ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT GETTYSBURG

ON THE

NINETEENTH OF NOVEMBER,

AT THE

CONSECRATION OF THE CEMETERY

PREPARED FOR THE

INTERMENT OF THE REMAINS

OF THOSE

Who Fell on The 1st, 2nd, and 3nd of July

IN THE BATTLES AT THAT PLACE.

BY EDWARD EVERETT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A detachment from Ewell's corps, under Jenkins, had penetrated on the 15th of July as far as Chambersburg. This movement was intended at first merely as a demonstration, and as a marauding expedition for supplies. It had, however, the salutary effect of alarming the country, and vigorous preparations here in Pennsylvania and in the sister States were made to repel the inroad. After two days passed in Chambersburg, Jenkins, anxious for his communications with Ewell, fell back with his plunder to Hagerstown. Here he remained for several days, and, having swept the recesses of Cumberland Valley, came down upon the eastern flank of the South Mountain, and pushed his marauding parties as far as Waynesboro. On the 22d the remainder of Ewell's corps crossed the river and moved up the Valley. They were followed on the 24th by Longstreet and Hill, who crossed at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, and, pushing up the Valley, encamped at Chambersburg on the 27th. In this way the whole rebel army, estimated at 90,000 infantry, upwards of 10,000 cavalry, and 4,000 or 5,000 artillery, making a total of 105,000 of all arms, was concentrated in Pennsylvania.

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

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

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

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

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

The 30th of June was a day of important preparation. At 11½ in the morning, Gen. Buford passed through Gettysburg, upon a reconnoisance in force with his cavalry upon the Chambersburg road. The information obtained by him was immediately communicated to Gen. Reynolds, who was in consequence directed to occupy Gettysburg. That gallant officer accordingly, with the 1st corps, marched from Emmettsburg to within six or seven miles of this glace, and encamped on the right bank of Marsh's Creek. Our right wing meantime was moved to Manchester. On the same day, the corps of Hill and Longstreet were pushed still further forward on the Chambersburg road, and distributed in the vicinity of Marsh's Creek, while a reconnoisance was made by the Confederate General Pettigrew up to a very short distance from this place. Thus, at nightfall on the 30th of June, the greater part of the rebel force was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of two corps of the Union army, the former refreshed by two days passed in comparative repose and deliberate preparation for the encounter, the latter separated by a march of one or two days from their supporting corps, and doubtful at what precise point they were to expect an attack.

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

General Reynolds, on arriving at Gettysburg in the morning of the 1st, found Buford with his cavalry warmly engaged with the enemy, whom he held most gallantly in check. Hastening himself to the front, General Reynolds directed his men to be moved over the fields from the Emmettsburg road, in front of McMillan's and Dr. Schmucker's, under cover of the Seminary Ridge, and, without a moment's hesitation, attacked the enemy, at the same time sending orders to the 11th corps (General Howard's) to advance as promptly as possible. General Reynolds immediately found himself engaged with a force which greatly outnumbered his own, and had scarcely made his dispositions for the action when he fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his advance. The command of the 1st corps devolved on General Doubleday, and that of the field on General Howard, who arrived at 11.30 with Schurz and Barlow's divisions of the 11th corps, the latter of whom received a severe wound. Thus strengthened, the advantage of the battle was for some time on our side. The attacks of the rebels were vigorously repulsed by Wadsworth's division of the 11th corps, and a large number of prisoners, including General Archer, were captured. At length, however, the continued reinforcements of the Confederates from the main body on the Cashtown road, and by the divisions of Rhodes and Early, coming down by separate lines from Heidlersburg and taking post on our extreme right, turned the fortunes of the day. Our army, after contesting the ground for five hours, was obliged to yield to the enemy, whose forces outnumbered them two to one, and toward the close of the afternoon General Howard deemed it prudent to withdraw the two corps to the heights where we are now assembled. The greater part of the 1st corps passed through the outskirts of the town, and reached the hill without serious loss or molestation. The 11th corps and portions of the 1st, not being aware that the enemy had already entered the town from the north, attempted to force their way through Washington and Baltimore streets, which in the crowd and confusion of the scene, they did with a heavy loss in prisoners.

General Howard was not unprepared for this turn in the fortunes of the day. Early in the morning he had caused Cemetery Hill to be occupied by General Steinwehr, with the 3d division of the 11th corps. About the time of the withdrawal of our troops to the hill General Hancock arrived, having been sent by General Meade, on hearing the death of Reynolds, to assume the command of the field till he himself could reach the front. In conjunction with General Howard, General Hancock immediately proceeded to post troops and to repel an attack on our right flank. This attack was feebly made and promptly repulsed. At nightfall our troops on the hill, who had so gallantly sustained themselves during the toil and peril of the day, were cheered by the arrival of General Slocum with the 12th corps, and of General Sickles with a part of the 3d.

Such was the fortune of the first day, commencing with a decided success to our arms, followed by a check, but ending in the occupation of this all-important position. To you, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg, I need not attempt to portray the anxieties of the ensuing night. Witnessing as you had done with sorrow the withdrawal of our army through your streets, with a considerable loss of prisoners; mourning as you did over the brave men who had fallen; shocked with the wide-spread desolation around you, of which the wanton burning of the Harmon house in the morning had given the signal; ignorant of the near approach of General Meade, you passed the weary hours of the night in painful expectation.

Long before the dawn of the 2d of July, the new commander-in-chief had arrived at the front. Having received intelligence of the events in progress, and informed by the reports of Generals Hancock and Howard of the favorable character of the position, he determined to give battle to the enemy at this point. He accordingly directed the remaining corps of the army to concentrate at Gettysburg with all possible expedition, and breaking up his headquarters at Taneytown at 10 P. M., he arrived on the field at one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of July. Few were the moments given to sleep, during the rapid watches of that brief midsummer's night, by officers or men, though half of our troops were exhausted by the conflict of the day, and the residue wearied by the forced marches which had brought them to the rescue. The full moon, veiled by thin clouds, shone down that night on a strangely unwonted scene—the silence of the grave-yard was broken by the heavy tramp of armed men; by the neigh of the war-horse, the harsh rattle of the wheels of artillery hurrying to their stations, the voice of the bugle, the roll of the drum, and all the indescribable tumult of preparation. The various corps of the army as they arrived were moved to their positions on the spot where we are assembled, and the ridges that extend south-east and south-west; batteries were planted and breastworks thrown up. The 2d and 5th corps, with the rest of the 3d, had reached the ground by 7 o'clock, A. M., but it was not till 2 o'clock in the afternoon that Sedgwick arrived with the 6th corps. He had marched thirty two miles since 9 o'clock in the morning of the day before. It was only on his arrival that the Union army attained an equality of numbers with that of the rebels, posted upon the opposite and parallel ridge, distant from a mile to a mile and a half, and overlapping our position on either wing.

And here I cannot but remark on the providential inaction of the rebel army. Had the contest been renewed by it at daylight on the second of July, with the 1st and 11th corps exhausted by the battle and the retreat; the 3d and 12th weary from their forced march; and the 2d, 5th, and 6th not yet arrived, nothing but a miracle could have saved the army from destruction. Instead of this, the day dawned, the sun rose, the cool hours of the morning passed, the forenoon wore away without the slightest aggressive movement on the part of the enemy. Thus time was given for half of our forces to arrive and take their place in the line, while the rest of the army enjoyed a much needed half day's repose.

At length, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the work of death began. A signal gun from the hostile batteries was followed by a tremendous cannonade along the rebel lines, and this by a heavy advance of infantry, brigade after brigade, commencing on the enemy's right against the left of our army, and so toward the left centre. A forward movement of Gen. Sickles, to gain a commanding position from which to repel the rebel attack, drew upon him a destructive fire from the enemy's batteries, and a furious assault from Longstreet's and Hill's advancing troops. After a brave resistance on the part of his corps, he was forced back, himself falling severely wounded. This was the critical moment of the second day; but the 5th and part of the 6th corps, with portions of the 1st and 2d, were promptly brought to the support of the 3d; the struggle was fierce and murderous, but by sunset our success was decisive and the enemy was driven back in confusion. The most important service was rendered toward the close of the day, in the day, in the memorable advance between Round Top and Little Round Top, by Gen. Crawford's division of the 5th corps, consisting of two brigades of the Pennsylvania Reserves, of which one company was from the town and neighborhood. The rebel Gen. Barksdale fell in this encounter, and his force was driven back with great loss in killed and prisoners. At 8 o'clock in the evening a desperate attempt was made by the enemy to storm the position of the 11th corps, on Cemetery Hill, but here, too, after a terrible conflict, he was repulsed with immense loss. Ewell, on our extreme right, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of the troops sent over to support our left, had succeeded in gaining a foothold within a portion of our lines, near Spangler's Spring. This was the only advantage obtained by the rebels to compensate them for the disasters of the day, and of this, as we shall see, they were soon deprived.

Such was the result of the second act of this eventful drama; a day hard fought, and at one moment anxious, and, with the exception of the slight reverse just named, crowned with dearly-earned, but uniform, success to our arms, auspicious of a glorious termination of the final struggle. On these good omens the night fell.

At dawn of the 3d, General Geary returned to his position on the right, from which he had hastened the day before to strengthen the left. He was immediately attacked by the enemy, whom, however, after a sharp and decisive action, he drove out of our lines, recovering the ground which had been lost on the preceding day. A spirited contest was kept up all the morning on this part of the line, but General Geary, reinforced by Wheaton's brigade of the 6th corps, maintained his position, and inflicted very severe losses on the enemy.

Such was the cheering commencement of the third day's work, and with it ended all serious attempts of the enemy on our right. As on the preceeding day his efforts were now mainly directed against our left centre and left wing. From eleven till half-past one o'clock, all was still; a solemn pause of preparation, as if both parties were nerving themselves for the supreme effort. At length the awful silence, more terrible than the wildest tumult of battle, was broken by the roar of 250 pieces of artillery from the opposite ridges joining in a cannonade of unsurpassed violenne, the rebel batteries along two-thirds of their line pouring their fire upon Cemetery Hill and the centre and left wing of our army. Having attempted in this way for two hours, but without success, to shake the steadiness of our lines, the enemy rallied his forces for a last grand assault. Their attack was principally directed against the position of our 2d corps. Successive lines of rebel infantry moved forward with equal spirit and steadiness, from their cover on the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge, crossing the intervening plain, supported right and left by their choicest brigades, and charged furiously up to our batteries. Our own brave troops of the 2d corps, supported by Doubleday's division and Stannard's brigade, of the 1st, received the shock with firmness; the ground on both sides was long and fiercely contested, and covered with the killed and wounded, till after "a determined and gallant struggle," as it is pronounced by Gen. Lee, the rebel advance, consisting of two-thirds of Hill's corps and the whole of Longstreet's, including Pickett's division, the *elite* of his corps, which had not yet been under fire, and was now depended upon to decide *the fortune of this last eventful day*, was driven back with prodigious slaughter, discomfited, and broken. While these events were in progress at our left centre, the enemy was driven by the Pennsylvania Reserves from a strong position on our extreme left, from which he was annoying our force on "Little Round Top," his battery taken, and three hundred prisoners captured. In the terrific assault on our centre, Gens. Hancock and Gibbon were wounded. In the rebel army Armistead, Kemper, Pettigrew, and Trimble were wounded, the first named mortally, the latter also made prisoner; while Gen. Garnett was killed, and thirty-five hundred officers and men made prisoners.

These were the expiring agonies of the three day's conflict, and with them the battle ceased. It was fought by the Union army with courage and skill, from the first cavalry skirmish on Wednesday morning to the fearful rout of the enemy on Friday afternoon, by every arm and every rank of the service—by officers and men, by cavalry, artillery, and infantry. The two armies, after the first day, were numerically equal; if the Union force had the advantage of a strong position, the Confederates had that of choosing time and place, the prestige of former victories over the Army of the Potomac, and of the success of the first day.—Victory does not always fall to the lot of those who deserve it; but that so decisive a triumph, under circumstances like these, was gained by our troops, I am inclined to ascribe, under Providence, to the spirit of exalted patriotism that animated them, and a consciousness that they were fighting in a righteous cause.

All hope of defeating our army and securing what General Lee calls "the valuable results" of such an achievement having vanished, he thought only of rescuing from destruction the remains of his shattered forces. In killed, wounded, and missing, he had, as far as can be ascertained, suffered a loss of about 37,000 men, rather more than a third of the army which he is supposed to have brought with him into Pennsylvania. Perceiving that his only safety was in rapid retreat, he commenced withdrawing his troops at daybreak on the 4th throwing up field-works in front of our left, which, assuming the appearance of a new position, were intended probably to protect the rear of his army in their retreat That day—sad celebration of the 4th of July for an army of Americans—was passed by him in hurrying off his trains. The main army was in full retreat on the Cashtown and Fairfield roads at nightfall, and moved with such precipitation that, short as the nights were, by daylight the following morning, notwithstanding a heavy rain, the rear guard had left its position. The struggle of the two last days resembled, in many respects, the battle of Waterloo, and if, in the evening of the third day, Gen. Meade, like the Duke of Wellington, had had the assistance of a powerful auxiliary army to take up the pursuit, the rout of the rebels would have been as complete as that of Napoleon.

Owing to the circumstances above mentioned, the intentions of the enemy were not apparent on the 4th The moment his retreat was discovered the following morning, he was pursued by our cavalry on the Cashtown road and in the Emmettsburg and Monterey passes, and by Sedgwick's corps on the Fairfield road His rear guard was briskly attacked at Fairfield; a great number of wagons and ambulances were captured in the passes of the mountains; the country swarmed with his stragglers, and his wounded were literally emptied from the vehicles containing them, into the farm houses on the road. General Lee, in his report, makes repeated mention of the Union prisoners whom he conveyed into Virginia, somewhat overstating their number. He states also that "such of his wounded as were in a condition to be removed," were forwarded to Williamsport. He does not mention that the number of his wounded *not* removed and left to the Christian care of the victors was 7,540, not one of whom failed of any attention which it was possible, under the circumstances of the case, to afford them; not one of whom certainly has been put upon Libby prison fare—lingering death by starvation. Heaven forbid, however, that we should claim any merit for the exercise of common humanity.

Under the protection of the mountain ridge, whose narrow passes are easily held even by a retreating army, General Lee reached Williamsport in safety, and took up a strong position opposite to that place. General Meade necessarily pursued with the main army by flank movement through Middletown, Turner's pass having been secured by Gen. French Passing through the South Mountain, the Union army came up with that of the rebels on the 12th, and found it securely posted on the heights of Marsh's run. His position was reconnoitered and preparations made for an attack on the 13th. The depth of the river, swollen by the rains, authorized the expectation that he would be brought to a general engagement on the following day. An advance was accordingly made by General Meade on the morning of the 14th, but it was soon found that the rebels had escaped in the night, with such haste, that Ewell's corps forded the river where the water was breast high. The cavalry which had rendered the most important services during the three days, and in harrassing the enemy's retreat, was now sent in pursuit and captured two guns and a large number of prisoners. In an action which took place at Falling Waters, Gen. Pettigrew was mortally wounded General Meade, in further pursuit of the enemy, crossed the Potomac at Berlin Thus again covering the approaches to Washington, he compelled the enemy to pass the Blue Ridge at one of the upper gaps, and in about six weeks from the commencement of the campaign. General Lee found himself again on the south side of the Rappahannock with the loss of about a third of his army

Such, most inadequately recounted, is the history of the ever memorable three days and of the events immediately preceeding and following It has been pretended, in order to diminish the magnitude of this disaster to the rebel cause, that it was merely the repulse of an attack on a strongly defended position. The tremendous losses on both sides are a sufficient answer to the misrepresentation, and attest the courage and obstinacy with which the three days' battle was waged. Few of the great conflicts of modern times have cost victors and vanquished so great a sacrifice. On the Union side there fell in the whole campaign of Generals killed, Reynolds, Weed and Zook; and wounded Generals Barlow, Barnes, Butterfield, Doubleday, Gibbon, Graham, Sickles and Warren;

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