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Circumstances Surrounding the Dedication of the
Soldiers' National Cemetery and of
the Delivery by Abraham Lincoln
of his Gettysburg Address,
November 19, 1863

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The Need and Establishment of a Soldiers' Cemetery

As a result of the Battle of Gettysburg, two urgent problems had to be resolved by local residents and by the State. In addition to the need of providing care for the 21,000 wounded of both armies, fully as urgent was the necessity of caring for the dead. More than 6,000 had been killed in action, and hundreds died each day from mortal wounds. Because of the emergencies of battle, and the impossibility of army burial details handling even temporary interments, hundreds of bodies had been left unburied or only partially covered. It was evident that the limited aid which could be offered by local authorities must be supported by a well-organized plan for disinterment of the bodies from the temporary burial grounds on the field and reburial in a permanent place at Gettysburg or in home cemeteries.

In response to the request of Gov. Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania for immediate solution, Attorney David Wills of Gettysburg, acting as agent for the Governor, selected land on the northwest slope of Cemetery Hill as a suitable site for a burial ground. He further suggested, in a communication of August 13, 1863, that the State of Pennsylvania purchase the ground at once so that reinterments could begin without delay, and that the 17 other states whose soldiers had taken part in the battle be requested to furnish funds for laying out and landscaping the grounds. (Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, March 31, 1864, p. 67.) The suggestion was seconded with promptness by the governors of the several states. (Ibid., pp. 62, 67.)

Within six weeks, Mr. Wills had purchased 17 acres of ground on Cemetery Hill and engaged William Saunders, an eminent landscape gardener, to lay out the ground in state lots apportioned in size to the number of graves of the fallen from each state.

Mr. Wills submitted to Governor Curtin his proposal on July 24 for disinterment and reburial in this central burying ground. The reburials began on October 27, 1863 and were completed March 18, 1864. (Ibid., p. 161.) At the time of the dedicatory services on November 19, 1863, a total of 1,188 reburials had been completed. (Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser, November 24, 1863.) The cemetery was incorporated by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania March 25, 1864 and designated the Soldiers' National Cemetery. (Report of the Select Committee, pp. 53-56.)

The reinterment of 3,354 bodies, 158 of those exhumed having been removed to Massachusetts, in the Cemetery was thus accomplished only after many months. Great care had been taken to identify the bodies at the time of temporary burial on the field. (Ibid., p. 39.) At the time of reinterment, therefore, the greater number of the bodies were readily identified by marked head boards which had been placed at the field grave, or by items found on the bodies. Even so, the remains of 1,664 remained unknown, 979 of whom were without identification either by name or by state. Exhumation of the bodies from the field graves was performed under the supervision of Samuel Weaver. James S. Townsend supervised the reburials in the Cemetery. The contract price for exhumation and reburial was \$1.59 for each body. Since the original burials, the total interments of Civil War dead had reached 3,706.

Within a year, appropriations from the states made possible the enclosure of the cemetery with a massive stone wall and an iron fence on the Baltimore Street front, imposing gateways of iron, headstones for the graves and a keeper's lodge. In connection with the dedicatory services, November 19, it is noted that "a beautiful pole was . . . raised in the National Cemetery grounds yesterday [November 16] near the stand prepared for the world renowned orator, Hon. Edward Everett, who will be present to deliver the dedicatory address". (Adams Sentinel, November 17, 1863.)

In line with a resolution adopted by the Commissioners appointed by the governors of the states having soldiers buried in the Cemetery, said Commissioners being in session in Harrisburg, December 17, 1863, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania incorporated the Cemetery by act of legislature which was approved March 25, 1864 and was designated Soldiers' National Cemetery. (Revised Report to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, p. 171, Harrisburg, 1867.) The Cemetery "having been completed, and the care of it by Commissioners from so many states being burdensome and expensive", the Board of Commissioners, having been authorized by act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, April 14, 1868, recommended the transfer of the cemetery to the Federal Government. (Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, by John Russell Bartlett, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners, p. 18.) The Secretary of War accepted title to the cemetery for the United States Government on May 1, 1872. (Ibid.)

Military Features of Cemetery Hill, and
Adaptability for Cemetery Use

The northwest slope of Cemetery Hill, which was selected as

the burial place for the Union dead on the battlefield, was an important landmark in the Union battle position. The segment of the battle line on this hill was the bend in the hook-shaped line and portions of the First Corps of Infantry occupied the northern slope. Gen. Adolph Von Steinwehr's division of Gen. G. O. Howard's Corps, arriving at Cemetery Hill before noon, July 1, and remaining there, had sufficient time in which to construct earthworks on the hill later in the day while the remainder of General Howard's troops were fighting north of Gettysburg. There is, however, no mention in the unit reports of this division that defense works were built. Instead, the soldiers employed existing stone walls for defense. General Von Steinwehr stated in the report of his division that "our infantry was posted behind stone fences surrounding the hill, and suffered but little from the enemy's artillery". (Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Vol. 27, Part I, p. 722.) Col. James Wood, of the 136th New York infantry of Steinwehr's second brigade, reported that the regiment was deployed back of a stone wall that "fenced out the [Taneytown] road from the adjoining field". (Ibid, 726.) The latter stone wall adjoined the Taneytown Road, and the reference to the field apparently was the ground later selected for the cemetery. The stone wall noted by General Von Steinwehr extended from Taneytown Road eastward, probably along the line of the existing northern bounds of the National Cemetery.

A large sketch of Gettysburg and the National Cemetery appeared in the New York Herald, indicating a stone wall extending from the Baltimore Pike westward about half way to the Taneytown Road and in the approximate location of the existing north wall of the Cemetery. (New York Herald, November 20, 1863)

From the Confederate viewpoint Northwest of Cemetery Hill, Gen. S. D. Ramseur, who commanded a brigade of Gen. Robert Rodes' division, reported concerning his orders to attack this sector of the Union line on the Hill July 2, that he charged forward "until within 200 yards of the enemy's position, where batteries were discovered in position to pour upon our lines direct, cross and enfilade fires. Two lines of infantry behind stone walls and breastworks were supporting these batteries". (Official Records, Vol. 27, Part II, p. 508.)

While negotiations were under way for the purchase of the ground for cemetery use, the official report to the legislature noted, concerning the area, that "There were stone fences upon those grounds, which had been advantageously used by the infantry". (Revised Report to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, p. 176.) On the higher ground, in rear of the infantry lines, were the batteries of the 5th New York artillery; Battery G, 4th U. S. Artillery; Battery H, 1st U. S. Artillery; Battery C, 1st West Virginia; Battery A, 1st Massachusetts; and the 1st New Hampshire Battery.

It would appear, therefore, that the field on the northwest slope of Cemetery Hill which was selected as the site for the cemetery was not disturbed by the construction of defense positions. Evidence of battle, however, such as "muddy knapsacks, canteens, haversacks, old shoes, pistols, holsters and bayonet sheaths" were seen by visitors on this ground as late as November 24. (Adams Sentinel, November 24.) It is apparent, also, that a stone fence existed in the approximate location of the existing north wall of the National Cemetery, a section of which fence extended along the Tanoytown Road, and that these stone fences constituted the infantry defense positions of the Union Army on Cemetery

Hill. The artillery batteries occupied the higher ground which later became the southern boundary line of the National Cemetery.

The gardener, William Saunders, referring to his design for location of graves and of landscaping, states that "The prevailing expression of the cemetery should be that of simple grandeur The disposition of trees and shrubs is such as will ultimately produce a considerable degree of landscape effect. Ample spaces of lawn are provided Any abridgment of these lawns by planting further than is shown in the design, will tend to destroy the massive effect of the groupings, and in time would render the whole confused and intricate. As the trees spread and extend, the quiet beauty produced by these open spaces of lawn will yearly become more striking The center of the semi-circle is reserved for the monument". (Report of the Select Committee, pp. 37-38.) Mr. Saunders produced a drawing of the lay-out of grave plots, planting, roads, walks and the monument site. (*Ibid.*, p. opposite p. 38.) The existing planting surrounding the Soldiers' National Monument and among the graves is a clear departure from the Saunders plan.

Organizations, Persons and Circumstances Connected
With the Procession and the Dedication

President Lincoln was a guest at Attorney Hills' home on Center Square overnight November 18. On the following morning at ten o'clock, the appointed time for the procession to leave ^{for} the cemetery, Mr. Lincoln came out of the house when he was greeted by a throng crowding the street in front to obtain a view of him. The President, it was observed, "appeared in black, with the usual crepe bound around his hat in memory of his little son, and with white gauntlets upon his

hands". (Washington Daily Chronicle, November 20.) Another report states that the President wore "a plain suit of black, with white kid gauntlets". (Baltimore American, November 20.) A fine horse of average size had been provided for him, but his tall figure had the effect of dwarfing the animal and creating an incongruous appearance. A delay of an hour ensued as the marshals were getting the parade units in readiness.

At eleven o'clock the procession, in charge of Gen. Darius Couch, began the march. From Center Square, the procession moved out Baltimore Street to Brimley Road, then to Taneytown Road and the Cemetery grounds. The thousands not in the procession entered the grounds by way of Baltimore Street and passed about the speaker's stand, which had been erected in the center of the semi-circular plot reserved in the Cemetery plan for the Soldiers' Monument. After the march and another delay of one-half hour as Hon. Edward Everett, the orator of the day, completed a tour of the battlefield, it was high noon when the services began. According to the estimate of a local reporter, 20,000 persons were in attendance. (Adams County Sentinel, November 24.) The Philadelphia Press gave an estimate of 15,000 (Philadelphia Press, November 20), while other newspapers reported the crowd at 15,000 to 20,000.

Prof. Michael Jacobs of the faculty at Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College, who was also the official weather observer for Gettysburg, reported that the day of dedication was "an ideal fall day. There was scarcely a cloud in the sky. The thermometer stood at its maximum at 52, just warm enough to prevent a chill; and yet cool enough to be slightly bracing". (Quoted in Henry E. Jacob's, Lincoln's Gettysburg World Message, P. 63. The weather records are in the possession of the Jacobs family, Philadelphia.) A variation from this report is that of

the New York Times, which stated that "although a heavy fog clouded the heavens in the morning during the procession, the sun broke out in all its brilliancy during the Rev. Mr. Stockton's prayer" (New York Times, November 19; Lancaster Daily Express, November 21).

The instructions to the marshals and various units forming the procession to the Cemetery, and the program at the dedicatory services, is contained in the following communication:

PROGRAMME OF ARRANGEMENTS
and Order of Exercises for the Commemoration of the National
Cemetery, at Gettysburg, on the 19th of November, 1863.

The military will form in Gettysburg at nine o'clock, A.M., on Carlisle street, north of the square, its right resting on the square, opposite McClellan's Hotel, under the direction of Major General Couch.

The State Marshals and Chief Marshal's aide will assemble in the public square at the same hour.

All civic bodies, except the citizens of States, will assemble, according to the foregoing printed programme, on York Street at the same hour.

The delegation of Pennsylvania citizens will form on Chambersburg street, its right resting on the square, and the other citizen delegations, in their order, will form on the same street, in rear of the Pennsylvania delegation.

The Marshals of the States are charged with the duty of forming their several delegations so that they will assume their appropriate positions when the main procession moves.

The head of the column will move at precisely ten o'clock, A. M.

The route will be up Baltimore Street to the Lincolnton road, thence to the junction of the Taneytown road, thence, by the latter road, to the cemetery, where the military will form in line, as the General in command may order, for the purpose of saluting the President of the United States.

The military will then close up and occupy the space on the left of the stand.

The civic procession will advance and occupy the area in front of the stand, the military leaving sufficient space between them and the line of graves for the civic procession to pass.

The ladies will occupy the right of the stand, and it is desirable that they be upon the ground as early as ten o'clock, A. M. The exercises will take place as soon as the military and civic bodies are in position, as follows:

Music by Fitzgerald's band.

Prayer, by Rev. T. H. Stockton, D. D.

Music, by the Marine Band.

Oration, by Hon. Edward Everett.

Music, hymn composed by B. B. French, 1894.

Dedicatory Remarks, by our President of the United States.

Music, sung by choir selected for the occasion.

Dedication, by Rev. H. T. Daughner, D. D.

After the benediction the procession will be dismissed, and the State Senators and special aids to the Chief Marshal, will form on Baltimore street, and return to the court house in Gettysburg, where a meeting of the Marshals will be held.

An appropriate salute will be fired in Gettysburg on the day of the celebration, under the direction of Major General Couch.

(Report of the Select Committee, pp. 76-77.)

The place in the procession to be taken by the several distinguished

visitors from the National and State Governments, and various organizations,

is shown in the following order of march:

ORDER OF PROCESSION

For the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pa., on the 19th of November, 1863.

1. Military, under command of Major General Couch.
Major General Meade and Staff, and the Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac.
Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps of the United States.
Chief Marshal.
Aids.
Members of the Cabinet.
Assistant Secretaries of the several Executive Departments.
General-in-Chief of the Army, and Staff.
Lieutenant General Scott and Major-General Stewart.

Judges of the United States Supreme Court.
Hon. Edward Everett, Orator of the Day, and the Chaplain.
Governors of the States, and their Staffs.
Commissioners of the States on the Inauguration of the Cemetery.
Bearers with the Flags of the States.
Vice President of the United States and Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Members of the two Houses of Congress.
Officers of the two Houses of Congress.
Mayors of Cities.
Gettysburg Committee of Arrangements.
Officers and Members of the United States Sanitary Commission.
Committees of different Religious Bodies.
United States Military Telegraphic Corps.
Officers and Representatives of Adams Express Company.
Officers of different Telegraph Companies.
Hospital Corps of the Army.
Soldiers' Relief Associations.
Knights Templar.
Masonic Fraternity.
Independent Order of Odd Fellows.
Other Benevolent Associations.
Literary, Scientific and Industrial Associations.
The Press.
Officers and Members of Loyal Leagues.
Fire Companies.
Citizens of the State of Pennsylvania.
Citizens of other States.
Citizens of the District of Columbia.
Citizens of the several Territories.

(Report of the Select Committee, pp. 74-75.)

The Procession, the Platform, the Military and Distinguished Visitors, as reported by Observers for the Press.

In the early stages of the plan to establish a central burial grounds for the soldier dead of the 18 states who fell on this battlefield, the matter of providing a central burial ground and of reinterment of the bodies had been accepted as the responsibility of the states. It was expected, therefore, that the governors would represent the states and would occupy positions of prominence at the dedicatory services. The selection of the dedication speaker, Hon. Edward Everett, was made at the instance of the governors. A perfunctory invitation had been sent to President Lincoln. Only then he indicated his intention

of being present did Attorney Willis, speaking for the governors, send a personal invitation to the President. Except for the presence of the President and certain cabinet members, therefore, the dedication remained largely a state sponsored undertaking and proper respect for the occasion called for representation by the highest officer of the states. Representing those states who suffered heaviest casualties at Gettysburg, as recorded by the Philadelphia Press (Philadelphia Press, November 20), included the following officials:

Gov. Andrew Curtin, Pennsylvania, and military staff.
Gov. Oliver P. Horton, Indiana
Gov. Horatio Seymour, New York
Gov. Augustus W. Bradford, Maryland
Gov. Joel Parker, New Jersey
Gov. David Tod, Ohio
Gov. Arthur I. Boreman, West Virginia
Former Gov. William Dennison, Ohio
Gov. elect. John Brough, Ohio
Major Gen. Robert C. Schenck
Major Gen. Julius Stahel
Major Gen. Abner Doubleday
Major Gen. Darius Couch
Brig. Gen. John Gibbons
Provost Marshal Gen. James B. Fry

Included among the guests was "Mrs. Commander Henry A. Wiso", daughter of Edward Everett. (Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 20.)

The New York Times added to this list:

M. Morcier, Minister of France and Admiral Renaud
H. Bertinatti, Minister of Italy
Mr. McDougall of the Canadian Ministry
President Lincoln's Secretaries, John Hay and John
G. Nicolay

The New York Times also listed, along with the governors of the several states, the following military representatives on Governor Curtin's staff: Generals Irwin, King and Reynolds, and Colonels J. F. Palestine, Roberts, Thomas, Wright and Quay. (New York Times, November 19.)

Additional representatives in the Pennsylvania group included Simon Cameron, former Secretary of War, Auditor General Slenker, Surgeon General Blair, State Treasurer McGrath, and Adjutant General Russell.

(Adams Sentinel, November 24.)

The matter of official representation of the National Government, in addition to the President, was discussed at a cabinet meeting November 17. Secretary of State William H. Seward, Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair agreed to make the trip. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase stated that public business required their presence in Washington. (Carl Sandberg, The War Years, II, p. 460.) Lieut. Henry C. Cochrane, a member of the Marine unit accompanying the President, noted that on the route to Gettysburg, November 18, Maj. Gen. Robert C. Schenck and Mayor Frederick W. Lincoln of Boston entered the train at the Baltimore station. (Ibid., 462.) Wayne MacVeagh, an attorney and chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican Central Committee, was also on the train. (Ibid., 463.) At the end of an uneventful trip, during which the train made stops at Hanover Junction and Hanover, the train arrived in Gettysburg about six o'clock. The President was greeted at the depot "with much enthusiasm by a large gathering of citizens, who followed him to his lodgings at the residence of David Wills, Esq. (Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, November 20; National Intelligencer, Washington, November 21.)

Early on the day of dedication, a salute of 31 guns was fired from Cemetery Hill in honor of the President, and the reporter for the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin noted, and during the procession, to the

cemetery minute guns were fired from the same spot. "Every window and door along the line of march," he observed, "was decorated with American flags in the utmost profusion." (Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, November 20.)

As the procession reached the platform, it was observed that Chief Marshal Ward Lamon "took up a position on the left of the stand" and "numerous flags and banners, suitably draped, were exhibited on the stand among the audience [sic]. (New York Times, November 20; Lancaster Daily Express, November 27.)

The procession arrived at the platform a quarter after eleven o'clock, according to the report of the Philadelphia Public Ledger (Philadelphia Public Ledger, November 20). "The President and members of the cabinet, together with chief military and civic dignitaries, took their positions on the stand, the President being seated between Messrs. Seward and Everett. . . ." (Ibid). The account noted further that "the military then formed in line, extending around, the area between the stand and the military being occupied by civilians, comprising about 15,000 people, and including men, women and children. The attendance of ladies was quite large". (Ibid.; Philadelphia Press, November 20; New York Herald, November 20; Philadelphia Public Ledger, November 20; Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 20; Philadelphia North American, November 20.)

There are variations in other reports of the arrangements of groups at the stand. The Washington Daily Chronicle states that "the crowd upon the ground were kept in the form of a hollow square, within which, . . . the procession had filed and the various companies forming it had taken up a position around the platform, while those who had tickets took their seats upon it." (Washington Daily Chronicle, Nov. 20.)

The Cincinnati Gazette correspondent observed that, as the dignitaries were being seated, "the crowd was forming in front with the military drawn up in the rear. The stand was erected on the spot where the monument is to be built, . . . The President took his seat upon the front settee, with Secretary Seward first on his left, and then Mr. Blair, and Mr. Stockton on his right. No chair of state 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 exercises of three hours! . . ." (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, November 21.)

A Lancaster reporter noted that "the assemblage was of great magnitude and was gathered within a circle of great extent around the stand, . . . a long line of military surrounding the position taken by the immense multitude of people . . ." (Lancaster Daily Express, November 21.)

The reporter for a Philadelphia paper, making particular note of the seating of officials and organizations, observed that the President and members of the cabinet, along with the chiefs of military and civic delegations, "took their positions on the stand, the President being seated between Messrs. Seward and Everett, after a reception marked with respect and perfect silence, due to the solemnity of the occasion, every man among the immense gathering uncovering upon his appearance". (Philadelphia Press, November 20.) Included in the military escort, which occupied a place near the platform, were one squadron of cavalry, two batteries of artillery and a regiment of infantry, this representation of units of the armed forces being "the regular funeral escort of honor paid to the highest officers of the service". (Ibid.)

Musical organizations which took part in the program included the Union Musical Association of Baltimore, also known as the Baltimore Glee Club, which sang the hymn composed by R. B. French. (Cincinnati Gazette, November 21.) A quartet consisting of Matilda Gillespie, Martha Martin, Robert Little and Samuel Witharow, sang the dirge written by James C. Percival.

The two local newspapers, The Adams Sentinel and The Compiler, reported the events connected with the dedication on Thursday, November 19, in much the same manner. Noting first that the influx of visitors commenced on Monday and "the trains became heavier and heavier as the day of consecration approached", the local accounts state that, "on Wednesday, Wednesday night and Thursday morning, trains arrived every few hours, swelling the crowd to enormous proportions". (Adams Sentinel, November 24; The Compiler, November 23.) The number of persons in Gettysburg Thursday morning was variously estimated from 20,000 to 40,000. As the procession reached the cemetery, the speaker's rostrum was surrounded by "at least twenty thousand citizens, several thousand of whom were congregated immediately in front of the stand, the immense crowd being interspersed with chief marshals, aids and officers of different grades". It was related in the same story that "a cordon of soldiers was placed in the form of a circle outside of the crowd congregated near the stand and entirely surrounding it, beyond which thousands of citizens clustered in surging masses, endeavoring to get a glimpse of the stand". (Adams Sentinel, November 24.)

At the dedication services, the Hon. Edward Everett sat next to President Lincoln. (Ibid.) Chief Marshal Ward Lamon introduced the President. (The Compiler, November 23.)

After the ceremonies, a salute was fired by the artillery and the military portion of the procession reformed and escorted the President to the Mills house. (Adams Sentinel, November 24.) That evening at seven o'clock, the President left by train for Washington.

Eye-witness and Reported Statements During on the Circumstances at the Dedication

Henry E. Jacobs, whose father, Michael Jacobs, was a professor at Gettysburg College, was 18 years old and a student at the college. Jacobs notes that prior to Mr. Lincoln's address, he had found a place directly in front of the platform, very near to the President's seat. Jacobs states, regarding the manner of Lincoln's delivery, that the first few lines of the address were spoken without notes. Then, "gradually drawing them from his pocket, he held in both hands the sheet on which they were written, making emphatic gestures, not with his hands, which were preoccupied, but by bowing from side to side with his body".

(Henry E. Jacobs, Lincoln's Gettysburg World-Is-ssare, Philadelphia, 1919.)

William C. Storrick, Gettysburg school teacher, writer on battle subjects and student of the Civil War over many years, was a boy eight years of age at the time of the dedication services.

In a memorandum prepared in 1939 on his recollections on seeing and hearing President Lincoln at the dedication services, Mr. Storrick stated that he and his father arrived early at the platform and found a place near the northwest corner of it. He adds that the procession approached by way of Brattsburg Road to Taneytown Road, leaving the latter road at the west side of the cemetery to the platform. In addition "to members of Lincoln's cabinet, governors from some of the states, representatives from some of the states, and others.

who had been invited to attend, . . . a few wounded soldiers who had participated in the battle here were on the platform".

Mr. Storrick stated that when the President came forward to speak, "he held his manuscript in both hands but looked over the audience during its delivery". Mr. Storrick stated in a previous instance that as Mr. Lincoln was introduced, he arose, placed his glasses, then took the manuscript from the inside pocket of his coat and began speaking, giving little or no attention to the manuscript. (Manuscript in Gettysburg National Military Park Library.)

Gen. Julius E. Stahel, who was in immediate charge of the President's escort at the dedication, stated that Lincoln delivered the oration "in accord with his well-known benignant nature, in a calm, earnest, dignified manner" There is no mention of the use of a manuscript.

Lieut. Henry C. Cochrane, of the Thirteenth unit, who rode at the rear of Mr. Lincoln's horse in the procession to the Cemetery, observed concerning the appearance of the President that "his towering figure surmounted by a high silk hat made the rest of us look small" (quoted in Carl Sandburg, The War Years, II, p. 466). At the President's right, Seward and Blair rode their horses, and at the left Under and Lamon. In the next rank were six horses with Secretaries Nicolay and Bay, Provost Marshall General Fry, Lieutenant Cochrane and military officers. (Ibid.)

Rev. Julius B. Petersnyder, at the time a student at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, states that he stood at a place close to the platform. He observed that the platform was "perhaps sixty feet square" and that a "rudely constructed rocking chair was provided for

the President". As Mr. Lincoln was introduced, "he arose calmly, took out his paper and, holding it in both hands, proceeded to read it".

Remondy's statement, he said, was confirmed by a correspondent who, charged by a leading newspaper to obtain a photograph of the President while delivering the address, found it impossible "for all the while the reader held the paper so that it concealed his face" (quoted in William E. Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, pp. 175-177).

Prof. Philip H. Hinkle of Gettysburg College, a student at the time, writing of the manner of delivery by the President, said that "with a hand on each side of his manuscript, the sheets of which were of typewriter size, he spoke in a most deliberate manner, and with such a forceful and articulate enunciation that he could be heard by all of that immense throng There was no gesture except with both hands up and down, turning the manuscript which he did not seem to need, as he looked at it so seldom" (quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 178).

Langdon B. French, author of the hymn sung at the dedication services and who occupied a seat on the platform, observed, concerning the reception of the address, the "close attention and deep sympathy of those close at hand while others, nearer the outskirts of the crowd, . . . scattered before the end of the two hours" (noted in William E. Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 169).

Brig. Gen. (then Colonel) James Grant Wilson observed that "while holding his manuscript of two sheets in his left hand, Lincoln made no use of it" (quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 187).

Joseph L. Gilbert of Philadelphia, who reported the dedicatory services for the Associated Press, referred to the speaker's stand as a "rude platform". Of Lincoln's manner of speech, he said that the President, "adjusting his old-fashioned spectacles, . . . produced from the pocket of his Prince Albert coat several sheets of paper from which he read slowly and feelingly . . ." (quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 190).

Col. Clark E. Carr, who represented Illinois on the National Cemetery Commission and who states that he sat near Lincoln at the dedication, said that the President "held in his left hand two or three pages of manuscript, toward which he glanced but once" (quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 202).

John G. Nicolay, Secretary to the President, who states that he sat within a few feet of Mr. Lincoln as he spoke, wrote that "he did not read from the written pages, though that impression was naturally left upon many of his auditors" (quoted in Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, p. 206).

Recommendations

Based upon recorded statements relating to the presence and position of distinguished persons and of organizations on the platform at the dedication services, the following arrangement of persons and groups is suggested:

Front Row:

Left to right - Gen. Darius Couch, Gen. James Fry, Rev. H. L. Baughner, Rev. T. H. Stockton, Montgomery Blair, William B. Seward, President Lincoln, Edward Everett, John P. Usher, Andrew Curtin, Horatio Seymour, David Tod, Joel Parker. Marshal Ward Lamon should be shown

standing on the ground at the left front of the platform.

Second Row:

Left to right - Gen. Julius Stabel, Gen. Abner Doubleday, Gen. Robert E. Schenck, Oliver P. Morton, Augustus Bradford, Arthur L. Boreman, John Ray, John O. Nicolay, John Drough, William Donison, H. Meroler, M. Bertinatti, Mrs. Henry A. Wise, Mr. McDougall.

Third Row:

Left to right - Gen. John Gibbon, Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania State officials: Slenker, Bair, McGrath, Russell; and Generals Irwin, King and Reynolds of Governor Curtin's military staff.

Suitable space and position should be provided in rear of the first three rows for the following organizations:

Members of Congress not identified.

Union Musical Association of Baltimore, estimated 30 men and women.

Fixed quartet which sang the James Percival dirge.

Group of wounded Union soldiers from York hospital, estimated 15 persons.

The platform should be shown as approximately 40 feet square and four feet high. Bunting should be shown especially on the front of the stand. A flagpole should stand a few feet to the right (west) of the platform.

The positions of the Marine and Birgfield bands at the stand are not indicated in the records. It is suggested that the Marine band be shown at the left (east) and Birgfield's band at the right of the platform. The various organizations taking part in the procession to the cemetery and the public would be massed in front and to the left and right of the platform. On the outer fringe of the crowd should be

shown a cordon of the military.

Relative to the manner of Lincoln addressing the audience, it is suggested that he be shown standing near the front of the platform with eyes directed to the crowd while holding in his right hand, about waist high, the paper bearing his address.

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6. New York Herald
7. New York Times
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View northward on Baltimore street showing the procession bearing to the right as it enters the Emmitsburg Road. The military unit is in the low section of Baltimore street between "Baltimore street hill" (beyond) and Cemetery Hill to the rear of this view. This photograph by the Brady studio was taken from a point near the Jennie Wade house. It is possible that the horses following the military unit bear the President and his party.

View of crowd in the Soldiers' National Cemetery. The entrance arch of the Gettysburg Evergreen Cemetery appears at the upper left. In the foreground, there appears to be a cordon of soldiers on the outer limits of the crowd. There is not enough evidence to conclude definitely that this is a view of the dedication occasion November 19, 1863, or that of the cornerstone laying for the National Monument July 4, 1865.



3
This photograph was secured from the Louis F. Bachrach studio, West Newton, Massachusetts, in 1942. The photograph was probably made by Mr. Bachrach's father, David Bachrach. There are not sufficient identifying marks to indicate whether the view shows the crowd at the dedication of the National Cemetery November 19, 1863, or that of the laying of the cornerstone of the Soldier's National Monument July 4, 1865. In this photograph, there appears to be two platforms, facing each other, and supported at least in part by poles.

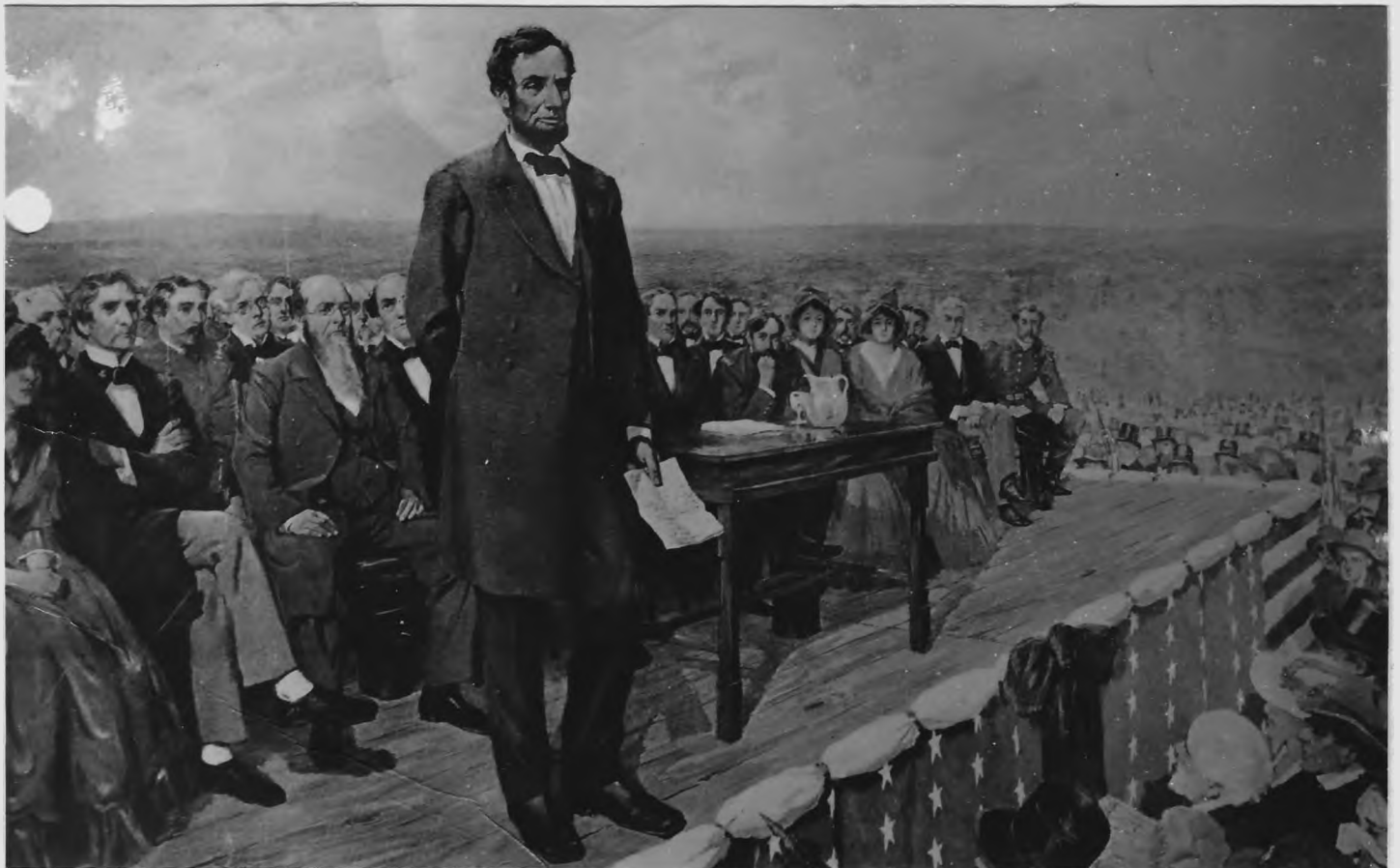
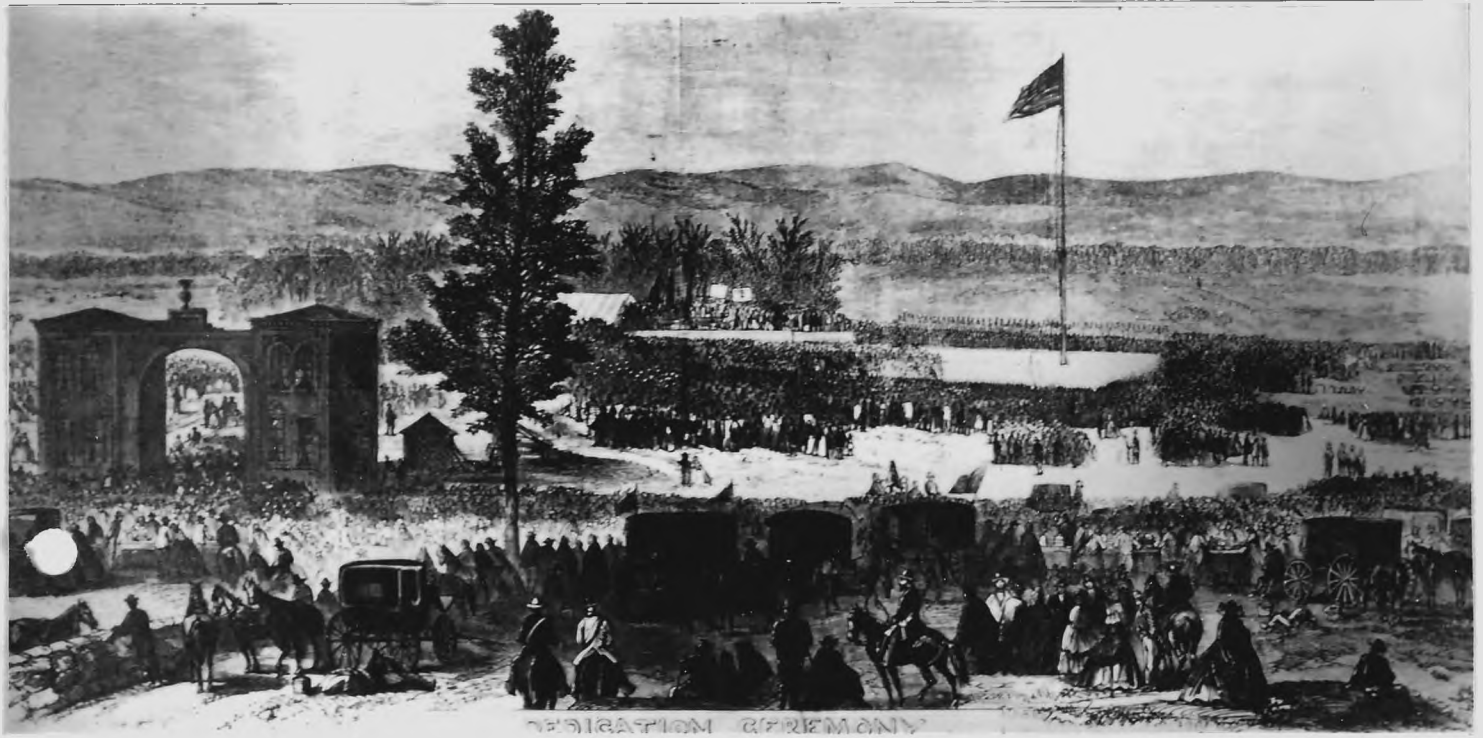
4
This print is an enlargement of a section of a Matthew Brady photograph. The view is probably that of the platform at the dedication services November 19, and the arrow points to the person believed to be President Lincoln. The third person from the upper right is thought to be Governor Andrew Curtin. The original glass negative is in the National Archives, in Washington.



Sketch by Joseph Becker of the dedication exercises November 19, 1863, which appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper December 5, 1863. The caption accompanying the illustration reads: "From sketches by our special artist, Joseph Becker." The artist views the ceremony from a vantage point on East Cemetery Hill. The reports of observers at the dedication do not support the existence of a large open space in front of the platform. The Washington Daily Chronicle states, however, that the crowd was "kept in the form of a hollow square within which, . . . the procession had filed and the various companies forming it had taken up a position around the platform, . . ." The sketch may well have been made before the arrival of the marching units. The small, square burial plot with headboards at the right of the view does not tie in with the Saunders plan of semi-circular lines of graves, nor is the flag pole in the position in which a pole appears to the west of the platform in photograph No. 7 which was made about 1868. It appears that Becker made sketches on the ground November 19 but did not produce this drawing until some time later.

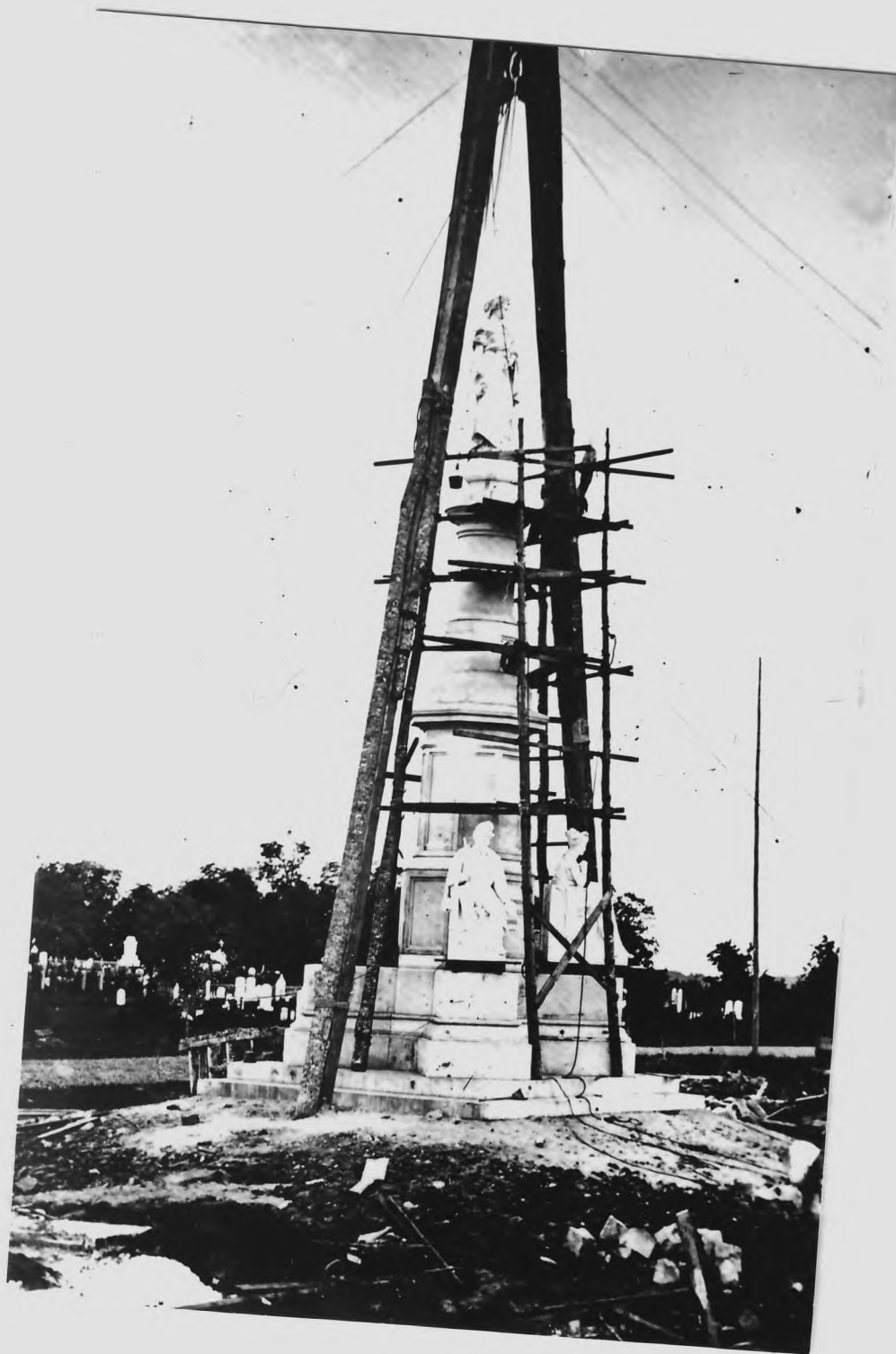
This painting by Fletcher Ransom purports to show prominent National and State officials and guests on the front row of the platform. The key to the painting identifies the following persons: (1) Mrs. Wise [daughter of Edward Everett], (2) William H. Seward, (3) Col. Gordon Lofland, (4) Gov. Horatio Seymour, (5) Edwin M. Stanton, (6) Montgomery Blair, (7) Edward Everett, (8) Oliver P. Morton, (9) Col. John Hay, (10-11) The Misses Gilbert, (12) Gov. Andrew Curtin, (13) Col. J. W. Forney. Secretary of War Stanton was not at Gettysburg on this occasion. The Misses Gilbert, residents of Gettysburg, did not have a part in the program, it is believed.

The original painting hangs in the State Capitol of Illinois, Springfield.



View of the Soldier's National Monument in the process of construction. While no date appears on the negative the year is probably 1868. The corner stone was laid on July 4, 1865 and the monument dedicated on July 1, 1869.

The monument faces northwestward. This view is southward and shows gravestones in Gettysburg Evergreen Cemetery in the left and right background. A flagpole, which may be the pole erected on November 16 preceding the dedication services, appears at the right. The monument is located at the place where the platform stood at the time of the dedication.



7

8
The design of the Soldiers' National Cemetery drawn by the landscape gardener, William Saunders. Soldier dead from the battlefield were being reburied in the several State plots indicated at the time of the dedication services November 19, 1863. At that time 1,188 bodies had been re-interred. Reburials began on October 27.

The design was first printed in the Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, March 31, 1864.

9
View of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in 1878 showing the 15-year growth of much of the planting indicated in the Saunders plan, particularly the row of pine trees on the far border and the line of trees along the upper drive (left of the monument.) The view is westward and the Baltimore street entrance appears in the foreground. The small white stones on the near side of the monument mark the graves of the unknown dead; the long, circular slabs at the right center mark the graves of the known dead.

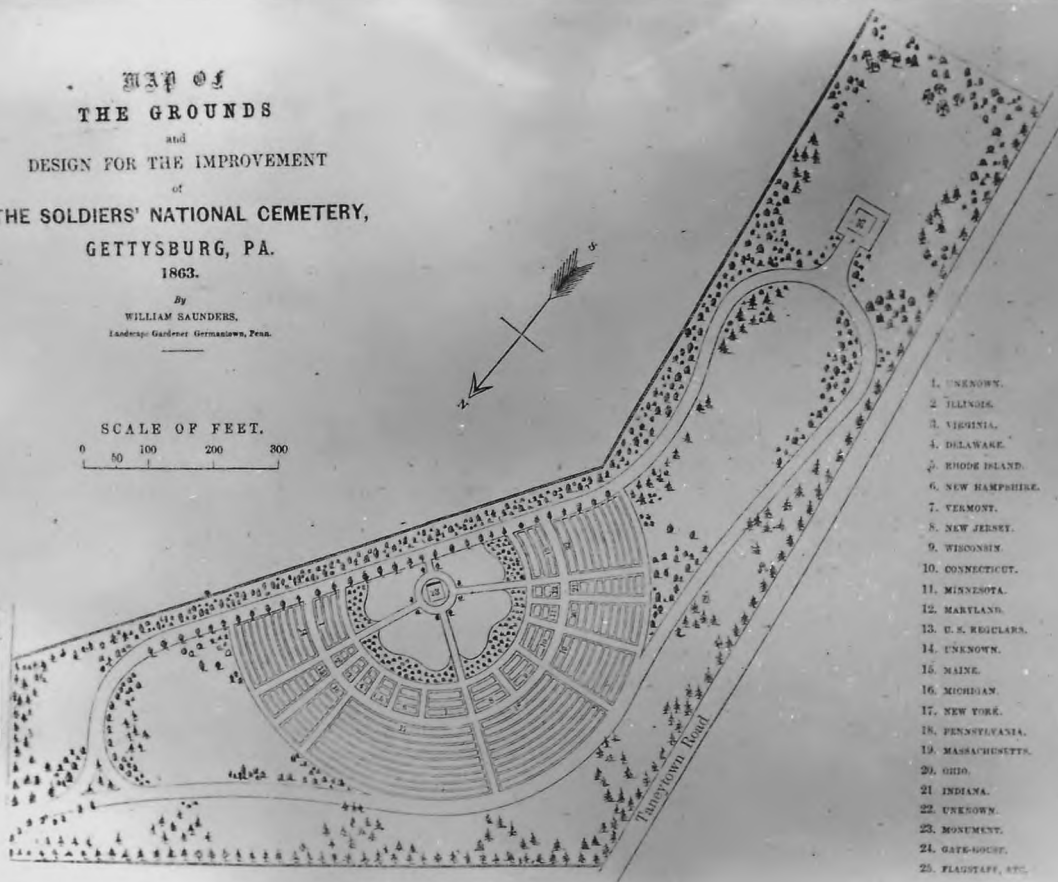
Photo by William Tipton

MAP OF
THE GROUNDS
and
DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
of
THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY,
GETTYSBURG, PA.
1863.

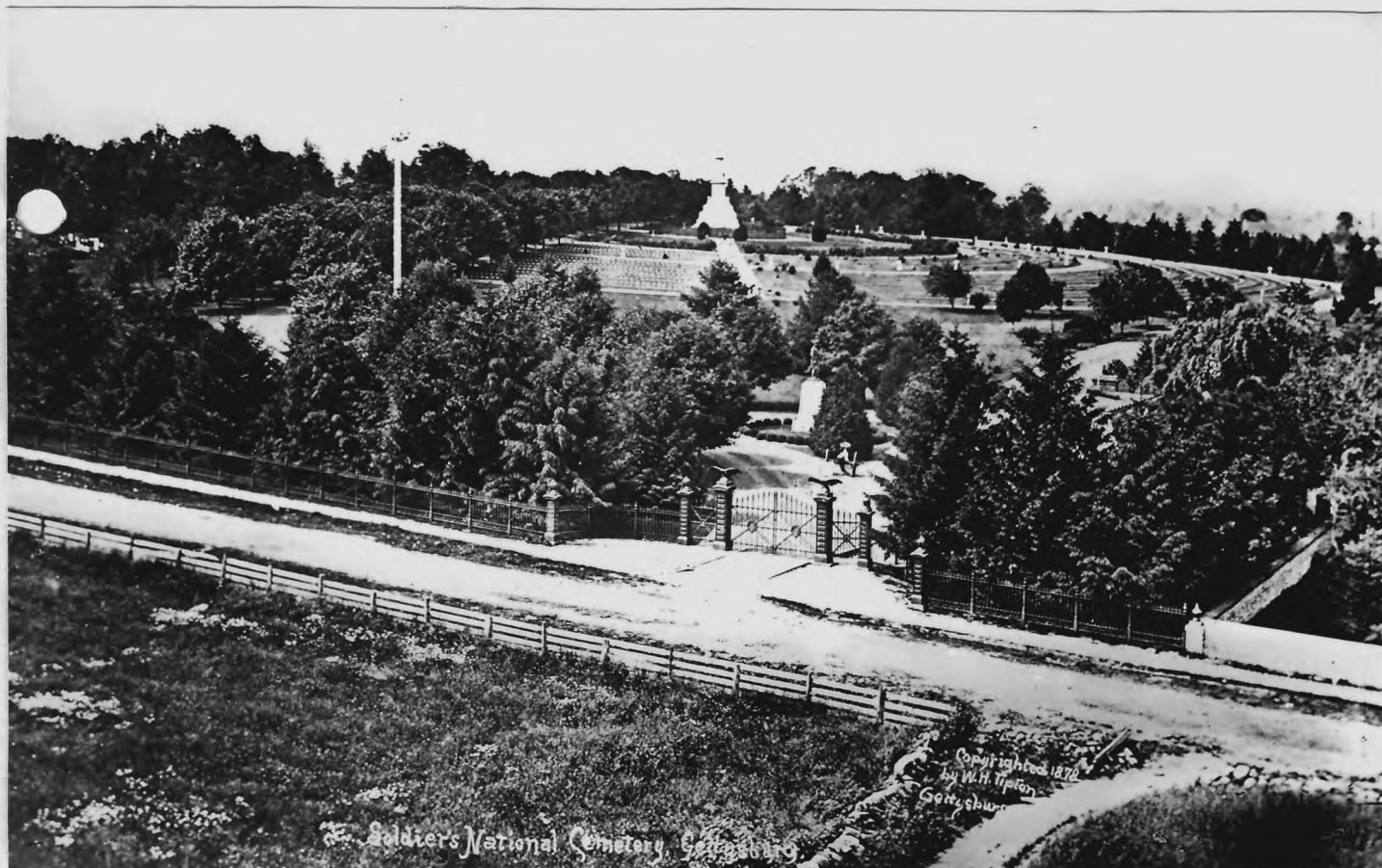
By
WILLIAM SAUNDERS,
Landscape Gardener Germantown, Penn.

SCALE OF FEET.
0 50 100 200 300

Highway to Taneytown



1. UNKNOWN.
2. ILLINOIS.
3. VIRGINIA.
4. DELAWARE.
5. RHODE ISLAND.
6. NEW HAMPSHIRE.
7. VERMONT.
8. NEW JERSEY.
9. WISCONSIN.
10. CONNECTICUT.
11. MINNESOTA.
12. MARYLAND.
13. U. S. REGULARS.
14. UNKNOWN.
15. MAINE.
16. MICHIGAN.
17. NEW YORK.
18. PENNSYLVANIA.
19. MASSACHUSETTS.
20. OHIO.
21. INDIANA.
22. UNKNOWN.
23. MONTGOMERY.
24. GATE-GROVE.
25. FLAGSTAFF, ETC.



Soldiers National Cemetery, Gettysburg

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