

# A Presidential Trip to Gettysburg

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Karlton Smith, Gettysburg National Military Park



Dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863. (Library of Congress)

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On or before November 7, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln had determined to attend the dedication of the new Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. It was reported that he did so at "considerable personal inconvenience." It was felt, however, that Lincoln's presence would "help to deepen the impressiveness of the scene..." This trip should also be placed in the context of the events surrounding the establishment of the cemetery and the national and international events that preoccupied the President's time and attention.<sup>1</sup>

After three days of fighting at Gettysburg, July 1 – 3, 1863, the Army of the Potomac suffered approximately 3,149 killed and 14,501 wounded. Pennsylvania troops engaged in the battle lost 740 killed and 3,762 wounded. Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania visited the battlefield on July 10. Shocked at the sight of the battlefield dotted with so many makeshift graves, Curtin made arrangements with David Wills, a local attorney, "...for the removal of all Pennsylvanians killed in the late battles, furnishing transportation for the body and one attendant at the expense of the State."<sup>2</sup> On July 24, 1863, Wills wrote to Curtin that "Mr. [John F.] Seymour is here on behalf of his Brother the Governor of New York to look after the wounded & on the battlefield and I have suggested to him and also the Rev. Cross of Baltimore and others the propriety and actual necessity of the purchase of a common burial ground for the dead, now only partially buried over miles of country around Gettysburg." Other northern states

eventually joined with Pennsylvania in this project to establish the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg.<sup>3</sup>

Wills' idea of purchasing a plot of ground for the burial of the Federal dead was inadvertently helped by Col. Henry C. Alleman. Alleman, commanding the 36<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Militia, had arrived in town on July 9, relieving the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pennsylvania Cavalry of patrolling and policing the Gettysburg area. Alleman issued General Order #2 on July 30:

“During the months of August and September A. D., 1863, no corpse will be allowed to be disinterred from any cemeteries, or battle ground of Gettysburg. The health of the wounded soldiers and citizens of this community requires the stringent enforcement of this order...”

Maj. Gen. Darius N. Couch, appointed to command the Department of the Susquehanna on June 11, 1863, concurred with Colonel Alleman when he issued a general order on August 18 that “no disinterment of bodies shall take place, until authorized from these headquarters.” Organized on June 9, 1863, the Department of the Susquehanna was “that portion of the State of Pennsylvania east of Johnstown and the Laurel Hill range of mountains.” Gettysburg was naturally in this department and administration of military affairs in the county fell under Couch's administration.<sup>4</sup> The official delay gave Wills the necessary time to pursue his plans for the national cemetery that would hopefully provide a proper burial ground for all Union dead of Gettysburg, sparing the grieving families the expense and personal trauma of having their loved one's remains recovered and shipped home for burial,



William Seward (LOC)

In the middle of August, Secretary of State William Henry Seward took several foreign diplomats on a journey into New York. Among these dignitaries were Lord Lyons (Great Britain), Henri Mercier (France), and Joseph Bertinatti (Italy). Mercier and Bertinatti would accompany the president to Gettysburg that November, but on this excursion they were to be impressed by the Northern spirit, both industrial and social. Seward's objective was to show these foreign ministers that once away from Washington, “the country was not becoming exhausted, or that the causes which led to the draft riots in New York might not be at work in every town.” Frederick W. Seward, the Secretary's son, remembered:

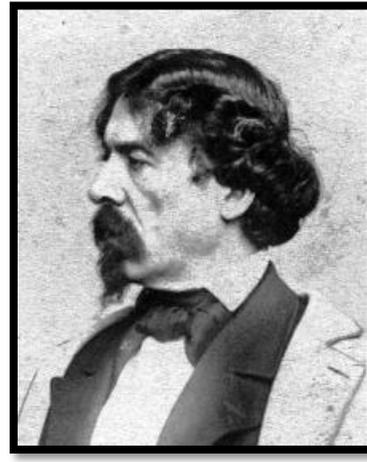
“Hundreds of factories with whirring wheels, thousands of acres of golden harvest fields, miles of railway trains, laden with freight, busy fleets on rivers, lakes and canals, showed a period of unexampled commercial activity and prosperity. Then, the flag flying everywhere, the drum heard everywhere, the recruiting offices

open and busy, the churches, the hospitals, the commissions and benevolent associations, laboring for the soldiers' care and comfort, all attested the resources of an empire, and the self-reliant patriotism of a great Republic."<sup>5</sup>

Whether the trip impressed the foreigners was not clear, though what they saw in New York was far and away different from the recovery occurring in Gettysburg that same month.



**Lord Richard Bickerton Pemell Lyons, Ambassador From Great Britain and ally of the Lincoln Administration. (LOC)**



**Chevalier Joseph Bertinatti, minister of the Kingdom of Italy, recognized by the United States Government in 1861. (Rootsweb)**

By August, Wills had made arrangements with William Saunders, “an eminent landscape gardener, to lay out the grounds [of the new cemetery] in State lots.” Botanist and Superintendent of Horticulture at the newly created Bureau of Agriculture, Saunders was responsible for Rose Hill Cemetery in Chicago (1859) and Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield (1858). Saunders’ plan laid out the cemetery in a semicircle around one central point, his intention being the “principal expression of the improvement should be that produced by simple grandeur and propriety.” As each State was to have its own plot, Saunders wanted to “obviate criticism as to position,” adding “the peculiar solemnity of the interest attached by each State to each internment, allows of no distinction.”<sup>6</sup> After working on the design remotely, Saunders, came to Gettysburg that fall and by October 5 was “plotting and laying out the grounds” of the cemetery, a job that would take most of the month to complete.<sup>7</sup>

Wills wrote to Curtin on August 26 to update the governor. Fifteen of seventeen governors had responded to Wills’ letters asking for co-operation, while 14 acres of land on Cemetery Hill had been purchased. He also pointed out that “it would be showing only proper respect for the health of this community not to commence the exhuming of the dead and removal to the Cemetery until the month of November, and in the meantime the grounds should be artistically laid out and

consecrated by appropriate ceremonies.” Curtin responded to Wills on August 31, with the excuse, “but you know how I am pressed,” for his tardy reply, though in full agreement that the “proper consecration of the grounds must claim our early attention; and, as soon as we can do so, our fellow purchasers should be invited to join with us in the performance of suitable ceremonies on the occasion.”<sup>8</sup>

The governor’s delay was due to a scheduled meeting with the President on August 28 concerning draft quotas in Pennsylvania. It’s highly likely that with Wills’ communique in hand, Curtin asked Lincoln at that time if he could come to Gettysburg and help dedicate the new cemetery. Lincoln evidently responded that he would if he could get away from the business in Washington. As much of a sign of respect for the office, it was also politically motivated for a Republican governor to not have asked the first Republican president to attend this special event.<sup>9</sup> Lincoln probably owed Governor Curtin a visit to Pennsylvania not only because the biggest battle of the war had just been fought in the governor’s “backyard” but because Curtin had convinced the Pennsylvania delegation at the Chicago Republican Convention in 1860 to back the nomination of Lincoln instead of favorite son Simon Cameron. Additionally, at the beginning of the war, Pennsylvania had met its quota of troops and went over it by almost 15,000 men. Instead of sending those men home, Curtin convinced the legislature to organize the surplus into three brigades of five regiments each and referred to the group as the Pennsylvania Reserves. The Reserves were called to Washington following the First Battle of Bull Run and became an important part of the Army of the Potomac. Curtin would visit Pennsylvania soldiers at the front when his time allowed, thus becoming known as the “Soldiers’ Friend” and convinced the Pennsylvania legislature to establish a fund for the support and education of war orphans. At the War Governors’ Conference held in Altoona, Pennsylvania, in October 1862, Curtin helped to garner most of the governors’ support for the Emancipation Proclamation. If anything, Curtin “was profoundly loyal and an enthusiast in everything pertaining to the war...he never for a moment lost sight of his paramount duty to give unfaltering support to the government in the great struggle for the maintenance of the Union.”<sup>10</sup>

Wills had originally intended to dedicate the cemetery on October 23 with Edward Everett as the main speaker, the united choice of the state representatives to the cemetery project. Everett was a graduate of Harvard College (1811) and had served as a U. S. Representative (1825 – 1835), governor of Massachusetts (1836 – 1840), minister to Great Britain (1841 – 1845), president of Harvard (1846 – 1849), interim U. S. Secretary of State (1852 – 1853), member of the U. S. Senate (1853 – 1854), and was a vice presidential candidate in 1860. He was also considered the greatest orator of his day. This impressive resume' explains why David Wills wanted him as the main speaker.<sup>11</sup> Everett’s response to Wills’ invitation was positive though he was under engagements, “which will occupy all my time from Monday next to the 12<sup>th</sup> of October...As it will take me two days to reach Gettysburg, and it will be highly desirable that I should have at least one day to survey the battle-field, I cannot safely name an earlier date than the 19<sup>th</sup> of

November.” Wills readily changed the date of the dedication to November 19 to suit Mr. Everett then turned his attention to other matters.<sup>12</sup> The change in dates may possibly have accommodated the invitation to President Lincoln given the President’s concerns in Washington that October.

By mid-October, preparations began for the reburial process. Among others, Wills informed Governor William Cannon of Delaware on October 13 that Secretary Stanton had ordered the Quartermaster General “to furnish us with the requisite number of coffins, and he will commence supplying us on and after the 20<sup>th</sup> inst., at the rate of one hundred per day.” Wills also reported that architect William Saunders was in town to plot the ground of the new cemetery and that at his [Saunders’] suggestion “and in accordance with the desire of the States, he is laying it off in lots for each State.” Saunders planned to have the grounds ready by October 26 “when we expect to be ready to commence transferring the bodies.”<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, northern newspapers began reporting on the arrangements for the dedication. They accurately reported that Edward Everett was to “deliver the dedication oration” and that “President Lincoln will also be present and participate in the ceremonies.” Unfortunately, they also reported that poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow would compose an ode or dirge for the occasion, and Major General George Cadwallader would be in charge of the military contingent, neither of which was correct. Still, these early news reports garnered a favorable response from many and plans to attend the cemetery dedication on November 19 were begun by many living in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and other loyal states.<sup>14</sup>

Removal of the dead from the battlefield to the cemetery commenced on October 26, and the process gained speed during the next week with favorable weather. Adams County papers reported that the contractor “had been removing about sixty bodies daily. It is done with the greatest care, and under the strictest supervision, so as to avoid the possibility of an error in the marked graves.”<sup>15</sup>

While most of the initial reburials were unidentified soldiers who fell in the first day’s fight, the first identified burial was Private Enoch M. Detty, 73th Ohio Infantry. Private Detty had died on October 26 at the age of 22 of chronic diarrhea at Camp Letterman, the U.S. General Hospital on the York Road, and buried in the Ohio Plot, Row A, grave #1. Daniel Brown, the agent representing Ohio during the project, wrote to Governor David Tod:

“After dinner I went out to the Hospital to attend the funeral of Enoch Detty, Co. G, 73<sup>rd</sup> O. V. I. this being the first of Ohio’s braves deposited in the portion of the National Cemetery apportioned to our State and was conducted with military honors, the first military funeral at the cemetery. This last resting place is...one of

the most beautiful as well as most appropriate places that could have been selected.”

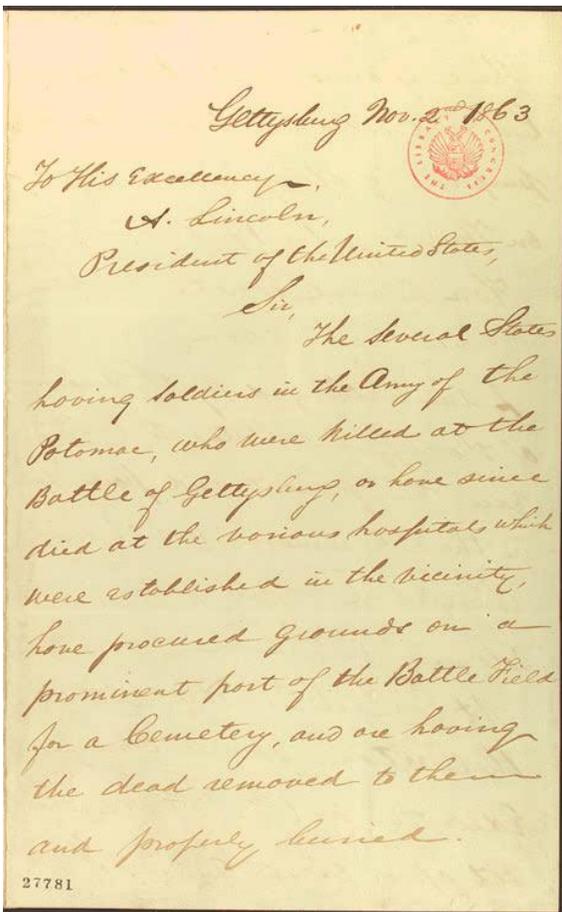
All the dead were buried in wooden coffins supplied by the Quartermaster Department, three feet deep, and with the heads pointing toward the center of the half circle and to the future site of the Soldiers’ National Monument.<sup>16</sup>

With the grisly relocation of bodies underway, Wills extended an invitation on October 30 to Ward Hill Lamon, the U. S. Marshall for the District of Columbia and a friend of Lincoln’s, to serve as marshal for the dedication. Wills wrote that Lamon was considered the “proper person” for the job.<sup>17</sup> Lamon was not sure he wanted the job. He had planned to return to Illinois in mid-November in order to bring his wife to Washington. Lamon sought Lincoln’s advice. Lincoln told him “that in view of his relation to the government and to me, he could not well decline.” Lamon accepted the invitation in a letter to Wills dated November 4, in which he regarded the offer as “no less a solemn duty, than a pleasure, to those who enjoy the protection of a Government under which all civil and religious liberty are secured, to unite in consecrating a National Cemetery as a sacred resting place for our country’s heroes who fell at Gettysburg.”<sup>18</sup>

Wills had informed Lamon that the local quartermaster would supply 100 horses for the dedication. Lamon did not think this would be enough. He requested more horses from Brig. Gen. George H. Stoneman, chief of the cavalry bureau. Stoneman authorized Col. Andrew J. Alexander to send 30 horses and 15 men from the camps around Washington to Gettysburg. Stoneman wanted to know if Lamon would “handle the transportation for them.”<sup>19</sup>

On November 2, Wills sent the “official” invitation to the President asking him to deliver “a few appropriate remarks” at the dedication. Wills also sent a more personal note inviting the President to stay at his house in Gettysburg.<sup>20</sup>

Lincoln’s official calendar leading up to the dedication was filled with domestic, military and foreign affairs, leaving him very little time to concentrate on the “few appropriate remarks” he would deliver at Gettysburg. The President was in the midst of preparing to issue his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (issued on December 8) and was working on his annual message to Congress, submitted on December 9. Lincoln was also waiting for military operations to commence around Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee, as well as events along Mine Run near Culpeper in northern Virginia, all of which had the potential to be setbacks.



The first page of Wills' invitation to President Lincoln, written from Gettysburg on November 2, 1863, in which he asked the president to attend the dedication and provide "a few appropriate remarks."  
(Library of Congress)

On the international front, French forces had bombarded Vera Cruz, Mexico, on January 15, 1863, and by June 29 had occupied Mexico City. Although this French incursion into Mexico was of great concern to the United States, President Lincoln did not invoke the Monroe Doctrine during the Civil War. Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph of Austria, who had been first offered the crown of Mexico in 1861, finally agreed to accept the crown in October 1863 and was proclaimed Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico on April 10, 1864.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile in the Far East, an American merchant ship had been fired upon by Japanese shore batteries in Shimonoseki Straits. The USS *Wyoming*, under Commander David McDougall, steamed into the straits and fired on the shore batteries. The treaty opening Japan to the West had been signed in 1854, and there was still a good deal of opposition to the treaty in Japan. As Commander McDougall reported:

“The general opinion is that the Government is on the eve of a revolution, the principal object of which is the expulsion of foreigners and a return to their ancient exclusiveness. The tycoon and his party are what may be termed the

liberal party, who wish trade and intercourse with the world. The party in opposition are composed of many of the most wealthy and powerful princes, with the Mikado, the spiritual emperor, at their head, who are hostile to all foreign intercourse. How matters will end time will determine.”<sup>22</sup>

Closer to the United States, the island of Hispaniola had gained its independence from Spain in 1821. The Dominican Republic dominated the eastern half of the island while Haiti dominated the western part and the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic gained its independence from Haiti in 1844 and had been re-annexed by Spain on May 19, 1861, at the request of some Dominican citizens. By August 16, 1863, this action had resulted in the Dominican Restoration War. According to Acting Rear Admiral James L. Lardner, commanding the West India Squadron, “the governor-general of Cuba, and Spanish officials generally, are impressed with the belief that our Government is interested in the success of the revolutionists and probably assisting them.” Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles wrote to Lardner stating that this “Government will be as earnest in its endeavor to perform all of its neutral obligations toward other states as it has been in asking their performance of such obligations toward the United States.” In other words, if Spain stays out of our Civil War, we will stay out of the Dominican Republic.<sup>23</sup>

Domestically, the United States had grown and expanded in 1863 despite the war. Ground had been broken on February 22 at Sacramento, California, for the Central Pacific Railroad. On February 24, the new territory of Arizona was organized, and on March 3, the new Idaho Territory was organized. West Virginia was admitted as the 35<sup>th</sup> state on June 20. October 13 was an election day in some states. John Bough was elected governor of Ohio, and Andrew Curtin was re-elected governor of Pennsylvania. Before Congress adjourned on March 4, it authorized the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in any necessary case during the war, and it approved the Federal Draft Act.<sup>24</sup>

The Russian Atlantic fleet visited New York, and the Russian Pacific fleet visited San Francisco. This visit was connected with the January Uprising of Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus against Russian rule. The Russians were concerned about a possible war with other European powers and did not want their fleets frozen in their ports. Most Americans, however, saw this visit as a show of support for the Union cause.<sup>25</sup> Secretary of the Navy Welles wrote that it was “a politic movement for both Russians and Americans, and somewhat annoying to France and England. I have directed our naval officers to show them all proper courtesy, and the Municipal authorities in New York, Boston and Philadelphia have exhibited the right spirit.”<sup>26</sup>



Site of the Bear Creek Massacre of January 29, 1863, near the present day city of Preston, Idaho. (History Utah.gov)

On January 29, 1863, the Bear River Massacre occurred in what was then Washington Territory. Deteriorating relations between the Shoshone (Bannock) Indians and settlers that began in 1860 with murders, kidnapping, and bloody raids on both sides culminated in the massacre of several hundred Shoshone men, women and children by troops commanded by Col. Patrick E. Connor, 3<sup>rd</sup> California Volunteers. In the aftermath, many of the Shoshone women taken prisoner were violated by Connor's men. The battle resulted in a promotion in rank to brigadier general for Connor and forced the Shoshone to negotiate with Federal authorities that resulted in the Treaty of Box Elder, completed on July 30 but needing congressional approval. Lincoln was getting ready to submit this treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent that fall.<sup>27</sup>

As for the ongoing Civil War, November 1863 was a momentous month when the U. S. Navy tried to bombard Fort Sumter into submission. On November 2, the U. S. Army captured Brazos de Santiago, Texas, and Corpus Christi, Texas, on November 18. The battle of Droop Mountain, Virginia, was fought on November 6, and the battles of Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, Virginia, were fought on November 8. The battle of Campbell's Station, Tennessee, was fought on November 16.

Monitoring these events in Washington, President Lincoln divided his time between the War Department and attending to a daily schedule of meetings at the White House. On November 1, he met with Maj. Gen. Robert C. Schenck, commanding the Middle Department and the Eighth Army Corps, Congressman William D. Kelley (R – PA), and Brig. Gen. James A. Garfield about possible violence during the Maryland elections scheduled for November 4. This writer suspects that more was being discussed than the Maryland elections. Schenck's attendance makes sense since Maryland was within the limits of his command and Kelley was considered a founder of the Republican Party. Garfield's presence raises some questions. Garfield was the chief of staff for the Army of the Cumberland, which was in Chattanooga. However, Schenck and Garfield had been elected to the House of Representatives in November 1862 from the state of Ohio. They would take their seats in the 38<sup>th</sup> Congress, scheduled to meet on December 4, 1863.

Schenck would serve as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of which Garfield was also a member.<sup>28</sup>



General Robert Schenck (LOC)

Schenck's Middle Department was originally organized on March 22, 1862. By August 3, 1863, it consisted of the state of Delaware, the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, Cecil, Hartford, Baltimore, and Anne Arundel counties in Maryland, and that part of West Virginia east of Hancock, Maryland, except that portion in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry. Schenck had commanded the department since December 1862. Lincoln met with Schenck the next day (November 2) and also wrote two letters to Governor Augustus W. Bradford of Maryland. In the first letter, Lincoln revoked the first three propositions in Schneck's General Order #53 of October 27. In his second letter, the president stated "it is almost certain that violence will be used at some of the voting places on election day, unless prevented by the provost guards....General Schenck is fully determined, and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please."<sup>29</sup>

Despite his busy schedule, President Lincoln found time for enjoyable and important social functions. John M. Hay, Lincoln's assistant private secretary, recalled a trip to Alexander Gardner's photographic studio on November 8. Hay wrote that they "had a great many pictures taken. Some of the Presdt. the best I have seen. Nico & I immortalized ourselves by having ourselves done in group with the Presdt."<sup>30</sup> The most important social event of the year occurred on November 12. Miss Kate Chase, the daughter of Secretary of the Treasury Salomon P. Chase, married senator and former governor of Rhode Island, William Sprague. The sterling event was noted by John Hay in his diary:

"In the evening Miss Chase & Govr. Sprague's wedding. A very brilliant looking party. Kate looked tired out and languid especially at the close of the evening when I went into the bridal chamber to say Goodnight. She had lost all her old severity & formal stiffness of manner, & seemed to think she had arrived....The President came for a few minutes."<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, Ward Hill Lamon was engaged in his role for the upcoming cemetery dedication. On November 5, a day after replying to Wills' invitation, he addressed a letter to the governors of the loyal states to "appoint two suitable persons in your State" to assist him in his duties at the dedication. He also addressed a letter to all the U. S. Marshalls in the eastern half of the country to be his assistants on November 19.<sup>32</sup> Lamon was not the only official sending invitations. Lincoln wrote to his former law partner Judge John T. Logan on November 13, urging him to bring his daughter, Mrs. Sally Lamon, the wife of Lamon, from Springfield to Gettysburg for the

dedication.<sup>33</sup> Looking after his old friend, the president obviously thought it would benefit Lamon to have his wife present for the special occasion and perhaps make it a more social gathering when the visit would be one of solemnity.



Ward Hill Lamon, 1862  
(IL State Historical Society)

That same day, November 13, Lamon and Benjamin B. French, his chief assistant, left for Gettysburg to discuss arrangements for the dedication with David Wills.<sup>34</sup> The trio discussed the ceremony and visited the cemetery grounds where the burials were now underway. It may have been during this visit when the final placement of the stand for the speakers was approved by Lamon, it providing anyone standing upon it with a commanding view of the Gettysburg countryside.

National interest in the cemetery consecration was building as well. The *Daily National Republican* reported on November 7 that Lincoln “has determined to be present at the consecration, and a host of distinguished gentlemen in civic and military life will likewise participate in the ceremonies. The Hon. Edward Everett will doubtless bring his matchless rhetorical and oratorical powers into full play in the dedicatory address which he is to deliver. The theme and circumstances of the occasion will all conspire to lend wings of fire to his eloquence. It will be a celebration worth any amount of travel and fatigue to see and hear.”<sup>35</sup>

At or about midnight of November 11, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton received some startling news from Lord Lyons, the British Minister to the United States. As Stanton reported, Lord Lyons “officially notified the Government that, from telegraphic information received from the Governor-General of Canada, there is reason to believe that a plot is on foot by persons hostile to the United States, who have found an asylum in Canada, to invade the United States and destroy the city of Buffalo; that they propose to take possession of some of the steamboats on Lake Erie, to surprise Johnson’s Island, and set free the prisoners of war confined there, and to proceed with them to attack Buffalo.” This warning went out to all the commanders in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Though no attack was forthcoming, the authorities were taking no chances.<sup>36</sup>

Following the November 4 Maryland elections, General Schenck and Maryland emancipationists meet with Lincoln on November 12. There are no reports on what was specifically discussed.<sup>37</sup> Andrew Curtin, who had just won re-election as governor of Pennsylvania, “accompanied by a large delegation of Pennsylvanians, called upon the President” on November 14. Again, there are no details of what was discussed. It is possible that the subject of the dedication was mentioned. Curtin had been in the city since the 12<sup>th</sup> in consultation with Secretary of War Stanton over the message from Lord Lyons.<sup>38</sup>



Noah Brooks (LOC)

On November 15, Lincoln paid another visit to Alexander Gardner's photographic studio, accompanied by his friend Noah Brooks. Brooks had met Lincoln in Illinois in 1856 and moved from Illinois to California in 1859 where he was working as a correspondent for the *Sacramento (CA) Union*. Brooks asked the president if his remarks for the dedication were prepared and the president replied the speech "is all blocked out. It is very short." In a later account Brooks wrote that Lincoln "said that there is no danger that he should get upon the lines of Mr. Everett's oration, for what he had ready to say was very short, or, as he emphatically expressed it, 'short, short, short.' In reply to a question as to the speech having been already written, he said that it was written, 'but not finished.'"<sup>39</sup>

On November 17, Secretary of State William H. Seward introduced Capt. Ulisse Isola and Lieutenant Martinez of the Italian Navy to the President. The Italian government had contracted with William H. Webb of New York for two ocean-going ironclads. The first, the *Re d'Italia*, was ready by September 1863. Isola, captain of the *Re Galatuomo*, brought the crew over on his ship. It was understood that Isola and Martinez "will attend the Secretary of State as national guests at the Gettysburg solemnities."<sup>40</sup>

President Lincoln also met two visitors from Canada who were introduced by Mayor Richard Wallach of Washington. William McDougall, a member of the Legislative Assembly and the Secretary of Crown Lands, and Alexander T. Galt were in the United States to discuss renewing the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States. The president invited both McDougall and Galt to attend the Gettysburg dedication, but only McDougall was able to accept. Their visit came about one week after the warning from Canada had been delivered by Lord Lyons. It is possible that McDougall especially had personal knowledge of the warning and was able to give more information to the President.<sup>41</sup>

On this day (November 17) Lamon announced the program for the dedication. He left Washington with "about twenty of his special aids" for Gettysburg and took lodgings in the Eagle Hotel. Lamon also announced the "Order of Arrangement" and the "Programme" for the consecration ceremonies.<sup>42</sup>

The President and Secretary Stanton reviewed the First and Second Battalions, about 2,500 members of the "Invalid Corps" under Col. George W. Gile, at the White House. Authorized in April of that same year, the Corps was made up of soldiers debilitated while in service by battle or disease but still able to serve. One paper reported that the "display was very fine and attracted much attention. A large number of officers appeared with empty sleeves, exciting much

sympathy for the brave sufferers.” It was also reported that their “appearance and military movements were the general theme of praise.”<sup>43</sup> The sight of these injured soldiers still in uniform probably touched Lincoln as he then considered his trip, which would begin the next day. The president had urged many of his cabinet members to accompany him to Gettysburg but most declined. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase had previously replied to David Wills that it “disappoints me greatly to find that imperative public duties make it impossible for me to be present at the consecration of the grounds...” Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles wrote in his diary that “I was invited and urged by the President to attend the ceremonials at Gettysburg, but was compelled to decline, for I could not spare the time.” Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton also declined to attend.<sup>44</sup>

Stanton did discuss with Lincoln the arrangements for the trip made by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The B&O planned for the president to leave Washington at 6:00 a.m. on November 19 and arrive in Gettysburg by noon. The President was not pleased with this arrangement. As he wrote Stanton “I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole to be a breathless running of the gauntlet. But, any way.”<sup>45</sup>

John W. Garrett, president of the B&O, changed the schedule so that Lincoln would leave Washington at noon on November 18 and arrive in Gettysburg at about 6:00 pm. Garrett wrote: “This program furnishes abundant margin and will be less fatiguing. I have ordered the special train as desired to leave Washington at 12 o’clock tomorrow (Wednesday) and will notify and arrange with the other roads for it to proceed directly through to Gettysburg.”<sup>46</sup> Stanton also informed the president that he would assign either the adjutant general or Colonel James B. Fry “to accompany you as personal escort and to control the train. A carriage will call for you at 12. Please furnish me the names of those whom you may invite that they may be furnished with tickets and unauthorized intrusion prevented.”<sup>47</sup>

William Saunders was invited to come to the White House on the evening of November 17 with his design for the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. Saunders recalled that “he was on hand at the appointed time, and spread the plan on his office table, he (Lincoln) took much interest in it, asked about its surroundings, about Culp’s Hill, Round Tops, etc. and seemed familiar with the topography of the place, although he had never been there. He was much pleased with the method of the graves, said it differed from the ordinary cemetery and, after I explained the reasons, said it was an admirable and befitting arrangement.”<sup>48</sup>

On the morning of November 18, President Lincoln was feeling somewhat sad and depressed because his son Tad, who may have had a case of scarlet fever, was too ill to eat breakfast. One newspaper reported that the “President left the city yesterday to take part in the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg. He did so at considerable personal inconvenience but he could

not deny himself the opportunity to be present on an occasion of such melancholy interest. His presence will help to deepen the impressiveness of the scene... ”<sup>49</sup>

Designated by Secretary of War Stanton to serve as a special escort for the president, Col. James B. Fry, Provost-Marshall General, arrived at the White House at the appointed time that morning where he “found the President’s carriage at the door to take him to the station; but he was not ready.” When Fry told the president that “he had no time to lose in going to the train,” Lincoln responded with a story:

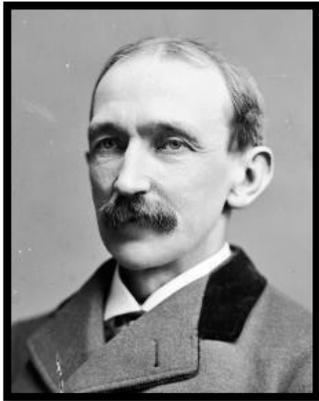
Well, said he, I feel about that as the convict in one of our Illinois towns felt when he was going to the gallows. As he passed along the road in custody of the sheriff, the people, eager to see the execution, kept crowding and pushing past him. At last he called out: “Boys, you needn’t be in such a hurry to get ahead, *there won’t be any fun till I get there.*”<sup>50</sup>

Lincoln, accompanied by William Johnson, his personal valet, arrived with Fry at the B&O railroad station at New Jersey Avenue and C Streets in Washington. The train, consisting of four cars, “was decorated with flags and streamers and presented a gala appearance.” The train left the station at about noon packed with VIPs and military groups.<sup>51</sup>

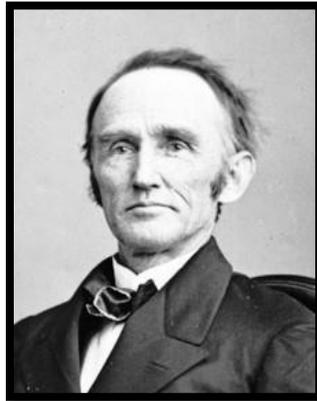
A military contingent had previously boarded the same train to which the president’s car was attached. Col. John Harris, sixth commandant of the Marine Corps, received a copy of a letter sent to Secretary of the Navy Welles by David Wills, requesting the U. S. Marine Band to take part in the cemetery dedication. Welles had “no objection to the Marine Band being sent to Gettysburg, Pa., to take part in the ceremonies to this sacred purpose,” but left the final decision up to Harris. Harris issued the necessary orders and Leader of the Band Francis M. Scala, Drum Major John Roche, and twenty-seven members of the Marine Corps Band boarded the train that morning for the trip to Gettysburg.<sup>52</sup> Capt. Alan Ramsay was in charge of the Marine contingent. Ramsay, the son of Capt. William Ramsay (USN), had received a commission as a second lieutenant on March 1, 1857. He was promoted to first lieutenant in 1861 and captain on July 26, 1861. Ramsay had served on the USS *Richmond* at New Orleans and helped to guard the custom house and the American flag. He had fought in 15 engagements before being assigned to the Marine Barracks, Washington.<sup>53</sup> Ramsay’s aide was Lt. Henry Clay Cochrane, who enlisted as an acting master’s mate in the U. S. Navy on September 7, 1861. Commissioned on March 10, 1863, as a second lieutenant, Cochrane served on Ramsay’s staff at the barracks.<sup>54</sup>

Also on board as the president’s bodyguards were about 50 members of the Invalid Corps, under the command of Capt. Charles Ford, formerly first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster of the 17<sup>th</sup> Michigan Infantry. Ford resigned on December 18, 1862 to accept a commission as a captain in the commissary of subsistence but resigned from that post on October 9, 1863, to accept a

commission as a captain in the Corps. Ford's aide was Lt. Frederick R. Jackson, formerly first sergeant, 7<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry. Jackson had been awarded the Medal of Honor in 1863 for action at James Island, South Carolina, on June 16, 1862. His citation states, "Having his left arm shot away in a charge on the enemy, he continued on duty, taking part in a second and third charge until he fell exhausted from the loss of blood."<sup>55</sup>



Isaac W. MacVeagh (LOC)



Postmaster General Montgomery Blair (LOC)



Secretary of Interior John P. Usher (LOC)

Three cabinet members did accompany the president. They were Secretary of State William H. Seward, Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, and Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher. Isaac Wayne MacVeagh, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee, was also a guest of the President's.<sup>56</sup> The diplomatic corps was represented by Joseph Bertinatti, Italian Minister, along with Capt. Ulisse Isola and Lieutenant Martinez and Senior Cora, secretary of legation. Bertinatti had been on the trip to New York in August with Seward. Also making the trip were Henri Mercier, the French Minister, and Rear Admiral Aime Felix Saint Elme Reynaud, Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Division of the Gulf and North America. Mercier had also made the trip to New York in August. William McDougal, Secretary of Lower Canada, rounded out the diplomatic corps representation.<sup>57</sup> John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary, and John M. Hay, Lincoln's assistant private secretary, also accompanied the president. Several reporters were also on the train including John Russell Young of the *Philadelphia Press* and Benjamin Perley Poore of the *Boston Evening Journal*.<sup>58</sup> The only woman known to be on the train was Mrs. Charlotte Brooks Wise, wife of Commander Henry A. Wise and the daughter of Edward Everett. Cochrane thought that Mrs. Wise was "intensely homely, common looking, but very talented."<sup>59</sup>

Lt. Cochrane wrote at least two accounts of the trip to Gettysburg. He remembered that the "last car was a kind of president's or director's car with about one-third of the rear portioned off into a room with seats around it, and in this room I found myself seated vis-à-vis to the President." Cochrane's account mirrors a report in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, describing the train of four "elegant" cars, the last "containing the President was divided into two compartments, that officer

occupying the rear one.”<sup>60</sup> Cochrane stated that he and Captain Ramsay, “passed into the rear car, and soon after the President left his seat in the second car, came in and joined us, remarking, as he did so, ‘Ha! This is much better.’ I had a copy of the ‘Herald,’ and offered it to him, but he preferred the ‘Tribune,’ and after a few general remarks began reading. He was very unassuming, and so genial & pleasant that I felt as much at ease as I should in talking with an old friend. We rode together (on the same seat) until we reached Baltimore.”<sup>61</sup>

Cochrane recalled how Lincoln “laughed very heartily and it was pleasant to see his sad face lighted up. He was looking very badly at that particular time, being sallow, sunken-eyed, thin, care-worn and very quiet.”<sup>62</sup>

The total trip from Washington to Baltimore was 38 miles, the line officially starting at the Relay House about 8 miles west of Baltimore. The terminus of the Washington line was at Camden Station, which still exists. Because there was no direct connection with the Northern Central line, the locomotive had to be detached, and the cars “were dragged by tandem teams of horses” to the Calvert Street Station. At this station, which no longer exists, the President and party were serenaded by the band of the 5<sup>th</sup> New York Artillery stationed in Baltimore while the cars were switched to the Northern Central line.<sup>63</sup> Civilians had also gathered, less than “two hundred people were assembled,” according to Cochrane, “among them some women with children in arms. They called for the President and Mr. Seward came into the car, and he agreed to go out when the train was about ready to start. This he did and took two or three of the babies up and kissed them, which greatly pleased their mothers.” Cochrane recalled that Seward was “quite lively,” but that Postmaster General Blair “was pensive.”<sup>64</sup>

Also boarding the train at the Calvert Street Station was Maj. Gen. Schenck with members of his staff, the band of the 2<sup>nd</sup> U. S. Artillery, and Frederick Walker Lincoln, Jr., mayor of Boston. Mayor Lincoln was no relation to the President.<sup>65</sup> Isaac MacVeagh, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican State Committee, recalled that lunch was provided in the train’s baggage-car, “and thither we were invited just as we were leaving Baltimore.”<sup>66</sup>

The train had 46 miles to reach Hanover Junction in Pennsylvania and during intermediate stops between Baltimore and Gettysburg, the President “came out and made a few remarks to the crowd, who all cheered him. Hundreds of women waved handkerchiefs all along the road.” According to MacVeagh, whenever “the train stopped, Mr. Lincoln was required to address from the rear platform some words to the few people who had gathered to pay their respects to him, but I remember nothing of importance said by him on any of these occasions.” Yet, the mood in the president’s car was definitely more festive than one would think. Cochrane recalled that during this portion of the trip, the President was “very sociable, and spoke of public affairs, his governors, and generals, with little or no reserve. His story-telling propensities could not be suppressed, and he had all hands in a roar of laughter several times.”<sup>67</sup>

The train reached Hanover Junction in mid-afternoon, barely 12 miles from the town of Hanover, scene of a spirited cavalry battle on June 30 between Union and Confederate cavalry. According to the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the “only interruption to the journey was at Hanover,” where a train passing east had compelled the presidential train to halt until the track had been cleared. At Hanover Junction, the engines were switched. The Hanover Branch Engine #3 pulled the cars the remaining 29 miles to Gettysburg. The conductor on this last leg of the trip was John Eckert.<sup>68</sup>



**Hanover Junction where the president was called upon by Reverend M.J. Alleman to speak to the many bystanders on the platform and hillside overlooking the tracks. (LOC)**

What had become a routine at other stops on this journey, the Rev. M. J. Alleman of St. Matthew’s Lutheran Church, Hanover, called on President Lincoln to speak, reportedly asking, “Father Abraham, will you please come to the rear platform of the car, your children want to hear you!” Lincoln’s appearance in Hanover, according to the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, is worth reporting in full:

“The people of the vicinity who lined the railroad immediately massed themselves around the car containing the President. He stepped upon the platform and the whole body of people uncovered in his presence. When he appeared he was greeted with cheers, and delivered one of his brief, quaint speeches for which he is celebrated. Said he – ‘Well, you have seen me, and, according to general experience, you have seen less than you expected to see.’ A genuine hearty round of merriment attended the remark, and the President continued – ‘You had the Rebels here last summer, hadn’t you?’ A universal response of yes was given. ‘Well, did you fight them any?’ Jocosely asked Mr. Lincoln. This was a loser. The people looked at each other with half-amused, half-puzzled expression, while the long, tall form of the President leaned from the car as he waited the reply. The reply was not given, but the ladies came forward bringing the bouquets and

presented them to the President, while a beautiful flag, the work of the said women of the neighborhood, was planted in the rear of the car. The flag deserved and received the salutations of all present. The whistle screamed, the brakes loosened, the assembly gave one long, hearty cheer, and the car rattled up to Gettysburg road.”<sup>69</sup>

Opposite of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*'s account, the Hanover *Spectator* merely reported that “President Lincoln passed through on his way to Gettysburg to participate in the inauguration ceremonies,” with no additional fanfare. The paper promised a more complete account but never published one.<sup>70</sup>

The Presidential train now began its journey to Gettysburg, but not without several additional delays and some jostling of the cars where rails and beds had been in disrepair since the previous summer with heavy use by the railroad bringing supplies into Gettysburg while ferrying out the wounded to permanent US General hospitals in northern cities. Despite attempts to maintain the line, not everyone was impressed with the Northern Central Railroad or with the Gettysburg Railroad. The Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*, whose reporter was probably on a different train, reported:

“It is but just to say that there are no railroads in the United States that comprise so many discomforts, delays, vexations, and privations to the passengers, or which exhibit so mean and illiberal a spirit as the Northern Central and its legitimate offspring, the Gettysburg Branch.”<sup>71</sup>

While the discussion aboard the train remained lively, there was some discussion regarding political affairs. John Hay recalled that just before they arrived in Gettysburg, “the President got into a little talk with (Chairman) MacVeagh about Missouri affairs. MacVeagh talked radicalism until he learned that he was talking recklessly. The President disavowed any knowledge of the Edwards’ case, said that (Attorney General) Bates said to him, as indeed he said to me, that Edwards was inefficient and must be removed for that reason.”<sup>72</sup>

William W. Edwards, a radical Republican from St. Charles, Missouri, was serving as the U. S. District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri and had been removed by Attorney General Edward Bates on November 2 for “Your recent active participation in political enterprises hostile to the known views and wishes of the Executive Government in both the nation and the state.” Bates recorded in his diary that the “radicals are making great efforts to create the belief that they are the Union men, and all others are against the Union. And they succeed in driving on some cowardly patriots, who reluctantly go along with them, for fear of being denounced by them.”<sup>73</sup>

Secretary Welles recorded a visit to the President by Missouri Radicals on September 29, 1863, where the issue was discussed. The problem was between radical Republicans in the state known as “Charcoals,” who wanted immediate abolition, and the more conservative Republicans known as “Claybanks,” who supported gradual emancipation. The radicals had come to present their demands to the President, but Lincoln deferred to his Attorney General and well knew the issues at stake in abiding with laws concerning abolition, the same year the Emancipation Proclamation had taken effect.<sup>74</sup> The close discussion continued until the train reached the limits of Gettysburg and journey’s end.

One of the most well-known legends about the Presidential trip to Gettysburg relates that President Lincoln wrote the Gettysburg Address while on the train. Naturally there are different versions of this story, dependent upon the author; however, there is no contemporary evidence to support this theory. Colonel Fry was “quite sure” the story when it first surfaced was in error. “I have no recollection,” he wrote, “of seeing him writing or even reading his speech during the journey. In fact, there was hardly any opportunity for him to read or write.” John Nicolay, the President’s private secretary, was even more emphatic:

“There is nether record, evidence, nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing or made any notes, on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg, The train consisted of four passenger-coaches, and either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid all the movement; the noise, the conversation, the greetings, and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of the train, rendering writing virtually impossible.”<sup>75</sup>

The President’s train pulled into the Gettysburg Station at about 6:00 p.m. Ward Hill Lamon, Edward Everett, and David Wills stood on the station platform to meet the President and his entourage along with a throng of Gettysburg citizens and visitors from other states of the Union. Two papers reported that the President was greeted “with much enthusiasm by a large gathering of citizens, who followed him to his lodgings at the residence of David Wills, Esq.” Also on the platform were stacks of coffins ready for the reburial operations, a sobering reminder of why Lincoln believed this trip to Gettysburg was so important for him personally and for the nation.

The guests whom Lincoln invited to accompany or be in Gettysburg were multi-purpose to his mission, not only to dedicate a cemetery but to arrive at political and international understandings. Foreign dignitaries were there as a courtesy but to also ally the nations they represented with the Union cause. Political leaders of the Republican Party were necessary for planning strategy and alliances when Lincoln would deal with opponents in Congress and on the state level. The military units representing not only the Army, but the Navy and Marines as well

made the dedication services unilaterally recognized of all branches of military service. Abraham Lincoln chose his entourage well; and they would witness history as Lincoln restated the nation's war aims and imparted some sense of purpose to the sacrifices of the soldiers who had given the "last full measure of devotion" at Gettysburg.<sup>76</sup>

## Endnotes:

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<sup>1</sup> *Adams Sentinel*, Gettysburg, PA, November 10, 1863; Louis A. Warren. *Lincoln's Gettysburg Declaration: "A New Birth of Freedom."* (Fort Wayne, IN: Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1964), p. 58. See Also: *Daily Morning Chronicle*, Washington, DC, November, 19, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> John W. Busey & David G. Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*. (Highstown, NJ: Longstreet House, 1986), pp. 239 & 275; Frank I. Klement, *The Gettysburg Soldiers' National Cemetery and Lincoln's Address: Aspects and Angles*. (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing, Co., Inc., 1993), p. 4 (hereafter cited as "Klement"); *Adams Sentinel*, July 28, 1863; *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 27, 1863; *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Biography of Pennsylvania, Vol. III*. (New York: Atlantic Publishing & Engraving Company, 1898), pp. 44-47.

<sup>3</sup> Wills to Curtin, Curtin Letterbooks, Executive Correspondence, 1861 – 1865, Pennsylvania State Archives (Copy at GETT File V10-5); *Adams Sentinel*, Gettysburg, PA, August 4, 1863; *Compiler*, Gettysburg, PA, August 10, 1863.

<sup>4</sup> *Adams Sentinel*, August 18, 1863; *Adams Sentinel*, September 1, 1863. See letter to Colonel Alleman in the *Adams Sentinel*, August 25, 1863 thanking him for G. O. #2; Raphael P. Thain, compiler, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813 – 1880*. (1881. Reprint, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 96 (hereafter cited as "Thain").

<sup>5</sup> Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington, as Senator and Secretary of State*. (New York: Derby and Miller, 1891), p. 186; Walter Stahr, *Seward: Lincoln's Indispensable Man*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012), p. 379.

<sup>6</sup> L. H. Bailey, *The Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture, Vol. 3* (New York: McMillian Company, 1917), pp. 1594 & 1595; Memoirs of William J. Saunders, December 20, 1898, copy in GETT File V10-7a; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery*. (1865. Reprint: Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1988), p. 147 (hereinafter cited as "Select Committee").

<sup>7</sup> *Compiler*, October 5, 1863; *Adams Sentinel*, October 6, 1863; *Compiler*, October 12, 1863. Saunders is referred to in the newspaper articles as "the Government Rural Architect at Washington".

<sup>8</sup> *Adams Sentinel*, September 15, 1863; *Select Committee*, p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> Earl Schenck Miers, ed., *Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1809 – 1865*, (1960 in three volumes, Reprinted, Dayton, OH: Morningside, 1991 in one volume), p. 204, (hereinafter cited as "Lincoln Day by Day").

<sup>10</sup> A. K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, (Philadelphia, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1892), pp. 232-233; For more on the Altoona Conference see: William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 253- 345; *OR*, III, 2, pp.582- 584.

<sup>11</sup> Allen Johnson & Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), VI, pp. 223- 226; *Select Committee*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>12</sup> *Select Committee*, pp. 168 -169.

<sup>13</sup> Wills to Cannon, copy at GETT V10-5.

<sup>14</sup> *Compiler*, October 19, 1863. Maj. Gen. Darius M. Couch, commanding the Department of the Susquehanna, was in charge of the military.

<sup>15</sup> Wills to Curtin, November 7, 1863, *Adams Sentinel*, November 10, 1863

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Brown to Governor Tod, October 28, 1863, MSS 309 David Tod Papers, 1862 – 1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Ohio Historical Society; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, Cincinnati, OH, November 23, 1863; John W. Busey, *The Last Full*

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*Measure: Burials in the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, (Hightstown, NJ: Longstreet House, 1988), p. 100.

<sup>17</sup> *Daily National Republican*, Washington, DC, November 7, 1863.

<sup>18</sup> Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 volumes +index, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1952 – 1955), VII, p. 7. (hereafter cited as "CW".); *Daily National Republican*, November 7, 1863

<sup>19</sup> Alexander to Lamon, November 10, 1863, Ward Hill Lamon Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino. CA (hereinafter cited as "Lamon Papers".)

<sup>20</sup> John C. Nicolay, "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," *The Century Illustrated Magazine*, November 1893 – April 1894, pp. 596- 597. (hereafter cited as "Nicolay".)

<sup>21</sup> Frederick Hall, *Life of Maximilian I, Late Emperor of Mexico*, (New York: James Miller, 1868), pp. 26, 69, 71, 305. Maximilian will be executed on June 19, 1867.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*. 31 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894 – 1927), I, 2, p. 268 (hereinafter cited as "ORN"). On September 5 – 6, 1864, a squadron of English, Dutch, and French ships captured Shimonoseki. See *ORN*, I, 3, pp. 201-249.

<sup>23</sup> *ORN*, I, 2, pp. 492- 493, 505-506; Charles C. Hauch, "Attitudes of Foreign Governments Towards the Spanish Reoccupation of the Dominican Republic," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May, 1947), pp. 247 – 268.

<sup>24</sup> E. B. & Barbara Long, *The Civil War Day by Day*, (1971. Reprint: New York: Da Capo Press, 1985), pp. 322-323, 325, 369, 421.

<sup>25</sup> F. A. Golder, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (July 1915), pp. 801- 812.

<sup>26</sup> Welles Diary, p. 317.

<sup>27</sup> U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880 – 1901), I, 50(1), p. 184. (hereinafter cited as "OR".); Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 1984), pp. 87-88; U. S. Congress. *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 7 Company, 1866), Vol. XIII, pp. 665-668. The Treaty of Box Elder provided the surviving Shoshones a 500 acre tract in Box Elder County, WA, and financial compensation for lost tribal lands.

<sup>28</sup> *Lincoln Day by Day*, 2, 204; Michael Burlingame & John R. T. Ettliger, eds., *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay*, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press 1997), p. 105 (hereafter cited as "Inside Lincoln's White House".); *OR*, I, 29, 2, pp. 394 & 395.

<sup>29</sup> Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813 – 1880*, (1891. Reprint, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 70-71. (hereafter cited as "Thian".); *OR*, I, 25, Pt. 2, p. 864; *OR*, III, 3, p. 982; *Collected Works*, VI, pp. 555-557; *Hay Diary*, p. 107.

<sup>30</sup> *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 109. Nico is John Nicolay, the President's private secretary.

<sup>31</sup> *Lincoln Day by Day*, 219; *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 111; *Daily National Republican*, November 13, 1863.

<sup>32</sup> Lamon papers; *Daily National Republican*, November 7, 1863.

<sup>33</sup> *CW* VII, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 13, 1863; Klement, p. 41. Lamon and French had returned to Washington by November 16. It had been Ward Hill Lamon's intention to bring his wife to Washington that month, so Lincoln's note hastened her arrival in Washington.

<sup>35</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 7, 1863.

<sup>36</sup> *OR*, III, 3, p. 1014

<sup>37</sup> *Inside Lincoln's White House*, p. 111

<sup>38</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 14, 1863.

<sup>39</sup> Noah Brooks, *Abraham Lincoln*, (New York: Fred DeFau & Company, 1888), p. 377; Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, (New York: The Century Co., 1895), p. 286.

<sup>40</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 18, 1863; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 18, 1863.

<sup>41</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 16, 1863.

<sup>42</sup> *Daily National Republican*, November 17, 1863; Klement, p. 43.

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- <sup>43</sup> *Inquirer*, Philadelphia, PA, November 18, 1863; Francis B. Heitman. *Historical Register of the United States Army*. 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), Vol. 1, p. 456. The official name of the Invalid Corps was changed to Veteran Reserve Corps in 1864.
- <sup>44</sup> *CW*, VIII, p. 15; Gideon Welles, *The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy. The Original Manuscript Edition*, Edited by William E. & Erica J. Gienapp, (Urbana, IL: Knox College Lincoln Studies Center, 2014), p. 317 (hereinafter cited as "Welles Diary"); *Select Committee*, 173.
- <sup>45</sup> *CW*, VII, p. 16; *Lincoln Lore*, #1023, November 15, 1948, Fort Wayne, IN. This little sheet contains the telegrams between Stanton and Garrett. (Copy in GETT File V10-18.)
- <sup>46</sup> *Lincoln Lore*, #1023, November 15, 1948, Fort Wayne, IN.
- <sup>47</sup> *CW*, VII, p. 16
- <sup>48</sup> Saunders' Memoirs.
- <sup>49</sup> *Boston Evening Journal*, Boston, MA, November 19, 1863; *Daily Morning Chronicle*, November 19, 1863.
- <sup>50</sup> *CW*, VIII, p. 526; Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, (New York: North American Publishing Company, 1886), Chapter XXII – James B. Fry, pp. 402 – 403 (hereafter cited as "Fry").
- <sup>51</sup> Cochrane's letter to his parents, November 21, 1863, U. S. Marine Corps Historical Branch, Quantico, VA, Henry Clay Cochrane's file (hereinafter cited as "Cochrane Letter").
- <sup>52</sup> David M. Sullivan, *The United States Marines in the Civil War – The Third Year*, (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Com., Inc., 1997), pp. 19-20. Wills' letter to Welles was dated November 3. Harris died on May 12, 1864, having served for 50 years as a Marine officer. (US Marine Corps History Division, [www.mcu.usmc.mil](http://www.mcu.usmc.mil))
- <sup>53</sup> Edward W. Callahan, ed., *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 – 1900*, (1901. Reprint- Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, Inc., n.d.), p. 695; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1864*, (New York: D. Appleton & Com., 1865), p. 594. Ramsay died on February 15, 1864, of small-pox.
- <sup>54</sup> Henry Clay Cochrane. "With Lincoln to Gettysburg," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Pennsylvania Commandary, Memorial Meeting, February 1907, p. 9 (hereafter cited as "Cochrane".) Cochrane retired from the Marine Corps in 1905 with the rank of brigadier general.
- <sup>55</sup> Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Declaration: "A New Birth of Freedom."* (Fort Wayne, IN: Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1964), p. 58 (see also *Daily Chronicle*, November 19, 1863); Heitman, I, p. 428; U. S. War Department, *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army, Part VIII*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 119; *The Medal of Honor of the United States Army*, p. 112; J.W. Jones, *The Story of American Heroism*, (Springfield, OH: J. W. Jones, 1897), p.109.
- <sup>56</sup> *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 111.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>59</sup> Cochrane Letter. Wise was the acting chief of ordinance for the US Navy.
- <sup>60</sup> *Inquirer*, November 19, 1863; Cochrane, 9.
- <sup>61</sup> Cochrane Letter.
- <sup>62</sup> Cochrane, 9.
- <sup>63</sup> Henry V. Poor. *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States of America*. 3 vols. (New York: John H. Schultz & Co., 1860), I, p. 596. (Hereinafter cited as "Poor".); Cochrane, p. 9.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>66</sup> (Isaac) Wayne MacVeagh. "Lincoln at Gettysburg," *The Century Illustrated Magazine*, November 1909 – April 1910, pp. 20 – 23. (hereinafter cited as "MacVeagh").
- <sup>67</sup> Cochrane Letter; MacVeagh.
- <sup>68</sup> *Inquirer*, November 21, 1863; Hanover Area Historical Society ([www.Hahs.us](http://www.Hahs.us)); Poor, I, pp. 443-444. This distance from Hanover Junction includes the 12 miles to Hanover and 17 miles from Hanover to Gettysburg.
- <sup>69</sup> William Anthony, *Anthony's History of the Battle of Hanover*. (Hanover, PA: William Anthony, publisher, 1945), pp. 123 & 132; George R. Prowell, *History of York County, Pennsylvania*. 2 vols. (Chicago, IL: J. H. Beers & Co., 1907), Volume I, pp. 814-816; *Inquirer*, November 21, 1863.

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<sup>70</sup> *Spectator*, Hanover, PA, November 21, 1863.

<sup>71</sup> *Daily Commercial*, Cincinnati, OH, November 23, 1863.

<sup>72</sup> *Inside Lincoln's White House*, p. 111.

<sup>73</sup> *Inside Lincoln's White House*, p. 111, p. 326, fn p. 277; *Daily National Republican*, November 17, 1863; Edward Bates, *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859 – 1866*, edited by Howard K. Beale, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 321-322.

<sup>74</sup> Welles Diary, p. 302, fn p. 31.

<sup>75</sup> Fry, p. 403; John C. Nicolay. "Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," (*The Century Magazine*, February 1894), 601.

<sup>76</sup> *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, Baltimore, MD, November 20, 1863 & *National Intelligencer*, Washington, DC, November 21, 1863.