Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

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

References to

Edward Everett

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection
(Formerly described as: Binder 1, p. 25-34)

The President's Visit to Gettysburg.

The President of the United States left the city at noon to-day, in a special train for Gettysburg, to attend the dedication of the National Cemetery to-morrow. He was accompanied by his Private Secretary, Mr. Nicolay; the Secretary of State and several other members of the Cabinet; the French Minister, Mr. Mercier; Admiral Renand, of the French navy; the Italian Minister, M. Bertinatti; his Secretary of Legation, M. Cora; the Chevalier Isola, of the Italian navy; Mr. Macdougall, of the Canadian Ministry, and other distinguished gentlemen.

Speech of President Lincoln.

"Fourscore 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 other nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.

"We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of 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 cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our 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 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—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT GETTYSBURG

ON THE

NINETEENTH OF NOVEMBER,

AT THE

CONSECRATION of the CEMETERY

PREPARED FOR THE

INTERMENT OF THE REMAINS

OF THOSE

Who Fell on the 1st, 2d and 3d of July,

IN THE BATTLES AT THAT PLACE.

BY EDWARD EVERETT.

It was appointed by law in Athens that the obsequies of the citizens who fell in battle should be performed at the public expense, and in the most honorable manner. Their bones were carefully gathered up from the funeral pyre, where their bodies were consumed, and brought home to the city. There, for three days before the interment, they lay in state, beneath tents of honor, to receive the votive offerings of friends and relatives—flowers, weapons, precious ornaments, painted vases, (wonders of art, which after two thousand years adorn the museums of modern Europe,) the last tributes of surviving affection. Ten coffins of funereal cypress received the honorable deposit, one for each of the tribes of the city, and an eleventh in memory of the unrecognized, but not, therefore, unhonored, dead, and of those whose remains could not be recovered. On the fourth day the mournful procession was formed; mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, led the way, and to them it was permitted by the simplicity of ancient manners to utter aloud their lamentations for the beloved and the lost; the male relatives of the deceased followed; citizens and strangers closed the train. Thus marshalled, they moved to the place of interment in that famous Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of Athens, which had been adorned by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, with walks and fountains, and columns; whose groves were filled with altars, shrines and temples; whose gardens were ever green with streams from the neighboring hills, and shaded with the trees sacred to Minerva, and coeval with the foundation of the city; whose circuit enclosed

"The olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trilled his thick-warbled note the summer long;"

whose pathways gleamed with the monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble. There, beneath the overarching plane trees, upon a lofty stage, erected for the purpose, it was ordained by law that a funeral oration should be pronounced by some citizen of Athens, in the presence of the assembled multitude.

Such were the tokens of respect required by law to be paid at Athens to the memory of those who had fallen in the cause of their country. To those alone who fell at Marathon a peculiar honor was reserved. As the battle fought upon that immortal field was distinguished from all others in Grecian history for its influence over the fortunes of Hellas—as it depended upon the event of that day whether Greece should live, a glory and a light to all coming time, or should expire, like the meteor of a moment—so the honors awarded to its martyr-heroes were such as were bestowed by Athens on no other occasion. They alone of all her sons were entombed upon the spot which they had forever rendered famous. Their names were inscribed upon ten pillars, erected upon the monumental tumulus which covered their ashes (where, after six hundred years, they were read by the traveler, Pausanias); and although the columns, beneath the hand of barbaric violence and time, have long since disappeared, the venerable mound still marks the spot where they fought and fell—

"That battle-field where Persia's victim horde
First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword."

And shall I, fellow citizens, who, after an interval of twenty-three centuries, a youthful pilgrim from a world unknown to ancient Greece, have wandered over that illustrious plain, ready to put off the shoes from off my feet, as one that stands on holy ground; have gazed with respectful emotion on the mound, which still protects the remains of those who rolled back the tide of Persian invasion, and rescued the land of popular liberty of letters, and arts from the ruthless foe, stand unmoved over the graves of our dear brethren, who but yesterday—on three of those all-important days which decide a nation's history—days on whose issue it depended, whether this august republican Union, founded by some of the wisest statesmen that ever lived, cemented with the blood of some of the purest patriots that ever died, should perish or endure—rolled back the tide of an invasion, not less unprovoked, not less ruthless, than that which came to plant the dark banner of Asiatic despotism and slavery on the free soil of Greece! Heaven forbid! And could I prove so insensible to every prompting of patriotic duty and affection, not only would you, fellow citizens, gathered, many of you from distant States, who have come to take part in these pious offices of gratitude—you respected fathers, brethren, matrons, sisters, who surround me, cry out for shame, but the forms of brave and patriotic men who fill these honored graves would heave with indignation beneath the sod.

We have assembled, friends, fellow citizens, at the invitation of the Executive of the great central State of Pennsylvania, seconded by the Governors of eighteen other loyal States of the Union, to pay the last tribute of respect to the brave men, who in the hard fought battles of the 1st, 2d and 3d days of July last, laid down their lives for the country on these hill sides and the plains spread out before us, and whose remains have been gathered into the cemetery which we consecrate this day. As my eye ranges over the fields whose sods were so lately moistened by the blood of gallant and loyal men, I feel, as never before, how truly it was said of old that it is sweet and becoming to die for one's country. I feel, as never before, how justly, from the dawn of history to the present time, men have paid the homage of their gratitude and admiration to the memory of those who nobly sacrifice their lives that their fellow men may live in safety. And if this tribute were ever due, when, to whom, could it be more justly paid, than to those whose last resting place we this day commend to the blessing of Heaven and of men.

For consider, my friends, what would have been the consequences to the country, to yourselves and to all you hold dear, if those who sleep beneath our feet, and their gallant comrades who survive to serve their country on other fields of danger, had failed in their duty on those memorable days. Consider what at this moment would be the condition of the United States if that noble Army of the Potomac, instead of gallantly and for the second time beating back the tide of invasion from Maryland and Pennsylvania, had been itself driven from these well-contested heights, thrown back in confusion on Baltimore, or trampled down, discomfited, scattered to the four winds. What, under the circumstances, would not have been the fate of the Monumental City, of Harrisburg, of Philadelphia, of Washington, the capital of the Union, each and every one of which would have lain at the mercy of the enemy, accordingly as it might have pleased him, spurred only by passion, flushed with victory, and confident of continued success, to direct his course?

For this we must bear in mind, it is one of the great lessons of the war, indeed of every war, that it is impossible for a people without military organization, inhabiting the cities, towns, and villages of an open country, including, of course, the natural proportion of non-combatants of either sex and of every age, to withstand the inroad of a veteran army. What defence can be made by the inhabitants of villages mostly built of wood, of cities unprotected by walls, nay by a population of men, however high-toned and resolute, whose aged parents demand their care, whose wives and children are clustering about them, against the charge of the war-horse whose neck is clothed with thunder, against flying artillery, and batteries of rifled cannon planted on every commanding eminence, against the onset of trained veterans led by skilful chiefs? No, my friends, army must be met by army; battery by battery; squadron by squadron, and the shock of organized thousands must be encountered by the firm breasts and valiant arms of other thousands, as well organized and as skilfully led. It is no reproach, therefore, to the unarmed population of the country to say, that we owe it to the brave men who sleep in their beds of honor before us and their gallant surviving associates, not merely that your fertile fields, my friends of Pennsylvania and Maryland, were redeemed from the presence of the invader, but that your beautiful capitals were not given up to threatened plunder, perhaps laid in ashes—Washington seized by the enemy, and a blow struck at the heart of the nation.

Who that hears me has forgotten the thrill of joy that ran through the country on the 4th of July—auspicious day for the glorious tidings, and rendered still more so by the simultaneous fall of Vicksburg, when the telegraph flashed through the land the assurance from the President of the United States that the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, had again smitten the invader? Sure I am that, with the ascriptions of praise that rose to Heaven from twenty millions of freemen, with the acknowledgments that breathed from patriotic lips throughout the length and breadth of America to the surviving officers and men who had rendered the country this inestimable service, there beat in every loyal bosom a throb of tender and sorrowful gratitude to the martyrs who had fallen on the sternly contested field. Let a nation's fervent thanks make some amends for the toils and sufferings of those who survive. Would that the heartfelt tribute could penetrate these honored graves!

In order that we may comprehend, to their full extent, our obligations to the martyrs and surviving heroes of the Army of the Potomac, let us contemplate for a few moments, my friends, the train of events which culminated in the battles of the 1st, 2d and 3d of July. Of this stupendous rebellion, planned, as its originators boast, more than thirty years ago, matured and prepared for during an entire generation, finally commenced because, for the first time since the adoption of the Constitution, an election of President had been effected without the votes of the south, (which retained, however, the control of the two other branches of the government,) the occupation of the national capital, with the seizure of the public archives and of the treaties with foreign powers was an essential feature. This was in substance, within my personal knowedge, admitted, in the winter of 1860–1, by one of the most influential leaders of the rebellion, and it was fondly thought that this object could be effected by a bold and sudden movement on the 4th of March, 1861. There is abundant proof also that a darker project was contemplated, if not by the responsible chiefs of the rebellion, yet by nameless ruffians, willing to play a subsidiary and murderous part in the treasonable drama. It was accordingly maintained by the rebel emissaries abroad, in the circles to which they found access, that the new American Minister ought not, when he arrived, to be received as the envoy of the United States, inasmuch as before that time Washington would be captured and the capital of the nation and the archives and munitions of the government would be in the possession of the confederates. In full accordance also with this threat, it was declared by the rebel secretary of war, at Montgomery, in the presence of his chief and of his colleagues, and of five thousand hearers, while the tidings of the assault on Sumter were travelling over the wires on that fatal 12th of April, 1861, that before the end of May "the flag which now flaunted the breeze (as he expressed it) would float over the dome of the Capitol at Washington."

At the time this threat was made, the rebellion was confined to the cotton-growing States, and it was well understood by them, that the only hope of drawing any of the other slave-holding States into the conspiracy, was by bringing about a conflict of arms, and "firing the heart of the south," by the effusion of blood. This was declared by the Charleston press to be the object for which Sumter was to be assaulted, and the emissaries sent from Richmond, to urge on the unhallowed work, gave the promise that with the first drop of blood that should be shed, Virginia would place herself by the side of South Carolina.

In pursuance of this original plan of the leaders of the rebellion, the capture of Washington has been continually had in view, not merely for the sake of its public buildings, as the capital of the confederacy, but as the necessary preliminary to the absorption of the border States, and for the moral effect in the eyes of Europe of possessing the

Everett's address 140 inches, 100 words to the inch — total 14000 words
" " 168 inches, 12 lines to the inch, 10 — total 1680 words

metropolis of the Union.

I allude to these facts, not perhaps enough borne in mind, as a sufficient refutation of the pretence on the part of the rebels that the war is one of self-defence, waged for the right of self-government. It is in reality a war originally levied by ambitious men in the cotton-growing States, for the purpose of drawing the slave-holding border States into the vortex of the conspiracy, first by sympathy, which in the case of southeastern Virginia, North Carolina, part of Tennessee and Arkansas, succeeded; and then by force, and for the purpose of subjugating Western Virginia, Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, Missouri and Maryland; and it is a most extraordinary fact, considering the clamors of the rebel chiefs on the subject of invasion, that not a soldier of the United States has entered the States last-named, except to defend their union-loving inhabitants from the armies and guerillas of the rebels.

In conformity with these designs on the city of Washington, and notwithstanding the disastrous results of the invasion of 1862, it was determined by the rebel government last summer to resume the offensive in that direction. Unable to force the passage of the Rappahannock, where General Hooker, notwithstanding the reverse at Chancellorsville in May, was strongly posted, the confederate general resorted to strategy. He had two objects in view. The first was by a rapid movement northward, and by manœuvring with a portion of his army on the east side of Blue Ridge, to tempt Hooker from his base of operations, thus leading him to uncover the approaches to Washington, to throw it open to a raid by Stuart's cavalry, and enable Lee himself to cross the Potomac in the neighborhood of Poolesville, and thus fall upon the capital. This plan of operations was wholly frustrated. The design of the rebel general was promptly discovered by General Hooker, and moving himself with great rapidity from Fredericksburg, he preserved unbroken the inner line, and stationed the various corps of his army at all the points protecting the approach to Washington, from Centreville up to Leesburg. From this vantage ground the rebel general in vain attempted to draw him. In the meantime, by the vigorous operations of Pleasanton's cavalry, the cavalry of Stuart, though greatly superior in numbers, was so crippled as to be disabled from performing the part assigned to it in the campaign. In this manner, General Lee's first object, viz., the defeat of Hooker's army on the south of the Potomac and a direct march on Washington, was baffled.

The second part of the confederate plan, and which is supposed to have been undertaken in opposition to the views of General Lee, was to turn the demonstration northward into a real invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in the hope that in this way Gen. Hooker would be drawn to a distance from the capital; that some opportunity would occur of taking him at disadvantage, and, after defeating his army, of making a descent upon Baltimore and Washington. This part of General Lee's plan, which was substantially the repetition of that of 1862, was not less signally defeated, with what honor to the arms of the Union the heights on which we are this assembled will forever attest.

Much time had been uselessly consumed by the rebel general in his unavailing attempts to outmanœuvre General Hooker. Although General Lee broke up from Fredericksburg on the 3d of June, it was not till the 24th that the main body of his army entered Maryland, and instead of crossing the Potomac, as he had intended, east of the Blue Ridge, he was compelled to do it at Shepherdstown and Williamsport, thus materially deranging his entire plan of campaign north of the river. Stuart, who had been sent with his cavalry to the east of the Blue Ridge, to guard the passes of the mountains, to mask the movements of Lee, and to harass the Union General in crossing the river, having been very severely handled by Pleasanton at Beverly Ford, Aldie and Upperville, instead of being able to retard General Hooker's advance, was driven himself away from his connection with the army of Lee, and cut off for a fortnight from all communication with it—a circumstance to which General Lee, in his report, alludes more than once, with evident displeasure. Let us now rapidly glance at the incidents of the eventful campaign.

A detachment from Ewell's corps, under Jenkins, had penetrated on the 15th of June as far as Chambersburg. This movement was intended at first merely as a demonstration, and as a marauding expedition for supplies. It had, however, the salutary effect of alarming the country, and vigorous preparations here in Pennsylvania, and in the sister States, were made to repel the inroad. After two days passed at Chambersburg, Jenkins, anxious for his communications with Ewell, fell back with his plunder to Hagerstown. Here he remained for several days, and having swept the recesses of Cumberland valley, came down upon the eastern flank of South Mountain, and pushed his marauding parties as far as Waynesboro. On the 22d the remainder of Ewell's corps crossed the river and moved up the valley. They were followed on the 24th by Longstreet and Hill, who crossed at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, and pushing up the valley encamped at Chambersburg on the 27th. In this way the whole rebel army, estimated at 90,000 infantry, upwards of 10,000 cavalry and 4000 or 5000 artillery, making a total of 105,000 of all arms, was concentrated in Pennsylvania.

Up to this time no report of Hooker's movements had been received by General Lee, who having been deprived of his cavalry had no means of obtaining information. Rightly judging, however, that no time would be lost by the Union army in the pursuit, in order to detain it on the eastern side of the mountains in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and thus preserve his communications by the way of Williamsport, he had, before his own arrival at Chambersburg, directed Ewell to send detachments from his corps to Carlisle and York. The latter detachment, under Early, passed through this place on the 26th of June. You need not, fellow citizens of Gettysburg, that I should recall to you those moments of alarm and distress, precursors as they were of the more trying scenes which were so soon to follow.

As soon as General Hooker perceived that the advance of the confederates into the Cumberland valley was not a mere feint to draw him away from Washington, he moved himself rapidly in pursuit. Attempts, as we have seen, were made to harass and retard his passage across the Potomac. These attempts were not only altogether unsuccessful, but so unskilfully made as to place the entire Federal army between the cavalry of Stuart and the army of Lee. While the latter was massed in the Cumberland valley Stuart was east of the mountains, with Hooker's army between and Gregg's cavalry in close pursuit. Stuart was accordingly compelled to force a march northward, which was destitute of all strategical character, and which deprived his chief of all means of obtaining intelligence.

No time, as we have seen, had been lost by Gen. Hooker in the pursuit of Lee. The day after the rebel army entered Maryland the Union army crossed the Potomac at Edwards' Ferry, and by the 28th lay between Harper's Ferry and Frederick. The force of the enemy, on that day, was partly at Chambersburg, and partly moving on the Cashtown road in the direction of Gettysburg, while the detachments from Ewell's corps, of which mention has been made, had reached the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg and Columbia. That a great battle must soon be fought no one could doubt; but in the apparent and perhaps real absence of plan on the part of Lee, it was impossible to foretell the precise scene of the encounter. Wherever fought, consequences the most momentous hung upon the result.

In this critical and anxious state of affairs, Gen. Hooker was relieved, and General Meade was summoned to the chief command of the army; and it appears to my unmilitary judgment to reflect the highest credit on him, on his predecessor and upon the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac, that a change could take place in the chief command of so large a force upon the eve of a general battle—the various corps necessarily moving on lines somewhat divergent, and all in ignorance of the enemy's intended point of concentration—and not an hour's hesitation should ensue in the advance of any portion of the entire army.

Having assumed the chief command on the 28th, General Meade directed his left wing, under Reynolds, upon Emmettsburg, and his right upon New Windsor, leaving General French, with 11,000 men, to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and convey the public property from Harper's Ferry to Washington. Buford's cavalry was then at this place, and Kilpatrick at Hanover, where he encountered and defeated the rear of Stuart's cavalry, who was roving the country in search of the main army of Lee. On the rebel side, Hill had reached Fayetteville, on the Cashtown road, on the 28th, and was followed on the same road by Longstreet on the 29th. The eastern side of the mountain as seen from Gettysburg, was lighted up at night by the camp fires of the enemy's advance, and the country swarmed with his foraging parties. It was now too evident to be questioned that the thunder cloud so long gathering blackness would soon burst on some part of the devoted vicinity of Gettysburg.

The 30th of June was a day of important preparation. At 11½ in the morning Gen. Buford passed through Gettysburg, upon a reconnoissance in force, with his cavalry, upon the Chambersburg road. The information obtained by him was immediately communicated to General Reynolds, who was in consequence directed to occupy Gettysburg. That gallant officer accordingly, with the First Corps, marched from Emmettsburg to within six or seven miles of this place, and encamped on the right bank of Marsh's creek. Our right wing meantime was moved to Manchester. On the same day the corps of Hill and Longstreet were pushed still further forward on the Chambersburg road, and distributed in the vicinity of Marsh's creek, while a reconnoissance was made by the confederate General Pettigrew up to a short distance from this place. Thus at nightfall on the 30th of June the greater part of the rebel force was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of two corps of the Union army, the former refreshed by two days passed in comparative repose, and deliberate preparation for the encounter, the latter separated by a march of one or two days from the supporting corps, and doubtful at what precise point they were to expect an attack.

And now the momentous day, a day to be forever remembered in the annals of the country, arrived. Early in the morning on the 1st of July the conflict began. I need not say that it would be impossible for me to comprise, within the limits of the hour, such a narrative as would do anything like full justice to the all-important events of these three great days, or to the merit of the brave officers and men of every rank, of every arm of the service, and of every loyal State, who bore their part in the tremendous struggle; alike those who nobly sacrificed their lives for their country, and those who survive, many of them scarred with honorable wounds, the objects of our admiration and gratitude. The astonishingly minute, accurate and graphic accounts contained in the journals of the day, prepared from personal observation by reporters who witnessed the scenes and often shared the perils which they described, and the highly valuable "Notes" of Professor Jacobs, of the University in this place, to which I am greatly indebted, will abundantly supply the deficiency of my necessarily too condensed statement.*

General Reynolds, on arriving at Gettysburg on the morning of the 1st, found Buford with his cavalry warmly engaged with the enemy, whom he held most gallantly in check. Hastening himself to the front, General Reynolds directed his men to be moved over the fields from the Emmettsburg road, in front of McMillan's and Dr. Schmucker's, under cover of the Seminary ridge, and, without a moment's hesitation, attacked the enemy, at the same time sending orders to the Eleventh Corps (General Howard's) to advance as promptly as possible. General Reynolds immediately found himself engaged with a force which greatly outnumbered his own, and had scarcely made his dispositions for the action when he fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his advance. The command of the First Corps devolved on General Doubleday, and that of the field on Gen. Howard, who arrived at 11.30 with Schurz and Barlow's divisions of the Eleventh Corps, the latter of whom received a severe wound. Thus strengthened, the advantage of the battle was for some time on our side. The attacks of the rebels were vigorously repulsed by Wadsworth's division of the Eleventh Corps, and a large number of prisoners, including General Archer, were captured. At length, however, the continued reinforcement of the confederates from the main body, on the Cashtown road, and by the divisions of Rhoads and Early, coming down by separate lines from Heidlersburg and taking post on our extreme right, turned the fortunes of the day. Our army, after contesting the ground for five hours, was obliged to yield to the enemy, whose force outnumbered them two to one, and toward the close of the afternoon General Howard deemed it prudent to withdraw the two corps to the heights where we are now assembled. The greater part of the First Corps passed through the outskirts of

* Besides the sources of information mentioned in the text, I have been kindly favored with a memorandum of the operations of the three days drawn up for me by direction of Major General Meade, (anticipating the promulgation of his official report,) by one of his aides, Colonel Theodore Lyman, from whom also I have received other important communications relative to the campaign. I have received very valuable documents relative to the battle from Major General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief of the army, and have been much assisted in drawing up the sketch of the campaign, by the detailed reports, kindly transmitted to me in manuscript from the Adjutant General's office, of the movements of every corps of the army, for each day, after the breaking up from Fredericksburg commenced. I have derived much assistance from Col. John B. Bachelder's oral explanations of his beautiful and minute drawing (about to be engraved) of the field of the three days' struggle. With the information derived from these sources, I have compared the statements in General Lee's official report of the campaign dated July 31, 1863; a well written article, purporting to be an account of the three days battle, in the Richmond Enquirer of the 22d of July; and the article on "The Battle of Gettysburg and the Campaign of Pennsylvania," by an officer, apparently a colonel, in the British army, in Blackwood's Magazine for September. The value of the information contained in this last essay may be seen by comparing the remark under date 27th of June, that "private property is to be rigidly protected," with the statement in the next sentence but one, that "all the cattle and farm horses having been seized by Ewell, farm labor had come to a complete stand-still." He also, under date of 4th July, speaks of Lee's retreat being encumbered by "Ewell's *immense train of plunder*." This writer informs us that, on the evening of the 4th July, he heard "reports coming in from the different *generals* that the enemy (Meade's army) was *retiring*, and had been doing so all day long." At a consultation at headquarters on the 6th, between Generals Lee, Longstreet, Hill and Wilcox, this writer was told by some one, whose name he prudently leaves in blank, that the army had no intention at present of retreating for good, and that some of the enemy's dispatches had been intercepted in which the following words occur: "The noble but unfortunate Army of the Potomac has again been obliged to retreat before superior numbers!" I much regret that General Meade's official report was not published in season to enable me to take full advantage of it in preparing the brief sketch of the battles of the three days contained in this address. It reached me but the morning before these pages were sent to the press.

not only all the sacrifices I have named, not only to cede to them—a foreign and hostile power—all the territory of the United States at present occupied by the rebel forces, but the abandonment to them of the vast regions we have rescued from their grasp—of Maryland, of a part of Eastern Virginia and the whole of Western Virginia, the sea cost of North and South Carolina; Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri; Arkansas and the larger portion of Mississippi and Louisiana, in most of which, with the exception of lawless guerillas, there is not a rebel in arms; in all of which the great majority of the people are loyal to the Union. We must give back, too, the helpless colored population, thousands of whom are perilling their lives in the ranks of our armies, to a bondage rendered tenfold more bitter by the momentary enjoyment of freedom. Finally, we must surrender every man in the southern country, white or black, who has moved a finger or spoken a word for the restoration of the Union, to a reign of terror as remorseless as that of Robespierre, which has been the chief instrument by which the rebellion has been organized and sustained. and has already filled the prisons of the south with noble men, whose only crime is that they are not traitors. The south is full of such men. I do not believe there has been a day since the election of President Lincoln when, if an ordinance of secession could have been fairly submitted to the mass of the people, in any single southern State, a majority of ballots would have been given in its favor. No, not in South Carolina. It is not possible that the majority of the people, even of that State, if permitted, without fear or favor, to give a ballot on the question, would have abandoned a leader like Petigru, and all the memories of the Gadsdens, the Rutledges and the Cotesworth Pinckneys of the revolutionary and constitutional age, to follow the agitators of the present day.

Nor must we be deterred from the vigorous prosecution of the war by the suggestion, continually thrown out by the rebels and those who sympathize with them, that, however it might have been at an earlier stage, there has been engendered by the operations of the war a state of exasperrtion and bitterness, which, independent of all reference to the original nature of the matters in controversy, will forever prevent the restoration of the Union, and the return of harmony between the two great sections of the country. This opinion I take to be entirely without foundation.

No man can deplore more than I do the miseries of every kind unavoidably incident to war. Who could stand upon this spot and call to mind the scenes of the 1-3 of July with any other feeling? A sad foreboding of what would ensue if war should break out between north and south has haunted me through life, and led me, perhaps too long, to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were pre-determined not to be conciliated. But it is not true, as is pretended by the rebels and their sympathizers, that the war has been carried on by the United States without entire regard to those temperaments which are enjoined by the law of nations, by our modern civilization, and by the spirit of Christianity. It would be quite easy to point out, in the recent military history of the leading European Powers, acts of violence and cruelty, in the prosecution of their wars, to which no parallel can be found among us.

In fact when we consider the peculiar bitterness with which civil wars are almost invariably waged, we may justly boast of the manner in which the United States have carried on the contest. It is, of course, impossible to prevent the lawless acts of stragglers and deserters, or the occasional unwarrantable proceedings of subordinates on distant stations; but I do not believe there is, in all history, the record of a civil war of such gigantic dimensions, where so little has been done in the spirit of vindictiveness as in this war by the government and commanders of the United States; and this notwithstanding the provocation given by the rebel government by assuming the responsibility of wretches like Quantrell, refusing quarter to colored troops, and scourging and selling into slavery free colored men from the north who fall into their hands, covering the sea with pirates, and starving prisoners of war to death.

In the next place, if there are any present who believe that, in addition to the effect of the military operations of the war, the confiscation acts and emancipation proclamations have embittered the rebels beyond the possibility of reconciliation, I would request them to reflect that the tone of the rebel leaders and rebel press was just as bitter in the first months of the war, nay before a gun was fired, as it is now. There were speeches made in Congress in the very last session before the rebellion so ferocious as to show that their authors were under the influence of a real frenzy. At the present day, if there is any discrimination made by the confederate press in the affected scorn, hatred and contumely with which every shade of opinion and sentiment in the loyal States is treated, the bitterest contempt is bestowed upon those at the north, who still speak the language of compromise, and who condemn those measures of the Administration which are alleged to have rendered the return of peace hopeless.

No, my friends, that gracious Providence which overrules all things for the best, from seeming evil still educing good, has so constituted our natures, that the violent excitement of the passions in one direction is generally followed by a reaction in an opposite direction, and the sooner for the violence. If it were not so, if anger produced abiding anger, if hatred caused undying hatred, if injuries inflicted and retaliated of necessity led to new retaliations, with forever accumulating compound interest of revenge, then the world, thousands of years ago, would have been turned into an earthly hell, and the nations of the earth would have been resolved into clans of furies and demons, each forever warring with his neighbor. But it is not so: all history teaches a different lesson. The wars of the Roses in England lasted an entire generation, from the battle of St. Albans, in 1455, to that of Bosworth Field, in 1485.

Speaking of the former, Hume says: "This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years; which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty; is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered a point of honor, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and widened every moment the breach between the parties." Such was the state of things in England, under which an entire generation grew up; but when Henry VII., in whom the titles of the two houses were united, went up to London after the battle of Bosworth Field, to mount the throne, he was everywhere received with joyous acclamations, "as one ordained and sent from Heaven to put an end to the dissensions" which had so long afflicted the country.

The great rebellion in England of the seventeenth century, after long and angry premonitions, may be said to have begun with the calling of the Long Parliament in 1640, and to have ended with the return of Charles II. in 1660—twenty years of discord, conflict and civil war; of confiscation, plunder, havoc; a proud hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a national church overturned, its clergy beggared, its most eminent prelate put to death; a military despotism established on the ruins of a monarchay which had subsisted seven hundred years, and the legitimate sovereign brought to the block; the great families which adhered to the king proscribed, impoverished, ruined; prisoners of war sold to slavery in the West Indies—in a word, everything that can embitter and madden contending factions. Such was the state of things for twenty years, and yet, by no gentle transition, but suddenly and "when the restoration of affairs appeared most hopeless," the son of the beheaded sovereign was brought back to his father's blood-stained throne, with such "unexpressible and universal joy," as led the merry monarch to exclaim "he doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody who did not protest he had ever wished for his return."! "In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and had been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation and paricide, that fire and sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world [it is a royalist that is speaking], could be instruments of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming of the third. By these remarkable steps did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even made the scar as undiscernable as, in respect of the deepness, was possible, which was a glorious addition to the deliverance."

In Germany, the wars of the Reformation and of Charles V. in the 16th century, the thirty years war in the 17th century, the seven years war in the 18th century, not to speak of other less celebrated contests, entailed upon that country all the miseries of intestine strife for more than three centuries. At the close of the last named war, "An Officer," says Archenholz, "rode through seven villages in Hesse and found in them but one human being." More than three hundred principalities, comprehended in the Empire, fermented with the fierce passions of proud and petty States; at the commencement of this period the castles of robber Counts frowned upon every hill-top; a dreadful secret tribunal froze the hearts of men with terror throughout the land; religious hatred mingled its bitter poison in the seething cauldron of provincial animosity—but of all these deadly enmities between the States of Germany, scarcely the memory remains. There is no country in the world, in which the sentiment of national brotherhood is stronger.

In Italy, on the breaking up of the Roman Empire, society might be said to be resolved into its original elements—into hostile atoms, whose only movement was that of mutual repulsion. Ruthless barbarians had destroyed the old organizations and covered the land with a merciless feudalism. As the new civilization grew up, under the wing of the Church, the noble families and the walled towns fell madly into conflict with each other; the secular feud of Pope and Emperor scourged the land; province against province; city against city; street against street, waged remorseless war against each other from father to son, till Dante was able to fill his imaginary hell with thd real demons of Italian history. So ferocious had the factions become that the great poet-exile himself, the glory of his native city and of his native language, was, by a decree of the municipality, ordered to be burned alive if found in the city of Florence. But these deadly feuds and hatreds yielded to political influences as the hostile cities were grouped into States under stable governments; the lingering traditions of the ancient animosities gradually died away, and now Tuscan and Lombard, Sardinian and Neapolitan, as if to shame the degenerate sons of America, are joining in one cry for an united Italy.

In France, not to go back to the civil wars of the league in the 16th century, and of the Fronde in the 17th; not to speak of the dreadful scenes throughout the kingdom which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, we have, in the great revolution which commenced at the close of the last century, seen the blood-hounds of civil strife let loose as rarely before in the history of the world. The reign of terror established at Paris, stretched its bloody Briarean arms to every city and village in the land, and if the most deadly feuds which ever divided a people had the power to cause permanent alienation and hatred, this surely was the occasion. But far otherwise was the fact. In seven years from the fall of Robespierre, the strong arm of the youthful conqueror brought order out of the chaos of crime and woe; Jacobins, whose hands were scarcely cleansed from the best blood of France, met the returning emigrants, whose estates they had confiscated, and whose kindred they had dragged to the guillotine in the imperial antichambers; and when, after another turn of the wheel of fortune, Louis XVIII was restored to his throne, he took the regicide Fouche, who had voted for his brother's death, to his cabinet and confidence.

The people of loyal America will never take to their confidence or admit again to a share in their government the hard-hearted men whose cruel lust of power has brought this desolating war upon the land, but there is no personal bitterness felt even against them. They may live, if they can bear to live, after wantonly causing the death of so many thousand fellow men; they may live in safe obscurity beneath the shelter of the government they have sought to overthrow, or they may fly to the protection of the governments of Europe—some of them are already there, seeking, happily in vain, to obtain the aid of foreign Powers in furtherance of their own treason. There let them stay. The humblest dead soldier, that lies cold and still in his grave before us is an object of envy beneath the clods that cover him, in comparison with the living man, who is willing to grovel at the foot of a foreign throne for assistance in compassing the ruin of his country.

But the hour is coming, and now is, when the power of the leaders of the rebellion to delude and inflame must cease. There is no bitterness on the part of the masses. The people of the south are not going to wage an eternal war, for the wretched pretexts by which this rebellion is south to be justified. The bonds that unite us as one people, a substantial community of origin, language, belief and law, (the four great ties that hold the societies of men together,) common national and political interests; a common history; a common pride in a glorious ancestry; a common interest in this great heritage of blessings; the very geographical features of the country; the mighty rivers that cross the lines of climate and thus facilitate the interchange of natural and industrial products; while the wonder-working arm of the engineer has levelled the mountain walls which separate the east and west, compelling your own Alleghanies, my Maryland and Pennsylvania friends, to open wide their everlasting doors to the chariot wheels of traffic and travel; these bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary, factitious, and transient. The heart of the people north and south is for the Union. Indications, too plain to be mistaken, announce the fact, both in the east and the west of the States in rebellion. In North Carolina and Arkansas the fatal charm at length is broken. At Raleigh and Little Rock the lips of honest and brave men are unsealed, and an independent press is unlimbering its artillery. The weary masses of the people are yearning to see the dear old flag floating again upon the capitols, and they sigh for the return of the peace, prosperity, and happiness which they enjoyed under a government whose power was felt only in its blessings.

And now, friends, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg and Pennsylvania, and you from remoter States, let me again invoke your benediction, as we part, on these honored graves. You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country that the men of the east and the men of the west, the men of nineteen sister States, stood side by side on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel it a new bond of union that they shall lay side by side, till a clarion louder than that which marshaled them to the combat shall awake their slumbers. God bless the Union!—it is dearer to us for the

blood of those brave men shed in its defence. The spots on which they stood and fell; these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath them; the thriving village, whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyonk the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and, while he gave up his own life, assured, by his forethought and self-sacrifice, the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks, in after times, the wondering ploughman will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery; the Seminary ridge, the peach orchard, Cemetery, Culp, and Wolf Hill, Round Top, Little Round Top—humble names, henceforward dear and famous; no lapse of time, no distance of space shall cause you to be forgotten. "The whole earth," said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens, who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponessian war, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." All time, he might have added, is the millenium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.

Letter from Edward Everett to Mr. Lincoln

"My Dear Sir:

Not wishing to intrude upon your privacy, when you must be much engaged, I beg in this way to thank you very sincerely for your great thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday, and much kindness otherwise 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 sentiment."

Letter from Mr. Lincoln to Edward Everett

"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 entirely a failure. Of course, I knew 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 the 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."

Forest H. Sweet Box 156 Battle Creek, Mich. List #142

37

A COLONIAL DAME'S LETTER

Anna Gerrish, autograph letter signed, Wenham, Oct. 3, 1722 to Mr. Richard Waldron, Junior, at Portsmouth, one page, with address on back.

"I intended a visit to Piscataqua all this summer but before I had a convenient opportunity for it, ye Noise of ye Enemy & ye Alarms of War & my own Weakness has prohibited me for ye present."

"Wherefore considering my own frailty as likewise your fathers, I thought fit to remind you of what you know already, that I have a bond of your father for a considerable sum of money & being desirous the matter may be settled before by decease, I desire you would take a journey to Wenham, otherwise it may hereafter be much to the prejudice of your fathers heirs, which I am desirous may be avoided.

"I sent a message by Coz. John Waldron & wonder I have not return, it being some months since. I am in debt which I never was before & am therefore under a necessity of making over the bond, to prevent which I desire you would give me an Opportunity of conversing with you speedily. In the meantime I remain with dues to you & your spouse, your obliged Aunt Anna Gerrish."

Women's letters of that period are scarce. $35.00

38

CONFEDERATE CURRENCY

Letter signed May 18, 1887 by the solicitor of the Treasury giving opinion that it was legal to "use old and original Confederate bills for advertising purposes" since "the law does not protect the currency of the late southern confederacy from the use to which you propose to devote it." $10.00

39

RICHARD H. DANA

Autograph letter signed Feb. 15 (no year) about receiving and mislaying a check, probably from a publisher. $4.50

40

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.

Autograph letter signed Apr. 17, 1847 to Rev. R. C. Waterston. "Has Coleridge any lines on the 'Christian Warrior'? I have a strong impression of having seen them. If he has, can you direct me to them?" etc. $6.50

41

GEN. HENRY DEARBORN

Chicago's "Father Dearborn."

Franked letter Apr. 17, 1806 about using DuPont's casks for Dr. Hunter's 1160 casks to be made for Dr. Hunter's and Dr. White's laboratories for storing salt petre for gun powder.

Autograph letter signed. 12.50

42

WILLIAM DENNISON

Lincoln's Postmaster General.

Autograph letter signed, 4 pages dated Columbus, Nov. 15. 1879 to Gen. B. R. Cowan about the Senatorial race in 1880 "the contest may be narrowed, finally, to Garfield and me, if no dark horse shall enter the lists. G. of course has some important advantages, but I am quite satisfied he hasn't a majority pledged to him" etc.

Dennison letters are scarce. $15.00

43

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

Third person autograph letter to Mr. Rylands, Aug. 4, 1855. $4.50

44

ENGLAND'S KING EDWARD VII

Autograph telegram in pencil signed A. E. dated Mar. 2, 18966 to the Countess of Warwick, giving her the news including "Vintila won Yacht Bennett cup today." $10.00

45

GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

8 x10 photograph in uniform signed in black ink in the margin below the portrait: *Dwight D. Eisenhower.*

Unusually attractive. $20.00

46

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Color printed broadside, 14 x 17 inches high, with seven lines small type at the bottom, under the Proclamation and within the ornate floral border, giving the publisher's personal opinion that "This Proclamation is an incalculable element of strength to the Union cause," etc.

Published by Rufus Blanchard, 52 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. (1863)

Minor marginal damage. $17.50

47

REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO ACT—1808

Double folio broadside 17 x 14 inches high, folded, dated Nov. 16, 1808, the Resolutions of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, concurred in by the Senate, to instruct their Congressmen and Senators to work for the repeal of the Embargo Act; at the same time agreeing to "cheerfully support the General Government in the prosecution of a just and necessary War."

The right half of the broadside lists the names of the 444 members of the Legislature and records their Yea or Nay votes. $15.00

48

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Autograph letter signed, Concord, Nov. 3, 1837 to R. C. Waterston at Cambridge. . . . "Thanks too for your friendly interest in my present labors. Worldly wise men say there's a great deal of luck in every success, by which I suppose they only mean, what is true in every literary work, that we are only recorders, not makers, and therefore what we record lies not in our wills but above them. Yet we are always learning that the dealing out is after some law and if our dole is sand today, it may be water tomorrow; and the soul is sure that if it will only wait, justice shall be done and each shall have all. So I try to comfort myself when I get no inspirations," etc. $35.00

49

EDWARD EVERETT

Series of ten autograph letters signed various dates Jan. 15, 1855 - Aug. 18, 1862, to Charles Deane of Cambridge, Mass. One of the letters reveals a personal trait: ' ' ' "I hope no one of the Trustees will be at the trouble to attend me. I do not like to talk, while the carriage is in motion, & it is rather more agreeable to me, just before speaking, to be alone." The lot of 10 $25.00

50

EDWARD EVERETT

Engraved (by Pendleton, Boston) parchment certificate of election of Hon. Edward Everett as resident mmeber of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 27, 1820. Signed by the President Jno. Davis and by the secretaries Cha. Lowell and Gamaliel Bradford. $12.50

51

EDWARD EVERETT

Small franked envelope with clear Boston postal cancellation. $2.50

52

WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Clerk-written blank warrant for survey, filled in and signed by William Fairfax, Proprietors Office, Feb. 15, 1752, directed to John Baylis to survey 400 acres to Isaac Fouracre of Frederick County. On back is assignment of the tract signed by Fouracre and witnessed by John Baylis and John Strode.

Repaired by strengthening the folds on the back. $25.00

53

U. S. WAR IN CHINA

Admiral A. H. Foote, commanding U. S. Fleet in Pacific. One page autograph letter signed U.S.S. Portsmouth, Nov. 26, 1856, to his fleet surgeon, W. M. Wood, asking for a list of killed and wounded in the attacks on the Chinese forts.

Foote had arrived at Canton, China, on the eve of hostilities between the British and Chinese. He set himself to the task of protecting American citizens and their property. Four Chinese forts fired on Foote. Foote promptly bombarded the forts, stormed and took them with a loss of 40 men against a Chinese loss of 400.

Dr. Wood knew China and the Chinese and in the letter Foote asks him to come talk with him about future action. $25.00

54

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Englishman John Milton, printer of The London Evening Post, ran a paragraph about the Russian Ambassador for which the British Ministry brought a criminal action against him.

His plea to the Court is printed in full in *The Salem Gazette* for April 18, 1782, with editorial comment: . . . "John Miller, the printer, hath more sense, more honesty, candour, and fortitude, than the King of England and all his Ministry, with Lord Mansfield at the head of them, put together." . . .

His plea ends: "I have served the public fourteen years . . . the last seven years in decrying and exposing the wickedness and folly of the ACCURSED AMERICAN WAR! I now sit down on oppressed and distressed man. And though without a shilling in my pocket, with a wife and seven children, I go to prison, in the utmost confidence of my soul, casting them upon the public for protection and support."

Complete original newspaper. $15.00

55

END OF FRENCH & INDIAN WAR

Address of Massachusetts Legislature to the Governor, rejoicing at the end of that long and costly war, reported fully in The Boston Gazette for June 6, 1763.

Complete original newspaper, with two lines in the advertisement at lower right of page one inked over as if for photographing for some reproduction. $15.00

56

JAMES GADSDEN

Negotiated the Gadsden Purchase.

Bill of Sale of negro slave Sandy for $1100, signed and dated Charleston, S. C., Feb. 10, 1853, on printed legal form. $15.00

. . . APPROVALS . . .

All SALES MADE ON APPROVAL

Everett Mixed Lee, Meade; Lincoln Corrected Him, But Crowd Didn't Hear

Orator's 2-Hour Speech Forgotten, While 'Afterthought' 2-Minute Talk By President Has Become Classic; Reaction Mixed At Time

Allentown Sunday News

On Monday, the second draft of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address will be delivered from the Library of Congress to Gettysburg by armed guard. There it will be on view at the Gettysburg National Bank for the 88th anniversary program of the famous event.

But no armed guard will deliver a copy of the main oration of the day made by the Hon. Edward Everett. It won't even be mentioned. So goes the unpredictable judgment of time.

Yet, that day, the audience was so lost in Everett's oratory that they didn't notice Lincoln's classic, nor did they hear Everett garble his lines—got to saying General Lee when he meant General Meade. This and other colorful slants are given in the following article by George L. Heiges, Lancaster County historian and author, from comments of that day.

George Heiges

By GEORGE L. HEIGES

Originally set for October 23, 1863, the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg was moved forward ~~more than~~ almost a month to Nov. 19 for the single reason that the selected Orator, Honorable Edward Everett, desired that date.

In accepting the invitation of David Wills of Gettysburg, Mr. Everett pointed out that "The occasion is one of great importance, not to be dismissed with a few sentimental or patriotic commonplaces." It would demand, said he "a narrative of the events of the three important days, and some appropriate discussion of the political character of the great struggle." No, Mr. Everett could not "safely name an earlier time than the 19th of November."

Highly esteemed by reason by his years of public service as pastor, editor, Governor of Massachusetts, Minister to Great Britain, President of Harvard, Secretary of State, and United States Senator; and moreover reputed to be the ablest orator of the day, Mr. Everett was rightly chosen to deliver the oration at the dedication of the national cemetery. He accepted the invitation to Gettysburg on Sept. 26 and so had almost two months in which to fashion a lengthy oration.

2 Weeks To Think

It was only on Nov. 2 that a tardy invitation was dispatched to President Abraham Lincoln "to set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks." Lincoln therefore had but two weeks in which to think of the substance of his brief remarks to be made at Gettysburg.

On the evening of Monday, Nov. 16, Mr. Everett arrived at Gettysburg, and for the following two days with Professor Michael Jacobs of Gettysburg College as an able guide became thoroughly familiar with the scarred terrain which had been the scene of the battle of the century four months previous.

Even on dedication day at the very hour when the exercises in the new national cemetery were scheduled to commence, Everett and his guide were still traversing the battlefield. For one half-hour the President of the United States, with thousands of fellow Americans, listened to band music while they waited with patience for the arrival of the orator of the day.

With the appearance of Mr. Everett, the dedication program began with an impressive prayer by Dr. Thomas S. Stockton, chaplain of the United States Senate. Following this came the reading of letters of regret from Generals Winfield Scott and George Gordon Meade. Then Birgfield's Band from Philadelphia rendered the long meter hymn tune of 'Old Hundred.' As the last note of that grand old hymn died on the breeze, master of ceremonies Marshal Ward Hill Lamon with a few choice words introduced Honorable Edward Everett who stepped briskly to the front of the platform to begin his oration.

'Cheer-Leader' Squelched

"Some idiot in the crowd at once proposed three cheers for Everett, which the good sense of the people immediately decided so irreverent upon such an occasion that no one responded and Mr. Idiot subsided." (Washington Chronicle)

Being ready to speak, "Mr. Everett turned to Mr. Lincoln and making a very low bow, said 'Mr. President' who recognized him with 'Mr. Everett.' The orator then turned to the multitude." (Cincinnati Gazette)

Mr. Everett's oration opened with these sentences:

"Standing beneath this serene sky, overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labour of the waning year, the mighty Alleghenies towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and nature. But the duty to which you have called me must be performed. Grant me, I pray you, your indulgence and your sympathy."

And then for one hour and fifty-seven minutes, Edward Everett, without the use of manuscript or notes, poured out his eloquence on the gathered thousands of listeners.

8,000 Heard Every Word

For an on-the-spot impression of the great oratorical effort of Edward Everett and of the orator, we turn to a journalistic report of the day. Dr. J. J. Marks, Washington preacher and correspondent for "The American Presbyterian and Genesee Evangelist," wrote fully of the Gettysburg proceedings, which included this appraisal of Mr. Everett:

"The orator, venerable and white headed indeed, but hale, and bright eyed (spoke) with a voice so full and strong that eight thousand people in the open air could hear every word. The face and head of Mr. Everett are strongly intellectual and classical and he has the look of a man who has given his whole life to philosophical pursuits. His manner was most self-possessed and dignified and in the nearly two hours of his speech, there was not one break or discord in the even flow of his sonorous oration."

Continuing his report, Dr. Marks used the following phrases in giving his analysis of Everett's address, "faultless in style and utterance" . . . "occasionally eloquent" . . . "moved many to tears" . . . "had the ring throughout of true metal" . . . 'fully defended the government" . . . 'indicated righteousness of our cause" . . . "certainly of our final triumph" . . . "tone was devout and Christian."

After reading such very complimentary phrases describing the lengthy Everett oration, Dr. Marks' evaluation of the oration in its entirety comes as a surprise. Dr. Marks wrote, "As a great effort of one of the most distinguished men of the age, I do not think it will add much to the renown of Mr. Everett. It shows him to be indeed a true patriot, a man of heart, but there is in the production little of that breadth of vision which will give it power in the future, and few of those great and splendid thoughts, which, like precious gems in a crown, no time can dim nor the dust of ages cloud their radiance."

Phila. Paper Didn't Like It

For a harsh and uncharitable of Mr. Everett's oration, we include here these comments from "The Daily Age" of Philadelphia.

"Seldom has a man talked so long and said so little. He

told us nothing about the dead heroes, nothing of their former deeds, nothing of their glories before they fell, like conquerors, before that greater conqueror Death. He gave us plenty of words, but no heart. His flowers of rhetoric were as beautiful and as scentless and as lifeless as wax flowers. His style was as clear and as cold as Croton ice. He talked like a historian, or an encyclopaedist, or an essayist, but not like an orator. He has produced, not a great oration, but a great disappointment."

Nevertheless, in that great gathering at Gettysburg, there were few persons who then or later severely picked Everett's effusion to pieces. The thousand of listeners were intent on what the orator had to say and were attentive to the end of the discourse. The "Harrisburg Telegraph" account stated that "Mr. Everett was listened to with marked attention throughout . . . The vast assemblage gathered within a circle of great extent around the stand were so quiet and attentive that every word uttered by the orator of the day must have been heard by them all." Such comments testify to the remarkable degree of tolerance which listeners of the previous century had for lengthy perorations.

Lincoln Caught Mistake

In the "Cincinnati Daily Gazette" of Nov. 23, 1863, one may read "Perhaps the most attentive and appreciative listener was Mr. Lincoln himself. He seemed to be absorbed in profound thought till the speech was broken by a mistake of the orator in saying 'General Lee' when he should have said 'General Meade,' which mistake caused the President to turn to Seward and with a loud voice say 'General Meade,' but the orator seemed not to hear it at this time, even thought the President spoke his correction loud enough to secure a correction by the author.

Everett used the name of Lee for Meade the second time which called from Mr. Lincoln a still louder correction, which the orator heard, and turning around, bowed very low, acknowledging the error, and apologizing for it."

To Junius Remensynder, student at Gettysburg College, the President appeared to be uneasy during Everett's lengthy delivery. This was his impression: "Lincoln was seated in a very tall rocker, that looked as if especially made for his gaunt frame. He appeared bored by the address. Its great length and the brilliant rays of the sun pouring upon him as upon the crowd seemed to make him uneasy. He swayed to and from, assuming all manner of attitudes, giving him the appearance of decided weariness."

Lincoln Got Nervous

Another Gettysburg student, Henry Jacobs, son of Everett's guide over the battlefield, also intently watched Lincoln during the dedicatory proceedings and in "Lincoln's Gettysburg World Message" left us his memory of the great event. "As Everett came to the close of his long effort, Lincoln was showing signs of nervousness and was not intent on Everett's words. Everett had just said 'And now, fellow citizens of Gettysburg, and you from remoter states, let me again, as we part, invoke your benediction on these honored graves.' Lincoln drew from his pocket a metallic spectacle case, took out a pair of steel glasses, which he adjusted near the tip of his nose. Then reaching into a side pocket of his coat, he produced a crumpled piece of paper, which he first carefully smoothed out and read a few moments.

"Now, Mr. Everett had reached the last sentence of his address, 'Wheresoever throughout the civilized world, the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates to the Battles of Gettysburg.' Mr. Lincoln had by this time put his paper back into the pocket of his coat."

Abraham Lincoln was ready to take his own brief part in the dedicatory ceremonies, and after the singing of the specially prepared Commemoration Ode, the head of the nation, Honorable Abraham Lincoln was presented by Marshall Lamon. Just two minutes later Lincoln finished declaiming his Gettysburg Address.

Everett Praised Talk

It may be that Lincoln's address was not fully appreciated in his own day but one who did realized its significance on the day after its delivery was Mr. Everett. This is what he wrote to Lincoln. "Permit me 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."

Lincoln of course returned Mr. Everett's note with his own felicitations of the worth of Everett's address. Mr. Lincoln wrote "Of course, I knew 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 expectation."

Any American who will take the time to read Edward Everett's Gettysburg Address will agree with Lincoln that it was "eminently satisfactory." However, few Americans, know the Everett masterpiece, while every American is familiar with Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and reveres it as the greatest spoken American classic. Mr. Everett and his two-hour speech have long been forgotten by most of his countrymen. Mr. Lincoln and his two-minute address live on.

The Hobbyhorse Hitching Post

A Corner Devoted to the Hobbies of Rotarians and Their Families

A TALL, gaunt man rose to speak. "The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here," he declared during the course of his remarks. That was 76 years ago, but what he said there in just two minutes lives on as one of the greatest speeches uttered in the English language. Many stories have been told of how Abraham Lincoln wrote and delivered the Gettysburg Address, but most of them are unfounded, reports ROTARIAN HENRY E. LUHRS, *of Shippensburg, Pa., whose hobby is Lincolniana. Here he reviews the circumstances under which the speech was given as described more fully in his book,* Lincoln at the Wills Home and the Gettysburg Address.

* * *

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was not scrawled on brown wrapping paper or on the back of an envelope. It was not written before or during the President's train trip from Washington, D. C., to Gettysburg, Pa. Nor after the delivery of this message did the audience, too impressed to applaud, remain silent.

The first page of the first draft of this eloquent address—now safeguarded with the pencilled second page in the Library of Congress—was written in ink on White House stationery, but that does not prove it was written in the White House. John G. Nicolay, the President's private secretary, mistakenly makes such an assumption in his ten-volume *Abraham Lincoln, A History*. Actually Lincoln and his secretary did not discuss this speech with each other in either Washington or Gettysburg.

Though copies of the speech of Edward Everett, orator of the day, were supplied in advance, none of Lincoln's remarks could be obtained. John R. Young, Philadelphia *Press* reporter, later remarked, "I'm afraid I pestered Hay on the subject of an advance sight of the manuscript, were there one; but Hay, ever generous and helpful, as I remember, either knew no more than I did or would not tell me." He referred to John Hay, the President's assistant private secretary.

Actually Lincoln had little time in which to prepare his speech. For some time it had been known that Everett would give the oration of the day in the ceremonies dedicating the national cemetery on November 19, 1863. Apparently it was almost as an afterthought that Judge David Wills, who had charge of arrangements, wrote a letter to the President on November 9 in which he said, "It is the desire that you, as Chief Executive of the nation, formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks."

Despite his heavy duties as a war President, Lincoln accepted, arriving by train the evening before the ceremonies. A guest in Judge Wills's home, he asked his host to come to his room about 9 or 10 o'clock that evening. The house in which Lincoln was a guest now is owned by ROTARIAN P. W. STALLSMITH, of Gettysburg.

"I went and found him with paper prepared to write," said the Judge in recalling Lincoln's visit, "and he said that he had just seated himself to put on paper a few thoughts for the tomorrow's exercises. After a full talk on the subject I left him."

About 11 o'clock that evening Judge Wills accompanied the President to the house in which Secretary of State Seward was staying. It was from the piece of paper upon which he had seen Lincoln writing and which the President took with him when he called on his Secretary of State that the speech was read the following day, says Wills, who was there.

When Lincoln delivered his address, the long applause that followed Edward Everett's oration had not yet subsided. A photographer in front of him was vainly trying to get a picture of the President. When Lincoln sat down after speaking only two minutes, the crowd laughed at the photographer's dismay.

It was Everett rather than the audience who recognized the greatness of the Gettysburg Address. To Lincoln he wrote, "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."

Today the world still notes, still remembers, what a tall, gaunt man said at Gettysburg. It will always note, always remember, the ten sentences, the 267 words, he wrote in a bedroom in Judge Wills's home. And his concept of government will give direction to the destinies of many peoples.

Bedroom in Judge Wills's home where Lincoln prepared his Gettysburg Address.

Photo: Rotarian P. A. Kinsey

Gettysburg Address Circumstances Hard Put By Varied Turns

The circumstances of Lincoln's Gettysburg address are told in an amusing, down to the earth style in an old newspaper clipping that is part of a Civil war scrapbook owned by Mrs. George Huffaker, 600 South Second street. Although the paper's bannerhead is missing it is evident the publication was from a large midwestern city.

Told in the rambling style of old newspaper days that left the best to the last, the account begins with the reporter's difficulty in arriving at Gettysburg by train.

In high disgust he writes, "I started from Cincinnati on Monday at 6 a. m. and arrived at Gettysburg at 11 p. m. Wednesday night. At Harrisburg the governor's train was to leave at 1:30 p. m. and got off at 3:30 p. m. In the course of an hour we made seventeen miles when the engine broke and the train had to wait until another one could be brought from Harrisburg. The balance of the distance to Hanover junction—some thirty miles—we made in one and a half hours."

Crowd Of 40,000.

Arriving in Gettysburg, he found the city of 5,000 thronged with a crowd of 40,000. The next morning at daybreak thousands were astir. The account states, "Many of the old-fashioned Pennsylvania wagons with canvas covers and large enough to carry a cargo came in, drawn by four and six horses and loaded with people.

"Before the exercises began at 11 a. m., many examined the marks of the conflict, the graves of the dead of both sides, and the skeletons of horses that are thick in the localities of the batteries."

The procession with Ward A. Lamon, chief marshal of the day, moved from the public square at 10 a. m. and reached the stand on cemetery hill at 10:45 a. m.

Maintaining his critical attitude, the reporter observed, 'The president took his seat upon the front settee with Secretary Seward on his left. No chair was there for the chief magistrate of the republic, but an old, dingy, uncushioned settee was the seat of the chief dignitaries of the nation during the exercise of three hours!"

Open With Dirge.

The proceedings opened with an original dirge by a Philadelphia band; a long, oratorical prayer was given by Rev. T. H. Stockton; the band played "Old One Hundred" and Edward Everett was introduced. Of his efforts the discerning newspaperman said, "He had committed the two hours production to memory and delivered it without the manuscript or prompter.

"In no portion of it did he seem to hesitate, so throughly was it memorized. It it worth remarking, however, that in pronouncing the portion devoted to an account of the battle, his mind seemed slightly to wander, and his delivery appeared mechanical.

"For example, he used the name of General Lee when it should have been General Meade, which mistake so startled the president from his intense attention that he looked up, turned to Secretary Seward, and quite audibly made the correction. The orator, however, neither heard the president, nor noticed it himself. After a few minutes, the same mistake was made, which called out from Mr. Lincoln a still louder correction, which the orator heard, and turning around, bowed very low, acknowledged the error and apologized for it.

President Speaks.

At long last, following another dirge sung by the Union Musical association of Baltimore, the president spoke. Concerning this the writer noted, "The address was about five minutes long and was the right thing in the right place and by universal encomium a perfect thing in every respect. The president read it in a modest, unpretending style."

The account closes with the effort of the reporter to get his report out over the one wire to Gettysburg, and the mistakes made by the operators in transmitting it. The reader gathers it was with great relief this somewhat cynical young man returned to the middlewest where citizens were intelligent and the train ran on schedule.

Lee State Journal + Register 5/17/42

Lincoln at Gettysburg

By Professor J. Howard Wert.

(Continued From Yesterday).

As Gettysburg was in many respects the most hostly contested and most decisive battle of the Civil War, so was it the first field upon which a cemetery for the fallen Union soldiers was planned on an extensive and durable scale. The work was planned less than a month after the conflict, and carried on energetically and efficiently.

Immediately after the battle Governor Andrew G. Curtin, always on the alert in behalf of wounded and suffering soldiers, came to the field to do all in his power to alleviate distress. When his executive duties compelled him to return to Harrisburg he deputized Hon. David Wills as his personal agent to carry on the work. He could not have selected a more competent man.

Mr. Wills was horror-stricken with the shocking sights presented to his view on the recent field of carnage—sights incident to every great battle, which it is not necessary here to particularize. July 24, he wrote to Governor Curtin in regard to the collection of the Union dead in one burial ground. The reply of the Governor was promptly given, and was an emphatic endorsement of the plan. The authorities of the other seventeen States having dead at Gettysburg were addressed on the subject. The plan met the speedy concurrence of all.

Work of Removing the Bodies

The work of removing the bodies was most carefully and conscientiously done by competent men. It was begun October 27, 1863; but, on account of the severity of the Winter, was not completed until March 18, 1864, so that not all the dead were reposing in the consecrated ground at the time of Lincoln's immortal address. The total number interred during this time was 3,512. This, however, was far from including all the soldiers of the Potomac Army killed in the battle or who subsequently died in the hospitals from wounds received. This battlefield, with its location in the North, afforded facilities for the removal of the dead which had not existed in the case of southern fields of carnage. Consequently, for months after the roar of the cannon had ceased and the contending hosts had departed, the embalmers' tents were numerous, and all did an extensive business. Sometimes as many as forty dead from Gettysburg reached Harrisburg on a single train, to be forwarded to various locations North, East and West.

Location of National Cemetery

The spot selected and purchased by Mr. Wills was a most admirable one, being the elevated front of Cemetery Hill, facing toward the Blue Mountains through the passes of which the foe had advanced and retreated. It was the centre and very key of Meade's admirable strategic position.

When I saw the lots, which afterwards became the cemetery, on July 4, 1863, the whole surface was a trodden, miry mass. Fences, crops, shrubbery, fruit trees had all disappeared as if swept away by the besom of destruction. The whole length through which this beautiful burial place of the dead now extends, from the Baltimore pike to the Taneytown road, was one continuous line of massed cannon. Other guns thickly studded the pike itself and the adjacent knolls of East Cemetery Hill.

Lincoln and Everett could have stood on no portion of the field more inspiring to their utterances. At their feet were gathered the dead who "had here paid their last full measure of devotion. From the rostrum they occupied could be seen substantially the whole of both lines of battle—the wooded heights of Culp's Hill on the one side, of the Round Tops on the other, against which the southern legions had been hurled in charge after charge. A mile or more away, mountainward, ran the low spurs of the Seminary ridge along which had extended Lee's line of battle. Against the hill on which the speakers stood had beat the furious attacks of the Louisiana Tigers on one side, of the veteran commands that had formed Pickett's left supports on the other—but all in vain.

Delegation of Fifty Wounded Soldiers

But to the ground hallowed with so much costly patriot blood and to the dead of the field, there was added an additional inspiration, for the struggling nation's Chief Executive, in the presence of fifty men wounded in the battle who had come up from the York hospital to pay a last tribute to their fallen comrades. During the exercises tears flowed copiously down their bronzed cheeks, indicative of their heartfelt sympathy in the solemn scene before them.

From none others could tears of unfeigned grief fall upon these graves with so much sad appreciation. These veterans lingered over the graves after the crowd had dispersed, then slowly went away, their faith strengthened in a republic's gratitude. President Lincoln shook hands with these men, one after another, with a heartiness of clasp that spoke the fullness of his heart, and passed to them words of cheer and condolence as far as the time would permit.

When the head of the procession had reached the grounds, shortly after 11 o'clock of the forenoon, the President and the members of his Cabinet, together with the Governors, invited guests of the army and navy, and the chiefs of the various military and civic delegations, ascended the rostrum constructed for the occasion where Mr. Lincoln was seated between Messrs. Seward and Everett. Here the solemnity of the occasion precluded the noisy demonstrations of welcome which had greeted the President in his passage through the town. The reception was one of respect and profound silence, every man in that vast assemblage uncovering as the Chief Executive ascended the steps and thus remaining for a considerable time. But it was noticed and commented on that none seemed to gaze with as loving fondness upon the nation's head as did those fifty wounded heroes.

Effect of His Speech

Immediately following Everett's oration the hymn of B. B. French written for the occasion was sung by the Union Glee Club, of Baltimore. Then Lincoln arose. During the entire delivery of his brief address his eyes seemed to be specially directed to these fifty wounded survivors of the great battle. As to the veterans themselves, they appeared to drink in every word, whilst many of them were weeping all the time. Apparently those men, many of them comparatively unlettered, had grasped instinctively, long before numerous auditors of much higher culture, the fact that one of the world's gems of thought had been born. The simple words of the President spoke to their very souls, and touched them as the sublime flights of Everett had not.

Everett's Oration Compared With Lincoln's

In a recent communication I called attention to the fact that, to many of the listeners, the President's few words were a temporary disappointment. They were not able on the instant to grasp their sublimity. There may have been those that would have derided the idea that they would live with ever-increasing vigor the world over when Everett's glowing periods were entirely forgotten. I have before me a newspaper, published immediately after the exercises, which gives Everett's oration in full, extending through twelve columns, aggregating some 15,000 words, whilst what Lincoln said is crowded into an obscure corner and presented in thirty-six lines type the minutest.

Yet is Everett's oration a most scholarly effort, in the happiest vein, which is far from deserving the oblivion into which it has fallen. It has simply been overshadowed by the greatness with which it came in contrast. The great orator's language is smooth, as indeed it could be naught else coming from Edward Everett.

Choice Bits From Everett's Oration

The greater part of it consists of a most interesting and graphic history of the entire battle, followed by an able discussion of the political character of the whole great struggle of which "Gettysburg," as Everett phrases it, "was one of the most moem isotncunestinduc..kv 23 12345 momentous incidents." Yet does the oration abound in gems of thought felicitiously expressed, as:

"All time is the millenium of their glory."

"Scarcely has the cannon ceased to roar, when the brethren and the sisters of Christian benevolence, ministers of compassion, angels of pity, hasten to the field and the hospital, to moisten the parched tongue, to bind the ghastly wounds, to soothe the panting agonies alike of friend and foe, and to catch the last whispered message of love from dying lips."

"The humblest dead soldier, that lies cold and stiff in his grave before us, is an object of envy, beneath the clods that cover him, in comparison with the living man, I care not with what trumpery credentials he may be furnished, who is willing to grovel at the foot of a foreign throne for assistance in compassing the ruin of his country."

"You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country, that the men of the East and the men of the West, the men of eighteen sister States, stood side by side, on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel that it is a new bond of union, that they shall lie side by side, till the clarion, louder than that which marshaled them to the combat, shall awake their slumbers. God bless the Union! It is dearer to us for the blood of brave men which has been shed in its defense"

"I am sure the brave of other fields will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates the battle of Gettysburg."

Not only is this, in many respects, the most complete of all Everett's orations; but there can be no doubt that he himself intended that it should be the crowning glory of his long and honorable career. For forty years he had been one of the land's favorite orators, but never before had he appeared on an occasion so important and under circumstances so auspicious to make the civilized world his audience.

Date Was Fixed By Everett

His preparation was most elaborate. When, in September, he received the unanimous call from the authorities of eighteen States to be the Gettysburg orator at the dedicatory ceremonies, to be held October 23, his reply was that the occasion was one so vast in its historic importance as to require a preparation far more extended than could be made in the time allowed—that if he was to be the orator of the occasion, he could not be ready before November 19. That date therefore was selected solely as an accommodation to Everett.

During the interim the orator placed himself in communication with General Meade, commander of the victorious army at Gettysburg; General Halleck, commander-in-chief of the armies; Colonel John B. Bachalder, the Gettysburg historian, ag other competent authorities who plgh ed all available data at his commarst He himself came to the battlefieR November 16, and passed three dari in an exhaustive study of all the le calities made famous in the greac conflict. He therefore had all th time which he demanded and all tho aid that could be made accessory te his own wonderful genius.

Emerson Tells the Reason

If then it be asked why Everett's brilliant production is unknown today; Lincoln's few lines, immortal? I will answer the query in the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson:

"I believe it to be true that where any orator at the bar or the Senate, rises in his thought, he descends in his language; that is, when he rises to any height of thought or passion, he comes down to a language level with the ear of all his audience. It is the merit of John Brown and of Abraham Lincoln—one at Charlestown, one at Gettysburg—in the two best specimens of eloquence we have had in this country."

President Lincoln and John L. Burns

I would like to speak of the impassioned prayer delivered over the dead of Gettysburg by Rev. Thomas H. Stockton, the venerable chaplain of the United States Senate; of the equally fervent invocation and benediction pronounced there by the scholarly Rev. Dr. H. L. Baughery, president of Gettysburg College; and of many other things connected with the day Abraham Lincoln spent on the ground consecrated by the blood of patriot thousands. A single incident, however, must suffice for a conclusion.

In the previous number it was stated that one of the distinguished men present at Gettysburg, November 19, was Colonel Anderson, a brother of the brave Kentuckian who held Fort Sumter when the flag was first assailed. The colonel, who had just been elected Lieutenant Governor of Ohio by a majority considered phenomenal in that day, was known as a most uncompromising foe of secession, as well as an eloquent and forceful speaker. He was invited to deliver an address in the Presbyterian church, at the corner of Baltimore and High streets, and accepted, the time scheduled being 5 o'clock in the evening. The church was crowded to its utmost capacity, and for each one within there were ten without unable to gain admission. President Lincoln and many of the Governors were present, and an interesting story is connected with Lincoln's presence.

There had been an old man resident in the town for many years who was the most bitter foe of the rebellion against the United States that I have ever heard speak. Despite his seventy years, he had made repeated and frantic, but unavailing efforts, to get into the army in some capacity. When the battle of July 1, 1863, opened within a mile of his own door, his aged veteran of the War of 1812 saw the coveted opportunity of fighting without any one's leave being granted, and sailed in.

He received three wounds, and a few days later the name of John L. Burns had flown around the world on the wings of fame. The man, who had been in earlier life a drunken village cobbler, and, at a later day, a constable who was the butt of the boys and young toughs of the place, the man who had been treated with scant courtesy by a majority of his townsmen, was now extolled in song and story. Pecuniary contributions in considerable sums were showered upon him from distant points, whilst the greatest of the nation, as they visited this field of the nation's glory, felt themselves honored in being permitted to enter his humble cottage and clasp his hand.

Now, to crown all, Abraham Lincoln sent a deputation of three to Burns, asking him to come to the Wills' mansion to accompany the President and Secretary of State to Colonel Anderson's address. Baltimore street was a surging mass along the fourth of a mile that Lincoln and Burns marched arm in arm, the President and his tall silk hat towering far above the little stooped veteran beside him, and above all who were on the street.

They seemed an ill assorted pair, and they certainly could not keep step, try as they would; but Burns looked reverently up at the man towering above him, and the one who towered above him looked lovingly down at the bent and wounded patriot to whom he had said, with fervor, when he first clasped his hand: "God bless you, old man."

CONGER

The Two Gettysburg Addresses

Oliver M. Keve

ANTICIPATING a visit to the Gettysburg battlefield, I applied at the public library in a large city in that region for a copy of Edward Everett's Gettysburg address.

I was met with the blunt statement that there was no such thing—and didn't I mean Lincoln's Gettysburg address?

No, I was emphatic that it was Everett's and not Lincoln's address that I wanted at that particular time. The head librarian was called, and to her my request was repeated. It was no use. I was told again, and this time with an air of finality, that it was Lincoln and not Everett who delivered the Gettysburg address.

I then asked if they would kindly let me have all of the books in the library in any way relating to Edward Everett. Before long a colored boy appeared with an armload of books, and soon I found what I wanted. Would it have been mean for me to say to the librarian, "I told you so"? Well, that is exactly what I did.

Everett's brilliant speech of two hours' length is now all but lost sight of, yet it bulked large in the news of the day, and also has permanent value for the student of that momentous struggle. Forney, in his *Anecdotes of Public Men,* says:—

"Mr. Lincoln was seated between Edward Everett and William H. Seward on the main stand, and around them were other members of the Cabinet and the great war Governors, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Morton of Indiana, Parker of New Jersey, Todd of Ohio, Governor-elect Brough and ex-Governor Denison of Ohio. General Mead could not attend because he was detained at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, was kept in Washington by official duties. The procession and the crowd were immense, and included men of all parties and all conditions. . . . From Cemetery Hill the eloquent words of Everett were spoken."

Soldiers from seventeen States had taken part in the battle, and the Governors of those States were invited to consider together the project for a national cemetery on the battlefield.

These Governors were unanimous in their choice of Everett for orator of the occasion. He had been Governor of Massachusetts, member of Congress, United States Senator, president of Harvard University, minister to the Court of St. James and Secretary of State.

Several weeks after Everett had been formally notified of his selection, it seemed to occur to the committee that the President of the United States should be invited. The following letter was sent to Mr. Lincoln by Mr. David Wills of the town of Gettysburg:—

"The States having soldiers who were killed at Gettysburg have procured grounds on a prominent part of the field for a cemetery and are having the dead removed to them and properly buried. These grounds will be consecrated and set apart to this sacred purpose by appropriate ceremonies on the 19th. Hon. Edward Everett will deliver the oration. I am authorized by the Governors of the different States to invite you to be present and participate in these ceremonies, which will be very imposing and solemnly impressive. It is the desire that, after the oration, you, as Chief Executive, set apart these grounds by a few appropriate remarks."

John Hay evidently was not impressed with Mr. Lincoln on this particular occasion, noting in his diary that "Everett spoke, as he always does, perfectly; and the President, in a firm, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half-dozen lines of consecration."

But these half-dozen lines of consecration, as Hay termed them, or the "few appropriate remarks" as suggested by the committee, have actually become The Gettysburg Address.

Edward Everett himself was among the

Announcement

33

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16, 1863.

It seems to be understood that the President of the United States will take part in the ceremonies at the dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery on Thursday next. This will be the first visit of the Chief Magistrate to the free States since his election. It will be impossible for him to extend his tour. The preparation of his Message to the Thirty-eighth Congress, which begins on the first Monday in the coming December, will compel his immediate return. His solicitude for the families of the brave men who fell on the first, second, and third of July last, and his deep interest in the dedication of the great cemetery near Gettysburg, where the mortal remains of many still repose, have induced him to accept the earnest invitation of the committee. A very large concourse may be expected on that interesting occasion, and from all I hear, many prominent officers and civilians will take part in the ceremony. Mr. Everett's oration or obituary, carefully elaborated and prepared, will probably be the finest production of his life. What a wonderful man is Edward Everett! His long experience in public affairs, his ripe scholarship, his fervent patriotism, his prudent, and yet his thorough statesmanship, and his pure and stainless private character, have contributed immensely to the honor and to the welfare of his country. I know of no citizen who could so well afford to die this day with the sweet consciousness that his whole career has been but one unselfish tribute to the good of his race, and to the safety and honor of the nation. Not to speak of the manner in which he has filled the various high stations he has occupied, or of the manner in which he has discharged their most delicate and complicated duties, his splendid efforts to secure and seal to the Republic the home and the grave of Washington would alone immortalize him. A fitting representative, then, is Edward Everett to speak of the gallantry of the living and the dead who have made the name of Gettysburg illustrious in American annals. And if anything more were necessary to make Thursday next memorable in our history, it would be the fact that the greatest philanthropist and orator of our times will speak to an audience of many thousands, and will celebrate the heroism of brave men with the good, and wise, and straight-forward President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, at his side.

OCCASIONAL.

Jersey's War Press 11-21-63

The Two Gettysburg Speeches

The quiet November landscape slipped past the rattling train, and the President's deep-set eyes stared out at it gravely, a bit listlessly. From time to time he talked with those about him; from time to time there were flashes of that quaint wit which is linked, as his greatness, with his name. . . . There was . . . a speech to be made tomorrow to thousands who would expect their President to say something to them worth the listening of a people who were making history; something brilliant, eloquent, strong. The melancholy gaze glittered with a grim smile. He—Abraham Lincoln—the lad bred in a cabin, tutored in rough schools here and there, fighting for, snatching at crumbs of learning that fell from rich tables, struggling to a hard knowledge which well knew its own limitations—it was he of whom this was expected. He glanced across the car. Edward Everett sat there, the orator of the following day, the finished gentleman, the careful student, the heir of traditions of learning and breeding, of scholarly instincts and resources. . . . From him the people might expect and would get a balanced and polished oration. . . . Abraham Lincoln, with the clear thought in his mind of what he would say, found the sentences that came to him colorless, wooden. A wonder flashed over him once or twice of Everett's skill with these symbols which, it seemed to him, were to the Bostonian a key-board facile to make music, to Lincoln tools to do his labor. He put the idea aside, for it hindered him. As he found the sword fitted to his hand he must fight with it; it might be that he, as well as Everett, could say that which should go straight from him to his people, to the nation who struggled at his back toward a goal. At least each syllable he said should be chiseled from the rock of his sincerity. . . .

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the day following, on November 19, 1863, a vast, silent multitude billowed, like the waves of the sea, over what had been not long before the battlefield of Gettyburg. . . .

For two hours Everett spoke and the throng listened untired, fascinated by the dignity of his high-bred look and manner almost as much, perhaps, as by the speech which has taken a place in literature. As he had been expected to speak he spoke, of the great battle, of the causes of the war, of the results to come after. It was an oration which missed no shade of expression, no reach of grasp. . . . As the clear, cultivated voice fell into silence, the mass of the people burst into a long storm of applause, for they knew that they had heard an oration which was an event. They clapped and cheered him again and again and again as good citizens acclaim a man worthy of honor, whom they have delighted to honor. At last as the ex-Governor of Massachusetts, the ex-ambassador to England, the ex-Secretary of State, the ex-Senator of the United States—handsome, distinguished, graceful, sure of voice and of movement—took his seat, a tall, gaunt figure detached itself from the group on the platform and slouched slowly across the open space and stood facing the audience. . . . This was the President. . . . A loose-hung figure, six feet four inches high, he towered above them. . . . That these were his people was his only thought. He had something to say to them. . . .

There was no sound from the silent, vast assembly. The President's large figure stood before them, at first inspired, glorified with the thrill and swing of his words, lapsing slowly in the stillness into lax, ungraceful lines. He stared at them a moment with sad eyes full of gentleness, of resignation, and in the deep quiet they stared at him. Not a hand was lifted in applause. Slowly the big, awkward man slouched back across the platform and sank into his seat, and yet there was no sound of approval, of recognition from the audience; only a long sigh ran like a ripple on an ocean through rank after rank. . . .

When the ceremonies were over Everett at once found the President. "Mr. President," he began, "your speech—" but Lincoln had interrupted, flashing a kindly smile down at him, laying a hand on his shoulder. "We'll manage not to talk about my speech, Mr. Everett," he said. "This isn't the first time I've felt that my dignity ought not to permit me to be a public speaker."

He went on in a few cordial sentences to pay tribute to the orator of the occasion. Everett listened thoughtfully and when the chief had done, "Mr. President," he said simply, "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."—Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews.

Recalls Lincoln Incidents.

Edward M. Colie, Newark lawyer, rummaging through some papers, came upon the New York Tribune of November 20, 1863, which contained articles particularly interesting on Lincoln's birthday.

The newspaper ran the President's Gettysburg address, the text of a prayer of Rev. Mr. Stockton and then devoted more than a full page to a speech by Edward Everett, president of Harvard and United States Senator, then considered America's greatest orator.

Then the paper recounted an incident seldom heard about, but which Mr. Colie found entertaining and characteristic. It read:

"After supper the President was serenaded by the excellent band of the Fifth New York Artillery. After repeated calls, Mr. Lincoln at length presented himself, when he was loudly cheered. 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 (Laughter). In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things

"'A VOICE—If you can help it.'

"'MR. LINCOLN—It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all (Laughter). Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg you to excuse me from addressing you further.'"

* * *

The Keystone of the Gettysburg Address

As to the Gettysburg Address, that is classed as one of Lincoln's four greatest addresses. Colonel John Nicolay, who was one of his private secretaries and a member of the presidential party on this occasion, says:

"There is neither recorded evidence nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing or made any notes on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg." The best available evidence from Nicolay and others is to the effect that the first draft of this speech was prepared in Washington the day before the trip.

Mr. Wills, President Lincoln's host t Gettysburg, says that the President etired about nine o'clock and sent nis servant downstairs for writing materials. These were taken to Mr. Lincoln's room by Mr. Wills himself. Thereupon Mr. Lincoln said to him: "Mr. Wills, what do you expect from me tomorrow?" Mr. Wills replied: "A brief address, Mr. President."

Mr. Wills reports that in about half an hour after his visit to the President's room, Mr. Lincoln came downstairs, and had some sheets of paper with him, and with Mr. Wills he went to the house in which Secretary Seward was a guest and submitted to the Secretary his manuscript. They then returned to the Wills home. The next morning a further revision of the manuscript was made.

At the time of the speech, Mr. Nicolay advises us, the President held the manuscript in his hand, though he did not read from it, but in his delivery of the speech he further revised the matter and the style of the manuscript.

So that the preponderance of evidence is clear, from those who ought to know, that this speech was most carefully considered, drafted, and redrafted by Mr. Lincoln before its delivery. But if any further evidence were needed to corroborate painstaking preparation, both as to logic and utterance, the speech itself furnishes that evidence.

For years I had a sort of subconscious feeling that there was something about this address that I had not discovered. I could feel its effect. It was exhilarating, but elusive; when I reached out for it it would seem to be just beyond me. My curiosity to discover this mystery persisted to the point that I was led to put the speech into parts, to see what, if anything, would be disclosed. . . . This dissection of the Gettysburg speech developed the keystone idea of Lincoln upon this occasion. His art in putting this central idea in every one of the ten sentences demonstrates beyond a doubt his unapproachable excellence in logic and language.

How closely it is reasoned, how cleverly expressed! The polish in his patriotism, the philosophy in his propositions, the unity of his ideas are all typical of his great life and his devotion to the union of the states.

What is this keystone idea throughut the address? Dedication.

In these ten sentences the word "dedicate" expressly appears six times. In the fifth sentence the definitive adjective "this" is used for "dedicate." In the seventh sentence the word "consecrate" is used for "dedicate." In the third sentence we have the word "battle-field," and in the eighth sentence we have the words "what they did here," the simplest, strongest, and most picturesque language possible to express the active idea of dedication.

How this idea is bound together and linked on to sentence one, and sentence three linked on in turn to sentence two, and so on through ten sentences, link on link, until he had forged a chain of consecration, dedicating the Nation to liberty, equality, and Democracy. . . . Truly has Job written, "How forcible are right words."—R. M. Wanamaker, in "The Voice of Lincoln."

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Marshall Field & Company
presents here each day observations intended to be of value to those it seeks to serve.

BY WAY OF AMENDS

By CALEB

IF PROOF were needed of the ancient adage that "Eternal vigilance is the price of safety," it has carried captive into camp the writer of these lines—by way of a quickly noted and justly reproved error.

The vehicle of the error . . . and therein lies an irony intensifying the lesson involved . . . was none other than the tribute to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, which appeared in this space on November 19th under the title, *A Tall Man Speaks*. By a memory-lapse as untimely as it was undesirable, the speaker who preceded Lincoln on that memorable occasion was referred to as Edward Everett Hale; whereas in reality it was his illustrious uncle, Edward Everett! And for that unconscious injustice to one of the conspicuous figures of his day, as well as to the *Caleb* readers of the present one, are offered these amends.

At the time of delivering his Gettysburg oration, Edward Everett was sixty-nine—and his death was to occur but two years later. As statesman, educator, Unitarian clergyman and orator, his had been a career both of great distinction and of great achievement in many areas of service. At 42 he became governor of Massachusetts; from 1841 to 1845, he was Minister to England; from 1846 to 1849, he was president of Harvard College; in 1852-3, Secretary of State under Fillmore; and U. S. Senator the year following. At 26 he had been made editor of the *North American Review*, a post he held for four years; and from the proceeds of his later lectures on Washington he donated $69,000 toward the purchase of Mt. Vernon.

With such a career to his credit, it is not surprising that Edward Everett stood pre-eminently eligible—perhaps as the crowning recognition of his record—to speak for the nation in dedicating its greatest Civil War battlefield. The fact that Lincoln's brief supplementing message has since become immortal in no sense detracts from the eloquence or greatness of Everett's own contribution to the occasion.

And so, having restored the laurels of our reference to the brow on which they should have originally rested, Caleb finds himself prompted to wring from his mistake the only consolation under the circumstances possible: that an error honestly acknowledged is fertile soil in which to sow the resolution of never giving it repetition.

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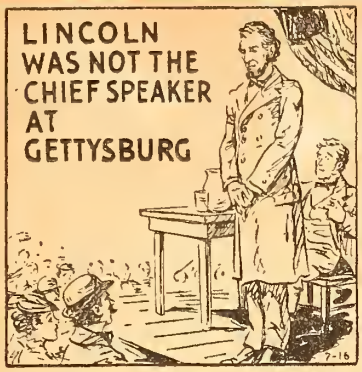

The speaker of the occasion at the famous Gettysburg dedication of the Soldiers cemetery in 1863 was the noted orator, Edward Everett. He was given two months to prepare his oration. The only invitation Lincoln received to attend the ceremonies was a printed circular. About two weeks before the ceremonies, the committee, as an afterthought, decided to ask Lincoln to make a few remarks after Everett's address. Lincoln's "remarks," now famous throughout the world, fell on ears that were not too interested, and little enthusiasm was shown when he finished. Lincoln said, on his way back to Washington: "That speech was a flat failure, and the people are disappointed."

7-16-37

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
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LINCOLN AND EVERETT

Edward Everett died on the morning of January 15, 1865, seventy-five years ago today. Although running in the political campaign of 1860 as Vice-presidential candidate on a ticket in opposition to Lincoln, Everett's last official act was the casting of his electoral vote for President Lincoln following the landslide of 1864.

Everett and Lincoln present one of the most striking contrasts in American public life. Everett was born in the environs of cultural Boston; Lincoln came from the wilderness of a frontier civilization. The former was the son of an educated clergyman; the latter was a child of an unlettered pioneer. Two years after Abraham Lincoln was born, Edward Everett graduated from Harvard; Lincoln was never in a university until he was a man grown and then he was a visitor.

When Everett was nineteen he became pastor of a Unitarian church at Boston, and three years later he preached a remarkable sermon in the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C. When Lincoln was nineteen he was working as a boatman on a flatboat enroute to New Orleans and three years later made another trip to the same port.

In 1814 Everett was a tutor in Latin at Harvard. Lincoln, in commenting about school conditions in the Indiana country where he grew up, wrote: "If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wizard."

After serving as a Latin tutor, Everett was appointed to a Harvard professorship in Greek and went to Europe for a four year course in preparation for this task. Lincoln humbly admitted to a friend that he had no European acquaintances. In 1846 Edward Everett became the president of Harvard University.

The political achievements of Everett and Lincoln preceding the election of 1860 offer a vivid contrast indeed. It must be recognized that Everett was fifteen years older than Lincoln, but Lincoln entered politics when he was twenty-five and Everett did not start his political career until he was thirty.

Everett was elected to Congress as a representative from Massachusetts in 1824 and continued in this capacity for ten years. At the close of his congressional career, he was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1835 and served in the same capacity during the two succeeding terms. Everett was given a portfolio as minister to England in 1840; in 1850 he became Secretary of State; and in 1853 he was elected to the United States Senate. As Vice-presidential nominee on the Constitution Union ticket in 1860, he reached the height of an enviable political career.

Compared with Everett's long and impressive record, Lincoln's four terms in the Illinois legislature and one as a representative in Congress seem insignificant. One can well understand the public mind when it wondered if a mistake had not been made in the nomination of Lincoln for the Presidency with so many illustrious men opposing him on the other three rival tickets.

Everett was not favoraby impressed with Lincoln, the President-elect, after having read some of Lincoln's informal remarks to the public as he approached Washington for the inauguration. This fact Everett noted in his diary:

"These speeches thus far have been of the most ordinary kind, destitute of everything, not merely of felicity and grace, but of common pertinence. He is evidently a person of very inferior cast of character, wholly unequal to the crisis."

His attitude changed, however, as soon as he came to know Lincoln personally, and he spoke about his "intellectual capacities" and how "his kindly and playful spirit mingles its sweetness with the austere cup of public duty." After a formal dinner at the home of Mr. Wills at Gettysburg, Everett said, "In gentlemanly appearance, manners, and conversation, the President was the peer of any man at the table."

With Lincoln's election to the Presidency in 1860, Everett soon came in direct contact with him, and in 1862 the following letter of introduction dated September 24, was given to Everett by Lincoln:

"Whom it May Concern: Hon. Edward Everett goes to Europe shortly. His reputation and the present condition of our country are such that his visit there is sure to attract notice, and may be misconstrued. I therefore think fit to say that he bears no mission from this government; and yet no gentleman is better able to correct misunderstandings in the minds of foreigners in regard to American affairs.

"While I commend him to the consideration of those whom he may meet, I am quite conscious that he could better introduce me than I him in Europe."

We most often, however, associate Lincoln and Everett as orators rather than politicians. We have already observed Everett's success as a minister, and as a statesman he seems to excel all of his contemporaries. His famous oration on Washington was delivered 122 times over a period of three years and netted the Mt. Vernon memorial committee $58,000. The receipts of lectures Everett delivered on different subjects totaled $90,000. Lincoln was invited to speak at Cooper Institute in New York and received an honorarium of $200 out of which he was obliged to pay his expenses. As far as we know, this was his only fee for public speaking.

The climax of Everett's oratorical career was realized at Gettysburg. As the most eloquent speaker in America, he was chosen for this important address.

That Lincoln was greatly impressed by Everett's address cannot be doubted. The following day in a message to Everett he wrote: "Of course I knew 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 the 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."

As late as January 24, 1865, Lincoln again referred to Everett's compliment to women in a reply which he made to a visiting committee:

"So much has been said about Gettysburg, and so well, that for me to attempt to say more may perhaps only serve to weaken the force of that which has already been said. A most graceful and eloquent tribute was paid to the patriotism and self-denying labors of the American ladies, on the occasion of the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, by our illustrious friend, Edward Everett, now, alas! departed from earth. His life was a truly great one, and I think the greatest part of it was that which crowned its closing years."

Part of a eulogy to Edward Everett appearing in *Harper's Weekly* for January 28, 1865, follows:

"A brilliant collegian; a fascinating young clergyman; a conspicuous public man, Representative, Governor, Ambassador, Senator, Secretary of State; an accomplished scholar and President of the University of Cambridge; a persuasive and polished orator . . . , a copious, learned, dignified, delightful, and even humorous author . . . cold, cautious, exact, punctual, proper, but gentle, courteous, courtly, and serene."

The Gettysburg Address, Its Greatness

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN, NOVEMBER 11, 1922

NOVEMBER 19, 1863, at Gettysburg, Mr. Lincoln delivered an address which has been termed "The Epic of the Ages." It has been recited by almost every schoolboy. It is as familiar as any scriptural text, and more familiar than any poetical quotation. But few can tell offhand the origin of the occasion which inspired the speaker, or knows the effect the address had upon those who heard him.

It has been truly said: "No man can address an assembly in language worthy to be remembered without some previous study of his subject." The central thought of the address had been Mr. Lincoln's life study.

The idea of making the Gettysburg Battle Field a national cemetery for those who there "gave their lives that the nation might live" originated with David Wills, a Gettysburg lawyer. The battle ended July 3, 1863. A few days thereafter Mr. Wills communicated his idea to the Governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Curtin, and submitted a plan. The idea was accepted and the plan approved. At the governor's request, Mr. Wills opened correspondence with the governors of other states whose soldiers had been engaged in the battle. The governors united in the movement.

THE ORATOR, EVERETT

August 17, 1863, Mr. Wills suggested to Gov. Curtin that the cemetery be "consecrated by appropriate ceremonies." This met with Mr. Curtin's approval, and at his request and that of other governors, Mr. Wills arranged for the ceremonies. He fixed October 23, 1863, and invited Hon. Edward Everett to deliver the oration. Everett was a finished orator, and an impressive speaker. In fact, he was the "prince of the American platform." He prepared his addresses with great care, and practiced their delivery by frequent rehearsal. In reply to Mr. Wills he wrote: "The occasion is one of great importance, not to be dismissed with a few sentimental or patriotic commonplaces." He further said that because of other engagements it was beyond his power "to make the requisite preparation by the 23d of October," and added: "I cannot safely name an earlier time than the 19th of November." Accordingly, the ceremonies were postponed until that date.

It has been stated by one of Mr. Lincoln's biographers that he was first notified he would be expected "to make some remarks" while he was en route to Gettysburg; that when so notified, he procured some "foolscap" paper and with lead pencil wrote his address, using the top of his hat as a desk. Ben Perley Poor, a famous Washington newspaper correspondent, records that Mr. Lincoln wrote the address "in the car on his way from Washington to the battlefield upon a piece of pasteboard held on his knee." There is neither evidence nor tradition to support either statement.

November 2, Mr. Wills wrote the President asking him to attend the ceremonies on the 19th, and, among other things, said that the ceremonies would begin at 2 p.m. Further that "Hon. Edward Everett will deliver the oration * * *. It is the desire that after the oration, you, as Chief Executive of the Nation, formally set aside these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks."

EVERETT'S SPEECH SENT LINCOLN

About November 17, Mr. Lincoln received from Mr. Everett a copy of his address. In the letter of transmittal Mr. Everett stated he was sending a copy "in order the same ground may not be gone over by both." On receipt of the letter Mr. Lincoln remarked to a friend: "There is no danger I shall. My speech is all blocked out. It is very short."

Part of the address was prepared in Washington November 17. It was finished at Gettysburg the morning of the ceremonies, to the satisfaction of Mr. Lincoln, and, with the approval of Secretary Seward, to whom it had been submitted by the President. In delivering it, Mr. Lincoln departed somewhat from the written words. Subsequently he revised it. As so revised it now appears.

November 17 Mr. Wills advised Mr. Lincoln by letter that it had been arranged that he, his cabinet, and other Washington invited guests should leave the city by special train at 6 a.m., November 19, which would arrive at Gettysburg at noon.

The occasion had made a deep impression upon Mr. Lincoln. He was anxious to be present. He was a most busy man. But busy as he was he disliked the arrangement, for the reason that the slightest mischance might delay the train and thus prevent his presence. Accordingly, Mr. Wills arranged with the railroad officials that the special train leave Washington at noon of the 18th and arrive at Gettysburg at 6 p.m. the same day.

At the ceremonies on the 19th Mr. Everett preceded the President and made a profound impression upon the audience. He spoke two hours. Mr. Nicolay says he "held the assembled multitude in rapt attention with his eloquent description and argument, his polished diction, his carefully studied and practiced delivery." Everett's address was followed by the singing of a hymn which had been written for the occasion. At its conclusion, Mr. Lincoln arose, with

J WRIGHT

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

(Delivered at the Dedication of the National Cemetery, November 19, 1863.)

Fourscore 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 battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place of 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 cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot 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. (An accurate version of the Gettysburg Address as revised by Mr. Lincoln and printed in "Autographs of Our Country's Authors," Balti., 1864.)

By A. C. Campbell

his manuscript in his hand, and delivered his address.

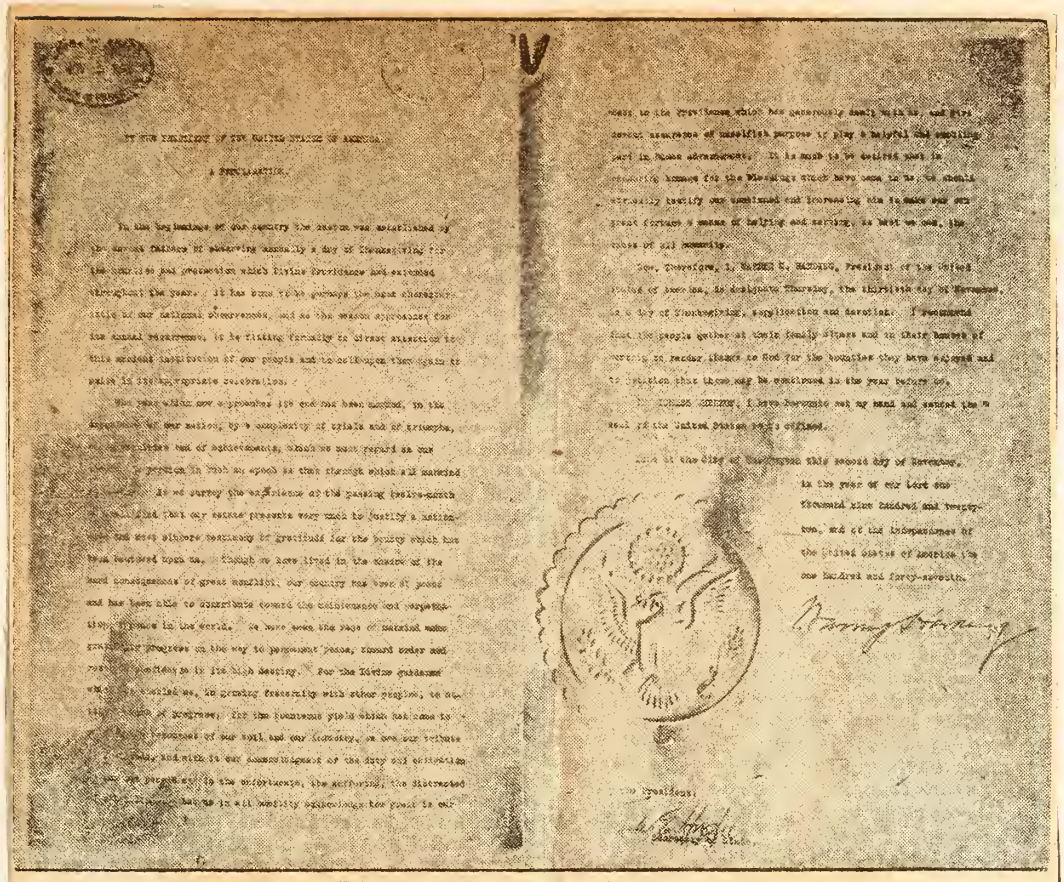
THE EFFECT OF THE ADDRESS

Statements differ as to the effect of the address upon the audience, the manner in which it was received. Immediately thereafter the President expressed regret that he had not more carefully prepared it; and said to his intimate friend, Ward Lamon: "That speech won't sour. It is a flat failure. The people are disappointed." Mr. Seward, after he had heard it delivered, thought it a failure, notwithstanding previously he had read and approved it. On the other hand, Mr. Everett wrote Mr. Lincoln the next day and among other things said: "I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in my two hours as you did in two minutes." However, Ward Lamon is authority for the statement that immediately after the address had been delivered Everett regarded it as disappointing. Mr. Lincoln in his reply to Mr. Everett said, in part: "I am please to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure." The use of the word entirely indicates Mr. Lincoln's feeling. Nicolay and Hay, both of whom were present, assign to the address "immediate recognition." But Mr. Thayer, in his "Life of John Hay," says that they thus wrote "by the focused light of a quarter of a century," and adds that very few of those who heard the address were aware of "an immediate recognition." Mr. Thayer further says that Everett carried the day, that after his oration "Lincoln's few sentences seemed almost inadequate, or at the best they came like the benediction which you forget after an impressive sermon which you remember."

VARIOUS OPINIONS

Major S. F. Rathvon, a Civil War veteran, a native of Gettysburg, who participated in the three days battle, and for many years thereafter prominent in the business, social and political life of Colorado and lately a resident of Denver, heard the address. He says that the words when spoken aroused no enthusiasm. A writer who has carefully reviewed the conflicting statements, says that the most plausible tradition records that the address was "received by the assemblage in comparative silence." Notwithstanding, the Associated Press reports show that five times it was interrupted by "applause," and at the close there was "long continued applause."

The ceremonies were to have begun at 11:00 A. M. The President and his party reached the platform in the cemetery at that hour. Most of the audience had been waiting. Mr. Everett did not arrive until 11:30 A. M. It must have been nearing noon when the ceremonies began. First there was music, then prayer, then music, then came Mr. Everett. Then a hymn of five verses of six lines each. Hence, before Mr. Lincoln arose, most of the audience had been exposed to over three hours of late



(Photo copyright by Harris & Ewing)

From a Photograph of the President's Thanksgiving Proclamation

November weather. Notwithstanding the "day was a serene, a delightful one," the crowd must have been chilled, tired and impatient when the President arose; hence, it is not strange that they did not manifest enthusiasm nor appreciate that they were listening to "words of living flame" which would light and heat the coming generations; and that Everett's "marmoreal periods" and polished phrases, made impressive by studied delivery, would in the future move no one and would soon be forgotten. They did not know that "emotion, not marble, is the medium of enduring eloquence."

THE CLOSING WORDS

It has been charged that the closing words of his address Mr. Lincoln borrowed from a speech made by Rev. Theodore Parker on May 29, 1850. On that occasion Mr. Parker said: "A Democracy—that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people." In 1819, Chief Justice Marshall, in his ablest opinion said of our government: "It is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised on them, and for their benefit." In 1825, James Douglas, of Edinburg, Scotland, wrote in reference to this country: "The depressed vassal of the old continent becomes a co-legislator and co-ruler in a government where all power is from the people, and in the people, and for the people." January 26, 1830, Webster, answering Hayne, said: "The people's government made for the people, made by the people, and amenable to the people."

If then Mr. Lincoln borrowed from Reverend Mr. Parker; Parker borrowed from Webster, he from Douglas, and Douglas from Marshall. As pointedly stated by Mr. Nicolay: "The mere arrangement of these quotations in chronological order shows how unjust is any inference that Mr. Lincoln took his sentence at second-hand. * * * All these are plainly coincidences growning out of the very nature of the topic."

A great intellect can voice a great truth, but it requires a great mind, combined with a great heart, to express a great truth in language that will live. Hence, it matters as little whether the language of the concluding sentence of Mr. Lincoln's Gettysburg address was borrowed or inspired. He clothed the thought in language that lives. The entire address will be remembered and be repeated centuries after James Douglas and Theodore Parker have ceased to be a memory; and when the fame of Webster and of Marshall shall have faded "into the twilight" of history.

EVERETT SAW MERIT IN LINCOLN ADDRESS

By RODNEY DUTCHER

Robert Todd Lincoln took offense at the lecture which Marse Watterson gave on his father feeling he laid undue emphasis upon his lowly birth and ancestry. The fact as he saw it was the Lincoln line sprang out of New England and actually could boast the purple strain! Perhaps to make the President more attractive to hoi polloi there has been over-much strumming on the string of his humble origins and from this have grown all sorts of traditions about the character of his speech, manners and dress. Here Brady performed a priceless service for he has preserved the Civil War President exactly as he was. While the portraits show him in some of the crudities of the period there is nothing of the uncouth.

* * *

Edson C. Dayton of Clifton Springs had this:

Edward Everett was first, so far as is known, to express written appreciation of President Lincoln's Gettysburg address. In the letter conveying to Mr. Lincoln his cordial recognition of its merits he thanked the President for an act of thoughtfulness on the President's part looking to the comfort of Miss Everett, who had accompanied her father to the Gettysburg commemoration.

A year later, in November, 1864, in responding on a public occasion to the toast "Our President," Mr. Everett recalled the day at Gettysburg and a certain impression of Mr. Lincoln he then received. I quote from "Remarks at the Dinner to Captain Winslow and the officers at the Kearsarge, in the Revere House, Boston, 15th November, 18864," as follows:

"It may seem hardly worth while to notice the descriptions which represent the President as a person of uncouth appearance and manners. But as Mr. Burke did not think it out of place in the most magnificent discourse in the English language to comment on the appearance, manners and conversation of the exiled French princes, I will take the liberty to say that on the only social occasion on which I ever had the honor to be in the President's company, namely, the commemoration of Gettysburg, he sat at table at the house of my friend, David Wills, Esq., by the side of several distinguished persons, ladies and gentlemen, foreigners and Americans, among them the French Minister at Washington, since appointed French Ambassador at Madrid, and the Admiral of the French fleet, and that in gentlemanly appearance, manners and conversation he was the peer of any man at the table."

* * *

Springfield Republican
November 1934

FIRST DRAFT OF EVER-LIVING SPEECH—The Gettysburg Address, as Lincoln wrote it, is pictured above. It is written on two pages. The first page in ink, the second in pencil. The first sheet was almost certainly composed in Washington. If this draft was ever finished then its second sheet was lost. But perhaps Lincoln did not like the ending and wrote a new one in pencil on the second sheet. At right is the letter Lincoln wrote, a few days after the Gettysburg cemetery was dedicated, to Edward Everett, whose two-hour oration preceded the brief address of the President. Everett himself felt the compelling power of Lincoln's words, though none of his contemporaries apparently recognized the hold they would later take upon future Americans. No picture was made of Lincoln as he addressed the Gettysburg crowd of 15,000. His speech was over in two minutes and a half, much too quickly for any photographer of his time to ready his camera and snap a picture. These pictures are from Stefan Lorant's "Lincoln—His Life in Pictures."

Kimball Jew Journal

All Brass Isn't 'Just Brass'

Executive Mansion,

Washington Nov. 20, 1863

Hon. Edward Everett.

My dear Sir.

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 entirely a failure. Of course I knew 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 expectation. The points made against the theory of the general government being only an agency, whose principals are the States, were new to me, and as I think, is one of the best arguments for the 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.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly enquire, was hopefully past the worst.

Yours Obt. Servt.
A. Lincoln

"I AM PLEASED TO KNOW THAT THE LITTLE I DID SAY WAS NOT ENTIRELY A FAILURE"
On the day after the Gettysburg Address Lincoln answered Edward Everett's congratulation with this letter.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

---"that we here highly resolve..."

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 resting 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,

tea to the great task remaining before us — that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here, gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation, 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.

Everett, Edward
[Binder 1, p. 25-39]

DRAWER 6

Gettysburg Address