th amendment, which abolished slavery, and decided to turn the army over to Grant. Everything was leading up to Gettysburg Nov. 19 and to words that made a new people, improved the Declaration, and resurrected the Constitution.
Walter Winchell

"Lincoln, a Picture Story of His Life"

Stefan Lorant's "Lincoln, a Picture Story of His Life" will be published by Harper's on Nov. 27. This is the definitive pictorial treatment of Abraham Lincoln's life in 600 pictures—some of them never before seen. A most fascinating book, it should be in the hands of every child and adult. The following are paragraphs which Lorant jotted down during his research and sent to us in commemoration of the 94th anniversary of the Gettysburg Address.

For a long time it was believed that Lincoln wrote the Address on the back of an envelope while riding on the train to Gettysburg. Andrew Carnegie, then a young man, was on the train as Secretary to the President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and he asserted that it was he who lent Lincoln a pencil with which the President wrote out the Address. The trouble with this story is that the first draft of the Address is written in ink and not in pencil. The sheets bear the letterhead Executive Mansion and show a clear, legible script. If Lincoln had composed the Address on the train, the writing would have been jerky.

There are five versions of the Address in Lincoln's handwriting. (Each version would sell today for $75,000 to $100,000.) The first draft, written in Washington and corrected in Gettysburg, contained 239 words. The second one (copied in Gettysburg on the day of the ceremonies) has 269 words. The third copy, which Lincoln wrote out at the request of Edward Everett (the principal speaker at the ceremonies), has 273 words; while the last two copies (written out for George Bancroft) had 273 words each.

And what simple words they were. Of the 272 words, five have only one letter, the article "a"; 46 have two letters. 54 have three; 56 have four; 30 have five; 25 have six, and 13 have seven. The majority of the words—204 out of 272—have only one syllable. Fifty words have two syllables and only 18 have two or more.

Critics noted a blemish. Lincoln used the word "that" not less than 13 times. But he failed to use the personal pronoun "I" in the whole Address. The phrase, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," was not Lincoln's own. He probably borrowed it from the anti-slavery sermon of Theodore Parker. On May 29, 1850, Parker said in Boston: "There is what I call the American idea. This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereon, a democracy, that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; of course, a government of the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God: for shortness sake I will call it the idea of Freedom."

And from whom did Parker take the phrase? Was it from Daniel Webster, who, on Jan. 26, 1830, defined the American government as "the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." And did Webster take it from James Monroe's message to the Congress on Nov. 29, 1820, in which he spoke of "government which is founded by, administered for, and is supported by the people." Monroe in turn could have come across the phrase in John Adams' address to the citizens of Westmoreland County on July 11, 1788, in which the President said: "The declaration that our people are hostile to a government made by ourselves, conducted by ourselves, is an insult."

It is obvious that the phrase had been used decade after decade. One does not know who originated it. Perhaps it was the Greek Cleon, who told the men of Athens in 420 B.C., "I am in favor of a democracy that shall be democratic, that shall give us the rule, which shall be of the people, by the people, for the people." Or did Cleon borrow the phrase from someone else, too?
The first and the last words of the Address have Biblical accents: "Four score and seven years ago..." Lincoln knew his Bible, he knew the Book of Genesis in which Abram's son was born when his father was "four score and six years old."

"... people shall not perish from the earth." In the Book of Job there is a man whose "branch shall be cut off, his remembrance shall perish from the earth."

Joseph L. Gilbert, the reporter for the Associated Press, stood before Lincoln as he delivered the Address. He noted that Lincoln, before he began to speak, stood for a moment in perfect silence with hands clasped and head bowed in an attitude of mourning—a personification of the sorrow and sympathy of the nation. "Adjusting his old-fashioned spectacles, a pair with arms reaching to his temples, he produced from the pocket of his Prince Albert coat several sheets of paper from which he read slowly and feelingly. His marvelous voice, careening in fullness of utterance and clearness of tone, was perfectly audible on the outskirts of the crowd. He made no gesture, nor attempts at display, and none were needed. Fascinated by his intense earnestness, and depth of feeling, I unconsciously stopped taking notes and looked up at him as he glanced from his manuscript with a far away look in his eyes, as if appealing from the few thousands before him to the invisible audience of countless millions whom his words were to reach."

Edward Everett, the principal speaker of the ceremonies, spoke for one hour and 57 minutes. Not many recall what he has said. Lincoln followed Everett. He spoke for one minute, 57 seconds.

A photographer began to adjust his camera, but before he was ready to make the exposure, the President had finished his speech. The Address was over almost before it began.

Lincoln believed that what he had said was a failure. On his return to Washington, he told his friend, Ward Hill Lamon, "I tell you, Hill, that speech fell on the audience like a wet blanket. I am distressed about it. I ought to have prepared it with more care."

The newspapers were not enthusiastic either. The local paper, The Patriot and Union of Harrisburg, wrote: "We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they will no more be repeated or thought of."

On the way back to Washington, Lincoln fell ill. He sat in the train, his head bandaged in a wet towel. It soon became evident that he had contracted the smallpox. For days he had to stay in bed. The President's sickness did not deter office-seekers; they still came in droves. And Lincoln called out gleefully to them: "Come in, come in, I have something now that I can give to everybody."
LINCOLN'S FAMOUS PHRASE

Many admirable things did Abraham Lincoln do for his country but one of the best things he ever did was to make a phrase.

It was in reality a triple phrase yet it expresses in short simple and unmistakable language the whole spirit of American democracy. Of course we are referring to that climax of his Gettysburg address in which he describes our government as "of the people, by the people and for the people."

That famous phrase has been quoted a million times. It is probably more familiar to the American people than any other utterance of any public man. It has become ingrained in our thought and our speech. It expresses both our traditions and our aspirations, our history in the past and our dreams for the future.

But while that phrase fell in its finished form from the lips of the

great Lincoln, it was not in its essence original with him. Just as many of Shakespeare's best plays utilized the productions of earlier writers, so this saying of Lincoln's had a gradual development and an interesting ancestry.

Probably Lincoln first noticed the idea in a sermon of Theodore Parker preached on July 4, 1858 in Boston and printed for circulation. A copy of this sermon was found among Lincoln's old papers filed away in his law office. It was folded and worn as though he had carried it in his pocket and read it many times. He had marked the following passage:

"Democracy is direct self-government over all the people for all the people and by all the people."

Before this however Daniel Webster, in a public speech in 1830, had said:

"The people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people."

And in 1819 Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of McCollough vs. Maryland had said:

"The Government of the Union . . . is emphatically a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit."

Similar utterances have been accredited to George Thompson, an English reformer in 1851, to James Douglass, a Scotchman and to Thomas Cooper in 1795.

But to John Wycliffe, the great English commoner, belongs the credit of the first known use of this great phrase. In 1384 he wrote in his introduction to the first English translation of the Bible:

"This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people."

All this detracts in no way from the glory of Lincoln's use of the phrase. He placed it in a most attractive and significant setting. He gave it its simplest and most complete expression—not a single word lacking. And he linked it forever with the hopes and dreams of a great people struggling on toward a larger freedom, and a better day.
The immortal words, "Of the people, by the people, and for the people," which have been attributed to Lincoln, were actually not original with him as supposed. The first man to make this phrase popular was the noted Theodore Parker, clergyman and abolitionist, whose actual words were, "A government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people." When Lincoln took Parker's phrase, he greatly improved it by reducing it to the well-known brief form.
Lincoln and the People.

Col. A. K. McClure in "Lincoln and Men of War Times:" Judged by the records of his administration, Lincoln is now regarded as the most successful executive the republic has ever had. When it is considered what peculiarly embarrassing and momentous issues were presented to him for decision, and issues for which history had no precedents, it is entirely safe to say that no man has ever equaled him as a successful ruler of a free people.

This success was due chiefly to one single quality of the man—the will of the people was his guiding star. He sprang from the people and from close to Mother Earth. He grew up with the people, and in all his efforts, convictions and inspirations he was ever in touch with the people. When president he looked solely to the considerate judgment of the American people to guide him in the solution of all the vexed questions which were presented to him. In all the struggles of mean ambition and all the bitter jealousies of greatness which constantly surged around him, and in all the constant and distressing discord that prevailed in his cabinet during the dark days which shadowed him with grief, Lincoln ever turned to study with ceaseless care the intelligent expression of the popular will.

Unlike all presidents who had preceded him, he came into office without a fixed and accepted policy. Civil war plunged the government into new and most perplexing duties. The people were unschooled to the sad necessities which had to be accepted to save the republic. Others would have rushed in to offend public sentiment by the violent acceptance of what they knew must be accepted in the end. These men greatly vexed and embarrassed Lincoln in his sincere efforts to advance the people and the government to the full measure of the sacrifices which were inevitable; but Lincoln waited patiently—waited until in the fulness of time the judgment of the people was ripened for action, and then, and then only, did Lincoln act. Had he done otherwise he would have involved the country in fearful peril both at home and abroad, and it was his constant study of and obedience to, the honest judgment of the people of the nation that saved the republic and that enshrined him in history as the greatest of modern rulers.
LINCOLN SEEN
AS PERFECTOR
OF DEMOCRACY

Greek Publisher Links Honest Abe and Pericles as Greatest Men.

LIVES WERE SIMILAR

Continued from Page One

"In making a comparison of the democratic ideals of both men we can safely say that Pericles was the originator of democracy and Lincoln was the perfector," he said, and continued:

"In making further study and analysis of the events that occurred in 361 B.C. and the facts that occurred in 1861 A.D., we note that the events which took place between the 2,000 years were really the same.

"The two great orations, delivered by the two great men to pay tribute to dead heroes, were delivered for the same purpose. Both speeches were funeral orations, delivered to inspire democracy. Pericles's funeral oration stands as the old testament of democracy, while Lincoln's Gettysburg address stands as the gospel of democracy.

"Pericles delivered his famous funeral oration upon the graves of Greek heroes who fought and died in the Civil war between North and South of Greece—between Athens and Sparta. In the South were slaves; in Sparta the Helots. The Helots were the property of their masters.

"It was the ambition of Pericles to abolish slavery and oligarchy.

"Lincoln, the great American, believed that all men were born equal. Pericles said: 'As regards the laws of Athens, all enjoy equality.'

"When Pericles was called upon to address the Athenians, to pay tribute to the dead heroes, he commenced his funeral oration by saying 'I will begin then, with our ancestors; our fathers inherited a country with everything, so as to be the most self-sufficient, both for peace and for war.' Quoting Lincoln, we note: 'Our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty.'

Same Similarity.

"Aside from the addresses delivered by both great men, they have the same philosophical similarity in other speeches. Lincoln said, 'I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true,' Pericles said, 'Where the greatest prizes of virtue are given, there also the most virtuous men are to be found among the citizens.'

"Lincoln and Pericles stand as the greatest men of the world. They were the sons of good mothers, who made the supreme sacrifice and sent them to die for a noble cause. They fought and died, believing in the justice of their country's call.

"You cannot be a true American unless you believe in the ideals of Lincoln and unless you follow the flag and keep step to the music."

Varied ceremonies marked commemoration here of Lincoln's anniversary.

Civil war veterans held memorial services under supervision of the Grand Army Hall and Memorial Association of Illinois.

Among the speakers was Addison G. Proctor of Michigan, believed to be the only living survivor of the nominating convention that named Lincoln for President in 1860.
Lincoln’s Much Quoted Words.

Perhaps the most famous address ever made by President Lincoln is the one that he delivered at the dedication of the soldiers’ monument on the battlefield of Gettysburg, and the words most quoted from it are “the government of the people, by the people and for the people.” This phrase was no doubt an unconscious quotation, for the same words were used by Theodore Parker in an address to the Anti-Slavery society May 13, 1854. Nor was the phrase original with Parker. Daniel Webster in 1830 used the words “the people’s government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people.” And even before Webster Chief Justice Marshall had expressed the same idea in similar phraseology.
"Of the People, by the People—"

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The expression "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," like the expression "God save the King" is of biblical or near biblical origin. The latter appears in I Samuel x. 24, Authorized Version, and in I Kings, x. 24, Douai Version. The former appears in the preface to the old Wicliffe Bible, translated before 1384, which was the year of John Wicliffe's death. This preface declares that "this Bible is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people." My authority for this last is "English Bible Versions" by Rev. Henry Barker; Edwin S. Gorham, publisher, New York, 1907; page 79.

This very interesting work also discusses the fact that this important bit of common property was used not only by Mr. Lincoln in his famous address at Gettysburg, but also in Webster's Reply to Hayne, in a work by James Douglas in 1835, in James Porter's "Rhetorical Reader" in 1850, by Theodore Parker in an anti-slavery convention at Boston, May 1850, and by Joel Parker at the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853. It has also been used in other languages.

DANIEL H. HANCKEL.
New York, July 10, 1926.
A Note on the Gettysburg Address

Sir: Most of us have heard Lincoln's Gettysburg Address recited some hundreds of times and have read it at least as often. Of its words, perhaps the most quoted are—"that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." If the experience of others is like my own, these words have been spoken and read as though the last three prepositional phrases were coordinate grammatically and formed a climax. That is certainly the way Theodore Roosevelt understood them when he said that one of his political opponents believed in government "for the people" but not "of and by the people." This was intensified by the stress always put on "of."

Most of us may have been puzzled, as I was, to explain the difference between a government that was "of the people" and one that was carried on "by the people." But one does not question words that are almost hieratic formulas. It was only when I saw a translation of the Address into French and realized how Frenchmen would normally understand the words "gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple," that it dawned on me that the natural meaning was precisely what the French translation suggested, viz, that "of the people" was an "objective genitive," and had no stress at all. In other words what Lincoln had in mind was the system of governing the people by the people and for the people.

The usual understanding of the words may perhaps be saved if we take "government of the people" as the equivalent of "popular government" and the two following phrases as the explanation of what popular government implies. In that case, also, the common declamatory stress of "of" is wrong. Perhaps Lincoln did in fact render the words as they are now declaimed. I venture to doubt it and I invite others to share my doubt.

Max Radin.

University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Lincoln Ideal Like Chinese

(See Story on Page 1, Also)

The fundamental principles of Lincoln’s three phrases, “Of the people, “By the people” and “For the people,” represent the high ideals not only of America's great president, but also identical with the principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, father of the Chinese republic, Dr. Selwing P. C. Au, Chinese consul, said Monday in ceremonies at Portland army air base at which three planes were delivered for use in training Chinese pilots.

Lettered on each of the silvered planes were one of these phrases and the corresponding Chinese pictographs, “Min joo,” “Min Chuen” and “Min Shung,” which will accompany them so long as they are used.

Original Plan Changed

Palmer Hoyt, publisher of The Oregonian and former domestic manager of the office of war information, principal speaker on the program at which Maj. Rossiter was master of ceremonies, told of the original purpose to buy a P-51 Mustang to enable Maj. Chin, seriously injured in a dog fight over Indo-China in the early Chino-Japanese war, to “return to his task of killing Japs.” Then, he related, the committee thought it better to provide instead the “last word” in training planes for young Chinese pilots who might follow the heroic Chin’s example.

“I like to think of this not in terms of the brave deeds of Maj. Chin and the Chinese boys who will be trained in these planes, but also as a landmark in friendly relations between that great country, China, and our own land,” Hoyt said. “Through such actions we strengthen our common cause and cement the peace without which this world will not mean much to any of us.”

Of the stream of cadets which have come from China to Luke Field since 1941, “many have fought with distinction,” declared Col. C. Y. Liu, acting director of the Washington office of the Chinese commission of aeronautical affairs. “You have added feathers to their wings,” he said. “With them they will fight with more courage, confidence and spirit.”

Two From Washington

Col. Liu, together with Lt. Col. Ko-Tsan Wang, assistant air attaché of the Chinese embassy, had flown here from Washington to represent China at the dedication.

Formal acceptance for the army air forces was made by Col. L. R. Maughn, 317th air wing, who termed the AT-6s “more than a material gift. They are the symbol of a friendship of many years; of co-operation and united effort to defeat a common enemy.”

At luncheon Monday noon, the Chamber of Commerce forum was host to the officials who took part in the later ceremonies, and a throng of Chinese and American leaders in Portland. Surely the proudest among them was Chin Fong, father of Maj. Arthur Chin.
“Under God”

TO THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:
The fundamental and unchanging basis of true democracy, as expressed by Abraham Lincoln in his address at Gettysburg, is of vital importance to successful national and world government today:
“That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.”
In the Bible, very often a precious promise is accompanied by a necessary condition which must be obeyed, before the promise can be fulfilled. Also, the promise by Abraham Lincoln of a “new birth of freedom” is accompanied by the necessary condition, “under God.” That is the fundamental and unchanging basis of true democracy and the necessary condition under which all nations can experience and enjoy freedom, peace, and happiness.
C. F. J.
Toronto
Have We Kept Lincoln’s Ideals?

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir,—On the anniversary of Lincoln’s birth, let us examine his noble estimate of our Government. He said it was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men are equal in their rights under it; that the Civil War was a test of how long it could endure; that—

"... it is for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us..." to resolve that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

We may conclude he meant that if the Nation did not meet the "test" of war and crush secession, and did not make every State free of slavery, the Government would perish. Five years earlier he said the Nation could not exist half free and half slave, but must be all one or the other; at Gettysburg he said the Nation must "have a new birth of freedom."

Having asserted that our Nation was conceived in liberty and made up of people born entitled to equal rights, which equality was the basis of our Government, certainly any condition or institution in such a Nation which suppressed either liberty or equal rights would be fatal to the Nation. In short, he was debating whether, as men lived and thought in those days of slavery declared legal by the Supreme Court, it would be possible to maintain liberty, freedom and equal rights in this Nation. Lincoln felt, further, that the American people were entitled not only to an entire country of freedom, liberty and equality, but one of the people, by the people and for the people. He felt and said that in a failure of the Civil War all of these blessings would not only be lost to us, but would "perish from the earth."

Lincoln was dealing specifically with the Civil War, but he spoke in general terms about liberty, freedom, equality and self-government as they were related to all times and governments. Have we kept these precious blessings? Is our condition today the result of bartering away some of them? Aside from effects of the World War, our condition now is wholly our own fault. The great question is, Have we educated ourselves so as to fit us to operate and enjoy self-government? The answer is, We have not. The evidences are too many and too patent to need enumeration. Are our great ideals of government not even now in a slow process of perishing from the earth?

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.
Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 10, 1933.
"This Nation UNDER GOD"

Earl Marlatt

Mr. Stanley H. Martin, a second-year student at Boston University School of Theology, has uncovered an interesting fact about Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address. He has found through research done for the Century of Service Fund a significant amendment in Lincoln’s final “authorized manuscript” of that charter of liberties. The Great Emancipator originally wrote in the conclusion of his speech:

On the way to Gettysburg this seemed to be inadequate. President Lincoln thought of an insertion, put it into his speech when it was delivered on the battlefield, and into all authorized reprints of his most famous speech. It made the conclusion read:

Thus, only, according to Abraham Lincoln, could peace be restored, as he said in another address, “with malice toward none, with charity for all.”
A New Type of Evangelism

Rev. Claude Warren, pastor of the Congregational church of Ashland, Wis., with three companions, Rev. Edwin Phillips, of Kewaunee, Wis.; Rev. W. Davis, of Viroqua, Wis., and Rev. Edward Hardy, of Colechester, Ill., is spending the summer vacation in a preaching tour through the lumber camps and tourist parks of northern Wisconsin. The expedition is unique in that not a collection will be received. The men are using their vacation season in this way at their own expense. Mr. Warren has committed the sermon on the mount and Lincoln's Gettysburg address to memory and will make these the basis of his addresses. However, the party expects to spend more time in personal interviews than in preaching. The automobile in which the team is traveling bears the inscription, "Save Civilization—Give the Sermon on the Mount the Right of Way."
WE have three fine batches of correspondence from distinguished American authors of the present century—George Santayana, Ezra Pound, and John Dos Passos. Each group was written to a single recipient and therefore has much of the continuity and coherence admired by teachers of freshman English. Also, since all three were fluent correspondents and free with the ideas—literary, social, etc.—that were fluttering in their heads as they wrote, the groups possess vital interest and undoubted importance. The three men are, roughly, contemporaries, but represent rather neatly three different angles of vision turned on this trampled worm of a century. Naturally they do not see eye to eye as they search for the truth, but so much the better, because when all truths are agreed upon the conversation will become very dull. The correspondence is definitely not. Pound gives with the familiar fireworks and there's no complacency in the minds of the other two. We'd like to tell the whole story here, but copyright restrictions on quotation in print restrict us. To anyone seriously contemplating purchase, we'll write the details.

Santayana wrote:

"wondered whether Lincoln paused after he said government as do orators declaiming the Gettysburg address, or whether he said "government of the people, by the people, for the people" without pause.

See page 66.
Berlin, (AP) — The freedom bell inched up 200 feet yesterday to the top of West Berlin's city hall, where it will be rung for the first time next Tuesday — United Nations Day.

A crowd of 3,000 Berliners watched workmen cautiously raise the 10-ton bell by windlass to the city hall tower in a five-hour operation. It arrived safely in an American military freight car this morning after an uneventful passage of 100 miles through the Soviet Zone.

The bell, paid for by public subscriptions in the United States to a government-approved private group known as the National Committee for Free Europe, was denounced as a "death bell" by East Germany's Communist press.

The lifting of the bell went off without a hitch. West Berlin police arrested three girls and four boys of the Communist Free German Youth who tried to get onlookers to sign a petition to ban the atom bomb.

The bell, produced by a Croyden (Eng.) foundry, is inscribed in English: "that this world, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom" — a paraphrase of Abraham Lincoln's words in the Gettysburg address.
Our own doctrine of natural rights, set forth in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, holds that each and every one of us — regardless of color, creed or birth — has certain inalienable rights. They are inalienable for one reason only: because they are the endowment of the Creator.

If the day ever comes when the men and women of our Western Civilization desert completely the historic concept of man as a child of God with free will and an immortal soul — if the day comes, in short, when we, too, go over to "scientific materialism" — on that day not all our oil or gold in the ground, nor our assembly lines, nor our air forces, nor our navies, nor even our sole possession of the atomic bomb, shall save us. On that day freedom will perish in the totalitarian night of the world.

Lincoln was right to remind us that it is only "under God" that this nation, or any nation, can be free.
Republican National

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Statesmen and thinkers of all democratic countries are presenting excellent plans and proposals on post-war reconstruction as the only way to peace. Such plans and proposals are very necessary and very valuable. In the selection and acceptance of these plans it could be helpful to fully realize that successful government is built on the acknowledgment of "the only Potentate, the King of kings, and the Lord of lords". Abraham Lincoln constantly acknowledged the necessary condition for successful government, "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." The recognition of a supreme governing power is the only indestructible foundation on which the structure of true democracy can be built. This understanding completely dispels the illusion of a super-race or a super-man.

History teaches that nations and individuals become superior to the extent they practise the spiritual qualities described in the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes.

In national and world-wide crises leaders and citizens have asked for Divine Guidance, and have received it. Now, as never before, has the need for Divine Direction been as great, to banish forever the gruesome wilderness of war, and to bring us to the promised land of freedom and lasting peace.

Many people are finding enlightenment and inspiration by studying the references in the Bible to "fellowcitizens", the "way", "nations" and "government". The right mental attitude can prove the truth of the promise, "I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them".

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A note on the Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and three years ago, Abraham Lincoln uttered his memorable Address at Gettysburg. To add fresh praise to it today, one is reduced to the literal statement that it is almost certainly the only oration the last three phrases of which every American, over ten years of age, can repeat word for word.

It is unthinkable that any American should question the noble, patriotic fervor or the ringing sincerity of the Gettysburg Address. On the level of literary criticism, however, one question has been raised by a distinguished American scholar. And if this question does not disturb the schoolboys who declaim the address, it does embarrass (mildly) their teachers who take the oration piecemeal apart to point out the detailed perfection of it.

Mr. Lane Cooper, in the Introduction to his Rhetoric of Aristotle, wrote some years ago of the first sentence of the Gettysburg Address:

The metaphor of the dedication of a child runs through the speech, beginning with the violent figure of "sires" "conceiving," "bringing forth," and "dedicating" the newly-born to something like a proposition in Euclid. Still, the violent metaphor has thus far escaped the notice of most readers.

Father Blakely's glowing tribute to the Address and to Lincoln in AMERICA four years ago was concerned mainly with the human values of the speech. Perhaps it is time, then, to add a footnote to his fine eulogy, and to inquire whether this metaphor be violent, and a blemish, after all.

The metaphor of the birth and dedication of a new-born child, enunciated in the first sentence, does run through the whole speech. Of Lincoln's 267 words, eleven are "dedication" or its synonyms: "consecration," "hallowing" and "devotion." The speech begins with conception and birth and dedication, and ends with a dedication to a "new birth."

Conception . . . birth . . . dedication . . . hallowing . . . consecration . . . devotion to . . . new birth! What familiar process of the liturgy do these terms suggest to a fairly well-informed Catholic? Or Christian? The answer is only too obvious to one who has read a popular treatise on the sacrament of baptism. The terms are the very ones, in the same order of mention, that appear in the early pages of such an exposition. The newly-born, by baptism, is dedicated, consecrated, devoted to Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and is hallowed thereby. In the operation of the sacrament, the child is born again into a new and supernatural life, the life of grace. What nobler imagery could Lincoln use to dignify the high theme of his Address than the sacred rite of baptism?

What image would be fraught with more profound meaning for his Christian audience?

Whether or not Lincoln was Baptist (because his father was) or Presbyterian (because he at one time rented a pew in a church of that denomination), or atheist (as the German scholar Villard thought, after conversing with him), or deeply religious (as most Americans like to believe), this is beside the point. All his biographers agree, and anyone who reads his speeches and letters knows, that Lincoln's mind was steeped in the ideas and words of Scripture. He knew his Bible. Surely, he did not need to know much more about baptism than what the well-known text in St. John's Gospel (3, 5—the classic text referring to baptism) told him, to be able to find an organic image for his immortal Address.

Perhaps that is why "the violent metaphor has thus far escaped the notice of most readers." For most have seen no violence in the imagery of a dedication of the newly-born to the Christian proposition-project of being new-born in "the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

The violence of the "sires" metaphor? Perhaps some score years from now that will be answered, too.

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the consuming passion that in a way is the foundation of the entire play. Thus to quibble about her performance in the face of so much technical competence seems to be glovering at the mouth of the gift-horse. For Miss Fames surpasses most of her contemporaries in a sense of the theater, in ability to punctuate her phrases by gesture, expression, voice intonation and presence. She is a cerebral actress in whom the quick matching of wits, of mind against mind, comes off to fine advantage."

DEBATING LINCOLN’S GETTYBURG SPEECH

WHETHER LINCOLN COULD HAVE "CRIBBED" or derived from the Rev. Theodore Parker any phrases in his Gettysburg speech is a question agitating certain Englishmen. Sir Hall Caine comes forward in defense of Lincoln, tho other prominent names seem to stand on the other side. The gist of the charge is given in a letter to the London Observer, signed “A. S. Toms”:

"Before he was elected to the Presidential office, Lincoln was in partnership as a lawyer with W. H. Herndon, and he left behind in the office of the firm at Springfield a pasteboard box bearing a label in his own handwriting. A long time afterward, apparently some years after his assassination, this box was opened, and among its contents were two pamphlets by Theodore Parker, the famous Unitarian preacher and Abolitionist. The first of them, dated May 26, 1858, contained a sentence, ‘Democracy—The-all-men-power; government, over all, by all, and for the sake of all,’ and round this Lincoln had drawn a mark with a lead-pencil. "The other pamphlet was the report of a sermon delivered at Boston on July 4, 1858. On page 5 there is the sentence: ‘Democracy is Direct Self-Government over all the people, for all the people, by all the people’; and on page 14 the words: ‘Direct Government over all the people, by all the people, for all the people.’ In both instances the words are marked in the margin with lead-pencil by Lincoln. Here we have, undoubtedly, the sources of the peroration at Gettysburg. "The speech was not an impromptu utterance, but was a carefully prepared essay, and when delivering it Lincoln held the manuscript, which is still in existence, in his hand, altho the general testimony appears to show that the actual utterance differed slightly from the written word."

Sir Hall Caine repels the charge that there could have been any kind of "cribbing," but admits that "Lincoln used some phrases which were taken from the common stock of immortal writing." He also states that a few years ago he came across in a preface to one of the early editions of Wyclif’s translation of the Bible a passage containing the great phrase “government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Going on, the famous novelist combats the statement that Lincoln was dissatisfied with his original notes, and that he discarded them on the platform and trusted to the inspiration of the moment. Also he refuses to accept the tradition that the speech failed in delivery:

"My authority is, I think, the best possible, John Hay, who told me at his house in Washington the whole history of the speech, its origin and its effect. John Hay, afterward Secretary of State, was Lincoln’s private secretary at the time. He was alone with Lincoln the night before the speech; he went down
"IT'S YOUR BUSINESS"

Here's an almost-forgotten message from Abraham Lincoln...

In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and doubtless I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States; and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the union of these States and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of fifty-two years of age, but a great deal to the thirty millions of people who inhabit these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me. I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you, is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?

We are grateful to Mrs. Marie McNett, of Williamstown, Mass., for suggesting this timely speech of Lincoln's. The occasion for it was a reception in Indianapolis, on Feb. 11, 1861, when the newly elected president was en route to Washington to assume office. Mrs. McNett has already used the speech as the epilogue of her play, "Cradle of Glory."
Ask almost any one of your friends to tell you the author of this famous phrase and the chances are good that they will tell you that it is either Abraham Lincoln or Daniel Webster.

Broadly speaking, both answers would be erroneous; for the real originator of the line is Theodore Parker, who first penned or uttered the words under discussion though in somewhat modified form.

This sentence originally read:

"The people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people."

It was here that Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln and many other orators received their inspirations for the use of the sentence as it stands as the title of this story.
Reds Bandy Lincoln's Words

LONDON, Feb. 13 (Sunday).—(P)—Moscow radio today broadcast a tribute to Abraham Lincoln—and then quoted from his Gettysburg Address in an effort to show Red China should be recognized by the United States.

"Is it not a fact that this government (Red China's) is, to use Lincoln's words, 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people,' and that therefore it 'shall not perish from the earth?'" the commentator asked.

Nevertheless, he said, the United States continues to support "the Chiang Kai-shek clique" (Nationalist China). Certain American political leaders, he added, "give verbal assurances of their loyalty to the principles of Abraham Lincoln..."