

ADDRESS

To Graduating Class, Syracuse University,  
June 10, 1903.

No.23, Vol.9.

SUBJECT:

Causes of Secession;  
Robert E. Lee's Patriotism; and  
Gettysburg.



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No. 23, Vol. 2.

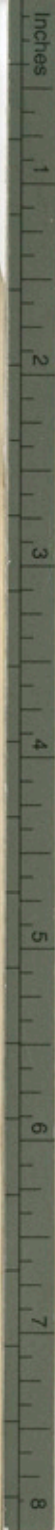
SUBJECT:  
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Gettysburg.



ADDRESS TO GRADUATING CLASSES  
AT COMMENCEMENT,  
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY.

Delivered June 10, 1903.





ADDITIONAL TO CHAIRMAN'S CLERK  
AT BOSTON  
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Received June 10, 1934



ADDRESS TO GRADUATING CLASSES

DELIVERED JUNE 10, 1903.

AT COMMENCEMENT, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY.

Young Gentlemen: I consider it a special honor to be selected to give the address to the graduating classes of your University.

The city of Syracuse itself is always associated in my mind with two heroic men. One was my first Division Commander, General E. V. Sumner. On the battle field of Antietam I saw him riding without his hat in front of men who had become blinded by panic and were retreating from the front line. His white hair was floating in the breeze and he was crying out, "O, my men, do not disgrace me. . . . Turn your faces the other way; turn them to the front." <sup>I am an old man!</sup>

He and his officers checked the retreat and his command was soon well in hand to do further service on that bloody field. ~~Another~~ picture of Sumner which was given me by his daughter will never leave me. His horse had fallen into a post hole <sup>during</sup> our winter campaign and strained the muscles of <sup>the General's</sup> his back beyond recovery, yet with unaccountable nerve-power the man went through two years more of hard campaigning, till at last he sat here in Syracuse bolstered up in his bed. He called for a drink, leaned forward and raised the glass to his lips. As he did so he said, "Here's to the honor of my country and its flag." and instantly died.

*hero*

The other <sup>^</sup> was General Barnum who fell on the field of Malvern Hill apparently mortally wounded. A large minie-ball had passed through his body and gave him a wound that was never



RECEIVED JUNE 10, 1903.

ADDRESS TO GRADUATING CLASSES

AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y.

Young Gentlemen: I consider it a special honor to be selected to give the address to the graduating classes of your University.

The city of Syracuse itself is always associated in my mind with two heroic men. One was my first Division Commander, General E. V. Sumner. On the battle field of Antietam I saw him riding without his hat in front of men who had become dazed by panic and were retreating from the front line. His white hair was floating in the breeze and he was crying out, "O, my men, do not disgrace me. . . . Turn your faces the other way; turn them to the front."

He and his officers checked the retreat and his command was soon well in hand to do further service on that bloody field. ~~His picture~~ picture of Sumner which was given me by his daughter will never leave me. His horse had fallen into a post hole during our winter campaign and straggled the masses of his men beyond recovery, yet with unassailable nerve-power the man went through two years more of hard campaigning, till at last he sat here in Syracuse belated up in his bed. He called for a drink, leaned forward and raised the glass to his lips. As he did so he said, "Here's to the honor of my country and its flag," and instantly died.

His story was told by Sumner who fell on the field of Antietam with apparently mortal wounds. A large white flag had passed through his body and gave him a wound that was never



healed; ~~and~~ <sup>around</sup> that he was obliged to keep open all his days to preserve his life. His conduct on the battle field and his extraordinary fortitude during the long hours he had to wait before he could get surgical relief, and then his subsequent cheerful life, always on the brink of death, and yet living for over twenty years, present to my mind a conspicuous illustration of fortitude. He, too, like Sumner, was a man without fear and without reproach.

I do not wonder that your President should ask me to speak on a patriotic subject and have expressed his preference for some thoughts upon Gettysburg, for surely if we consider not only those heroes but the many, many others that went out from this city, we must feel that we are in the atmosphere of that patriotism which endures. *Some causes of Secession.*

#### SOME CAUSES OF SECESSION.

Robert E. Lee was fifty years of age and already had an excellent reputation as the best military engineer in our service when the Civil War broke out. He was Superintendent of the Military Academy when I was a cadet. His son was a class-mate and his distinguished nephew at the same time a member of the corps, so that I knew him and the young men well and at times while he was Superintendent visited his family and was entertained by them.

After years of thought I have come to the conclusion that General Lee and myself had similar views upon all public questions touching the Union and its preservation except in one



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*continued*

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After years of thought I have come to the conclusion that General Lee and myself had similar views upon all public questions touching the Union and its preservation except in one



proposition. Lee was a Christian man; he was desirous to be rid of slavery; he had fought and sacrificed for the Union; but the one proposition to which I have referred may be stated in this way: He inherited his father's firm belief in the sovereignty of the state. He believed that this sovereignty, so far at least as Virginia was concerned, had never been surrendered.

Several days ago I heard the Rev. Dr. MacArthur, who is a clergyman and an editor, make this statement: "In the early part of this century <sup>Wm. Rowle's</sup> ~~Rawlston's~~ Digest was used as a text book at West Point and continued to be taught to the cadets when they were studying the Constitution until 1840." Then he quoted two or three paragraphs on the duties of the states to the Union. These paragraphs clearly demonstrated not only the absolute right of secession under given circumstances, but the duty <sup>of it</sup>. Whenever the people of Virginia, for example, became dissatisfied with the United States government, regarded as their agent, they could withdraw from the Union and would be no longer under any constitutional obligations to aid the other states in war or peace.

Robert E. Lee entered the Military Academy in 1825 and graduated in 1829, so that he not only had the original bias of inherited opinions, but was re-enforced by <sup>Rowle's</sup> ~~Rowlston's~~ interpretation of the constitution.

Webster had demonstrated with a clearness and power that nobody now disputes that the true sovereignty was secured to the nation when the people adopted our present constitution. When



proposition. Lee was a Christian man; he was desirous to be rid of slavery; he had fought and sacrificed for the Union; but the one proposition to which I have referred may be stated in this way: He inherited his father's firm belief in the sovereignty of the state. He believed that this sovereignty, so far at least as Virginia was concerned, had never been surrendered.

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I was a cadet all the young men were instructed in accordance with this <sup>websterian</sup> principle. I remember to have heard a prominent Southern man on our Board of Visitors closely questioning a cadet who was reciting paragraphs of the American Constitution. The cadet maintained with fervor that the sovereignty was not in the individual states, but in the United States. The gentleman smiled and said that he was afraid that the Academy was departing from the true interpretation of the constitution.

My first service in Florida in 1856-7 brought me in contact with many prominent Southern men who then openly advocated the right of secession, so that we may see that children and youth in the slave states were early instructed in the doctrine of what I am pleased to call State Supremacy. Slavery was protected by this teaching and many other state interests were also protected by it.

Then I may declare that the real cause of the war was the assertion and maintenance of the sovereignty of the state and the claimed right of secession. <sup>which protected slavery</sup> *Mainly in the interest of Slavery*  
~~the sovereignty of the Nation was devised.~~

It was said that just prior to the day in which General Lee made his decision and tendered his resignation in 1861, he walked the floor of his room all night. He had been offered the command of our army and he could not accept because he would be soon called upon to invade the state of Virginia. We know very well that we who were Union men could not subscribe to such sentiments, which would have been the absolute destruction of our Union,



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Then I may declare that the real cause of the war was the assertion and maintenance of the sovereignty of the state and the denial of secession. *My friend of the University of Virginia*  
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Lee made his decision and achieved his restoration in 1863, he waited the hour of his room all night. He had been offered the command of our army and he could not accept because he would be soon called upon to invade the state of Virginia. We know very well that we who were Union men could not subscribe to such sentiments, which would have been the complete destruction of our Union.



but a kind statement of the facts will relieve many of the actors like Robert E. Lee, from the charge of any intention of treason.

I will here introduce a few scenes from Gettysburg drawn mainly from ~~a few~~ personal observation. ----- *The First day of July*

*1863* Having set my command in motion at Emmitsburg, putting the 11th Corps Md. one Division on the direct route and two on the indirect route by Horner's Mill, I hastened on toward the battle field, eleven miles distant. Arriving just opposite Big Round Top, I halted with my escort. A message from <sup>Gen.</sup> Reynolds expressed a desire for me to bring my command near the town. I dispatched Captain Daniel Hall with an orderly to find my Commander and bring me word again as to his further wishes.

Hearing the firing over by the Lutheran Seminary, I began, as was my custom, to reconnoitre in the vicinity. I went first to the famous peach orchard while the smoke of Wadsworth's cannon could be seen on the Seminary Ridge and the sounds of battle were wafted to me from that direction, which indicated to me that the battle had already begun. I turned my eyes to the left and saw Doubleday's Division hurrying forward toward the grove to the left of Wadsworth. Hall's Battery was on the high ground of that ridge near the railroad cut, and rapidly firing.

Looking to the East I caught a glimpse of a hill apparently higher than the peach orchard. We galloped over there. It was the now well known Cemetery Ridge. Colonel Meysenburg and I rode to the northern extremity and took a comprehensive view of



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Looking to the east I caught a glimpse of a hill ap-  
pearing higher than the peach orchard. We engaged over there. It  
was the now well known Cemetery Ridge. Colonel Reynolds and I  
rode to the northern extremity and took a comprehensive view of



this ground and the connecting ridges. I said to my Adjutant, Meysenburg, "This seems to be a good position, Colonel."

He replied, "It is the only position, General."

We were both thinking of a place for <sup>our whole</sup> ~~the~~ Army of the Potomac just then scattered from ten to thirty miles away. Less than ten thousand men were there then, guarding ~~the~~ lower heights a mile to the front beyond the town.

In a few minutes we rode slowly down the Baltimore pike to the court house. While trying to get a ladder to reach the top, <sup>Daniel S. Kelly</sup> a young man who is still living called my attention to Fahnestock's Observatory, just across the way. Accompanied by two or three staff officers I reached the belfry. Within that small, square, fenced in space I spread out my map and studied the situation. Buford's cavalry, but a handful, were in sight off to the right <sup>front.</sup> Next were detachments of Wadsworth's Division vigorously engaged near the railroad cut. Prisoners in gray were coming back and being conducted along the street just below me. I again saw Doubleday's Division passing out of sight beyond the Oak Ridge and heard not only the booming of cannon, but occasionally the rattle of musketry.

#### THE FIRST DAY'S ENGAGEMENT.

By nine o'clock this 1st day of July a considerable force of the Confederates was in sight of the Lutheran Seminary, <sup>Toward the West</sup> near enough for Buford's few batteries to join with his thin line of cavalrymen and interpose resistance. Buford's firing made the



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the Oak Ridge and heard not only the booming of cannon, but also  
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#### THE FIRST DAY'S ENGAGEMENT

By nine o'clock this last day of July a considerable force  
of the Confederates was in sight at the Southern Railway, near  
enough for Buford's few batteries to join with the line of  
cavalrymen and intercept reinforcements. Buford's riding made the



Confederate leader, Heth, more cautious. He halted and pushed out two brigades, one on the right and the other on the left of the Chambersburg pike, and held one in reserve; and lest he be too fast waited for Pender's Division.

A. P. Hill, the Confederate Corps Commander, was near the front line studying Buford's position. Our Buford was glad enough when Reynolds with the divisions of our 1st Corps approached him. Reynolds commanding the field gave Doubleday the 1st Corps. He soon sent Cutler's Brigade, which belonged to Wadsworth, to the right of the pike and the railroad cut, while he himself followed up Meredith's Old Iron Brigade a little way to the left of the pike and the cut.

The two nearest Confederate brigades under Davis and Archer were coming on. The real <sup>^</sup>~~battle~~ fire opened briskly on both sides. To uncover the front, the main portion of Buford's cavalry had worked off to the left, leaving only a small force far to the right, soon to be replaced by our Robinson's Division. It was now about eleven o'clock. Reynolds was hastening Meredith's regiments into position when a bullet pierced his forehead and he fell, dying at the very spot where the monument to his memory now stands. To the right of him Wadsworth's advance was checked, and <sup>were</sup> soon his men driven back.

Doubleday quickly taking Reynolds' place followed up the movement already inaugurated in the little tongue of woods in front of Reynolds. These troops of Doubleday's Division, doing



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front of Reynolds. These troops of Doubleday's Division, doing



rapid work, closed in from the left and without giving the detail I may say that nearly all of Davis' and Archer's Brigades were caught as in a trap and captured. I believe that one of these brigades must have surrendered before the death of General Reynolds because I had <sup>personally</sup> seen prisoners in gray coming into town, also ambulances with the wounded, while orderlies were galloping to and fro with messages and orders.

As I stood there upon the house top with my field glass in my hand, a soldier, George Quinn, belonging to an unattached Pennsylvania cavalry regiment, halted in the street below me, looked up and said: "General Reynolds is wounded, sir."

I replied, "I am very sorry, I hope he will be able to keep the field."

A few minutes later Captain Daniel Hall returned and called to me from below, "General Howard, General Reynolds is dead, and you are the senior officer on this field."

This startling news staggered me for a moment. Like a flash I saw the situation. A large part of Lee's army within striking distance and ours scattered as we have seen; we had on the field just then less than ten thousand soldiers and even the 11th Corps from Emmitsburg could not be expected for an hour. Could Meade possibly gather his widely separated troops in time for success to our arms? I know of no moment in my life when a sense of responsibility was so strong and so heavy. As a sudden resolution entered my heart, I cried, "But, God helping us, we



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General Meade's position was wholly separated from the rest  
for success or our army? I knew of no moment in my life when a  
sense of responsibility was so great and so heavy. As a soldier  
responsible towards my leader, I cried, "That, God helping us, we



will stay here till the army comes!"

Instantly I then assumed command and sent messages in every direction. Taking Reynolds' place I had under me <sup>Buford's cavalry</sup> the 11th, the 1st and the 3rd Corps. The 3rd was at Emmitsburg, which was to be the end of its day's march. I sent not only orders but entreaties. General Sickles instantly heeded my words and pushed as rapidly as he could over the eleven miles that intervened.

Leaving the observatory I rode with my small escort to Cemetery Ridge and made that my permanent headquarters. Here Carl Schurz, coming far ahead of his marching column, joined me. I gave him substantially these instructions: Pointing westward, "The 1st Corps is over there, holds that ridge parallel with this; Buford's cavalry, the most of it, on the left; prisoners show that Lee is near here in force; place all the reserve batteries of your command on this Cemetery Hill, leaving Steinwehr's Division to support them. Send to the right of the 1st Corps Barlow's and Schimmelfennig's divisions to give support to Doubleday."

Thus the Cemetery Ridge was chosen and taken once for all.

About 12:30 Barlow's head of column coming up from Emmitsburg on the direct road, appeared. Leaving my Chief of Staff to direct matters at headquarters, as was customary, and taking two or three officers and a few orderlies with me, I joined our own General Francis C. Barlow, and we rode at the head of his



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troops through Gettysburg. Two batteries had already trotted out in front of us and taken a position north of the town. As the tramping columns marched along the main street a young lady, regardless of her own safety and of the oncoming shells of the enemy, bravely kept her position on a porch and silently waved her handkerchief while the soldiers passed her, and this was indeed a patriotic stimulus. The soldiers cheered her again and again as they thoughtfully pursued their way.

Schurz placed his divisions almost at right angles to Robinson's line, en echelon with two of his regiments drawn back. This constituted our right flank. The highest ground held by Barlow is now called Barlow's Hill. The lines extended still further to the east across Rock Creek.

As soon as I saw my right thus well cared for, I rode along the line for more than a mile from Robinson's to Wadsworth's and from Wadsworth to Doubleday, who was then near the left of his corps, and I said to each Commander, "We will hold out here upon the Seminary Ridge as long as we can, but if forced to retire we must dispute the ground foot by foot and go to the Cemetery Ridge."

As soon as I had regained my place at the Cemetery I noticed a rough wooded knoll north of Robinson and sent an order to Schurz to move forward and sieze it. The order had hardly gone from me when my brother, <sup>and a.d.c.</sup> Major Howard, riding at a swift gallop called out, "Jackson's whole corps is on your right flank."



Troops through Gettysburg. Two batteries had already retreated out in front of us and taken a position north of the town. As the creeping columns marched along the main street a young lady, regardless of her own safety and of the oncoming shells of the enemy, bravely kept her position on a porch and silently waved her handkerchief while the soldiers passed her, and this was indeed a patriotic stimulus. The soldiers cheered her again and again as they thoughtfully pursued their way.

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As soon as I saw my right flank well covered for, I rode along the line for more than a mile from Robinson's to Wadsworth's and from Wadsworth's to Bowditch's who was then near the left of his corps, and I said to each commander, "We will hold out here upon the Seminary Ridge as long as we can, but if forced to retire we must dispute the ground foot by foot and go to the Seminary Ridge."

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Of course it was not Jackson's, for he had been slain at Chancellorsville. Ewell, however, was now in command of his corps, and one division, that of Jubal Early, was returning under orders from Lee from York, and <sup>might</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>sweep</sup> quickly ~~swept~~ in behind the advance divisions of the 11th Corps. For an instant disaster seemed inevitable. I countermanded the order to Schurz and dispatched messengers again to Slocum and Sickles. Meanwhile the skirmishing and artillery firing was all along the line and increasing to a storm. I had a gleam of satisfaction when Robinson's men, aided by some troops of the 11th Corps, captured another Confederate brigade (Iverson's); but very soon from Schurz and Doubleday came insistent calls for reinforcements when I had none to send them.

About 3:30 p.m. the terrific fighting was at its height. <sup>after joining the main Confederate army</sup> Early had easily outflanked Schurz to the east. Rodes was breaking through between the 11th and 1st corps; while A. P. Hill was steadily advancing his abundant brigades all along Doubleday's front. There was a breathless expectancy at the Cemetery. We intrenched our batteries and occupied the stone walls, and sent a brigade to the front of the town to cover the next movement. Before our troops along the front line gave way, every Commander had received his orders to retire to my position; Schurz to go to the right of the <sup>Baltimore</sup> pike, Doubleday to the left, and Buford, with his cavalry, to make all the show possible beyond Doubleday's left. Of course the enterprising Confederates accelerated our movements and I confess that much disorder prevailed, yet the



Of course it was not Jackson's, for he had been slain at Chancellorsville. Ewell, however, was now in command of his corps, and one division, that of Jubal Early, was returning under orders from Lee from York and was quickly swung in behind the advance divisions of the 11th Corps. For an instant disaster seemed inevitable. I countermanded the order to Salmons and dispatched messengers again to Blocher and Ripley. Meanwhile the whistling and artillery firing was all along the line and increasing to a storm. I had a flash of satisfaction when Robinson's men, aided by some troops of the 11th Corps, captured another Confederate brigade (Liverson's); but very soon from Salmons and Doubleday came instant calls for reinforcements when I had none to send them.

About 8:30 p.m. the terrific fighting was at its height. After joining the main Confederate army Early had easily outfought Salmons to the east. Roster was broken through between the 11th and 1st corps; while A. P. Hill was steadily advancing his command brigades all along Doubleday's front. There was a pronounced expectancy at the Cemetery. We intrenched our batteries and occupied the stone walls, and sent a brigade to the front of the town to cover the next movement. Before our troops along the front line gave way, every commander had received the order to retire to my position, Salmons to go to the right of the line, Doubleday to the left, and Buford, with his cavalry, to make all the show possible beyond Doubleday's left. Of course the anticipated Confederate assault never came, and I confess that much disorder prevailed, yet the



greater portion of the two bodies succeeded in reaching the Cemetery Ridge, losing, of course, many prisoners and experiencing much confusion.

As Sickles was approaching from our left and not far away from the Round Top, Lee made one attempt to take our selected position by the way of Rock Creek, but my Chief of Artillery directed such a shower of projectiles upon the advancing Confederates that they ran back to the town for cover.

Just at this juncture General Hancock <sup>without his men</sup> joined me near the Baltimore pike. The bullets were flying and I replied to Hancock's message from Meade, "There is no time to talk, Hancock, you take the left side of this road and I will take the right and put in these troops." Without a further word Hancock rallied the troops to the left of the pike and led them into place.

Slocum had sent up two divisions which at first were put on our right and left.

It is said that the close of this eventful day, General <sup>substantially</sup> Lee remarked that "The enemy had taken a strong position and not knowing the strength of his force, I concluded to postpone further attack till the next day."

The 1st <sup>two</sup> and 11th corps, then the smallest in the army, and Buford's cavalry did their duty nobly the first day at Gettysburg; fought themselves into a good defensive position,—excellent, when the Army of the Potomac came up in its entirety to occupy it.



greater portion of the two parties succeeded in reaching the General's Ridge, leaving, of course, many prisoners and experiencing much confusion.

As Pickles was approaching from our left and not far away from the Round Top, Lee made one attempt to take our selected position by the way of Rock Creek, but my Chief of Artillery directed such a shower of projectiles upon the advancing Confederates that they ran back to the town for cover.

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put on our right and left.

It is said that the close of this eventful day, General Lee remarked that "the enemy had taken a strong position and not knowing the strength of his force, I concluded to postpone further

attack till the next day."

The first and third corps, then the smallest in the army, and Hancock's cavalry and light artillery, the first day of the battle, fought themselves into a good defensive position, and when the Army of the Potomac came up in the morning to attack it.



SECOND DAY.

*The night of the*

*first,* Slocum, Sickles and myself bivouaced near the Cemetery lodge, and the good keeper's wife <sup>Mrs. Peter Thorn</sup> refreshed us with hot coffee.

A little after three o'clock in the morning, July 2nd, Meade with his staff came to us and said, "Gentlemen, what sort of a position is this?"

I answered, "I am confident we can hold it." Sickles added, "It is a good place to fight from, General."

Meade replied, "I am glad to hear you say so, gentlemen, for it is too late to leave it."

Before sunrise Meade and I rode together along the lines behind the soldiers sleeping on their arms. At the present position of the Soldiers' Monument, I explained the situation while Meade surveyed the hill and its environments. The sun was now rising; an occasional cannon shot came from a hill far to the north of us and was answered from our closest battery. Very soon the rattling of skirmish shots from the pickets indicated that the second day of mortal combat had begun. The Commanding General sat there in the magnificent morning light with a panorama spread before him of hill and valley, mountain, woodland and cultivated farms, of orchard and grass land as beautiful as nature anywhere furnishes. But he saw not the beauty; he was planning for his army, plan against the plan of one of America's greatest military men; move against move. After a time he turned slowly away and we rode back to the gate and not long after that the 2nd Corps appeared in sight and the army lines began to take





Just, Bloom, Stiller and myself, the cemetery  
lodge, and the good keeper's wife, who had called.  
A little after three o'clock in the morning, July 2nd, Meade with  
his staff came to us and said, "Gentlemen, what sort of a posi-  
tion is this?"  
I answered, "I am uncertain; we can hold it."  
He said, "It is a good place to fight from, General."  
Meade replied, "I am glad to hear you say so, gentlemen,  
for it is too late to leave it."  
Before sunrise Meade and I rode together along the line  
behind the soldiers sleeping on their arms. At the present po-  
sition of the soldiers' movement, I explained the situation while  
Meade surveyed the hill and its surroundings. The sun was now  
rising; an occasional cannon shot came from a hill far to the  
north of us and was answered from our closest battery. Very soon  
the rattling of machine guns from the plateau indicated that  
the second day of mortal combat had begun. The Commanding  
General sat there in the magnificent morning light with a pen-  
cil spread before him of hill and valley, mountain, woodland and  
cultivated farms, of orchards and grain land as beautiful as  
nature anywhere furnished. And he saw not the enemy; he saw  
nothing but his own, plan, position and plan of one of America's  
greatest military men; more a student than a soldier. When he turned  
slightly away and we rode back to the gate and not long after that  
the two corps appeared in sight and the day began to close.



new form.

By Pleasonton's order Buford's <sup>Division of</sup> cavalry, wearied with long watching and fighting, was sent back to Manchester, Md. to take care of the reserve wagons and supplies.

Sickles on the left, thinking the ground better for his flank, pushed his men out in front of Little Round Top to occupy the Peach Orchard, with his left drawn back to a rugged, rocky prominence called the Devil's Den. Opposite Sickles was Longstreet, a Confederate Corps Commander, with two divisions, McLaw's and Hood's; his third, Pickett's, was back at Chambersburg.

Our 5th Corps under Sykes was during the morning hours and part of the afternoon, behind our lines in reserve.

Pleasonton's cavalry, with Confederate Stuart's opposite to him, covered Slocum's extreme right beyond McAllister's Mill. Sedgwick with the 6th Corps, the largest we had, made a remarkable <sup>from Manchester</sup> march in seventeen hours. He rested his men ten minutes at the end of each hour, with perhaps two or three longer halts, none exceeding twenty minutes. About two p.m. this fine corps marched into position behind Mrs. Leicester's house on the Taneytown road, Meade's headquarters. There was no place more exposed to artillery fire than that spot.

This beautiful morning we felt the influence of order; movement and reinforcement gave us great joy.

Lee gave up his first intention to strike us at Culp's Hill where Wadsworth was, because he was assured that he could not



new town.

By Pleasanton's order Buford's cavalry, worried with long waiting and fighting, was sent back to Manchester, N.H. to take care of the reserve wagon and supplies.

Stanton on the left, thinking the ground better for his flank, pushed his men out in front of Little Round Top to occupy the Peach Orchard, with his left drawn back to a rugged, rocky prominence called "The Devil's Den." Opposite Stanton was Longstreet, a Confederate Corps Commander, with two divisions, Kershaw's and Hood's; his third division was back at Chambersburg.

Our 5th Corps under Sykes was during the morning hours and part of the afternoon, behind our lines in reserve.

Pleasanton's cavalry, with Confederate Stuart's opposite to him, covered Sherman's extreme right beyond Kaffister's Mill. Beginning with the 5th Corps, the infantry we had, made a remarkable error in November hours. He rested his men ten minutes at the end of each hour, with perhaps two or three longer halts, none exceeding twenty minutes. About two p.m. this line corps marched into position behind Mrs. Lonsdale's house on the Taneytown road, Meade's Headquarters. There was no place more exposed to artillery fire than that spot.

This position was not the influence of order; movement and reinforcement gave us great joy.

The rest of his first division to arrive as the 5th's will show. He was, because he was assured that he could not



that rugged craggy height.  
carry ~~it~~. We heard a signal, the deliberate firing of a few guns from the enemy's side; then ran along our line a curious magnetic feeling, an unusual expectancy as the words were passed from mouth to mouth, "Be ready for action!" Thirty or forty hostile batteries followed the signal. Our cannon made instant and rapid response. Puffs of smoke showed gunners where to aim; great projectiles were in the air and thunderous noises shook the ground. As a rule the shells fell short or passed over without much damage. Occasionally it was different. One exploding in the ranks of the 27th New York killed and wounded twenty-seven men. Longstreet with his seventeen thousand followed up that artillery fire, striking Sickles who had 10,350 men. The first blow was near the Peach Orchard. Confederate Anderson from A. P. Hill's Division pushed forward on Longstreet's left and I saw from my position on the heights a battle which I could not describe. Sickles' artillery was in the thick of this fighting; Bigelow's battery, for example, near Throstle's barn, fought hard, lost its infantry support and was forced to retire, dragging back the guns by hand and keeping up its fire from place to place. Brave Confederates rushed upon his guns, but Bigelow blew them at times from the muzzles of his pieces; still they came on; they shot his horses; they clambered over his limbers; five of his battery officers and twenty-two men were killed or wounded, and he himself seriously wounded in the side; but strange to tell, he so extricated two out of his six guns as to continue resistance till McGilvery,



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and twenty-five men were killed or wounded, and he himself serious-  
ly wounded in the side; but always he fell, he as excited two  
out of his six guns as to continue resistance till daylight.



the Corps Chief, had put a fresh battery on the higher ground behind him. Troops came from all parts of the army to assist Sickles. General Warren, Meade's Chief of Artillery, brought up the 5th Corps to Little Round Top just in time to save it from capture. The low ridge between the Round Tops was a wild place for combat and no fiercer was ever seen than on that hot July evening with blazing musketry and hand to hand struggles, with clubbed fire arms and even jagged stones. The 20th Maine <sup>Regiment</sup> holding the left between the Round Tops cleared the slope and held tenaciously that important point.

While this was going on Confederate Anderson swept in upon Humphrey's Division on the right of Sickles' line; <sup>Humphrey</sup> ~~he~~ had Gibbon's Division of the 2nd Corps to support him. Humphrey resisted as long as he could, but his flanks being enveloped he was obliged to fall back. Other troops from the 6th and 12th Corps were deployed behind a stone wall close at hand, just in the nick of time to save Humphrey. He soon reformed his line and returned to the charge.

It had been an exciting afternoon, yet at sundown the battle was over. Meade had lost the Peach Orchard and <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ new position was half a mile to the rear; the dead and the wounded of both armies lay between them. The victory was not on our part decisive enough for rejoicing. It only made everybody feel thankful that things were not worse. Everybody dreaded the morrow.

Lee had intended that Ewell's Corps should strike our



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the Corps Chief, had put a flank battery on the higher ground behind him. Troops came from all parts of the army to assist Sickles. General Warren, Meade's Chief of Artillery, brought up the 3rd Corps to Little Round Top just in time to save it from capture. The low ridge between the Round Tops was a wild place for combat and no flanking was ever seen there on that hot July evening with blazing musketry and hand to hand struggles, with clapped fire arms and even jagged stones. The 30th Maine holding the left between the Round Tops cleared the slope and held tenaciously that important point.

While this was going on Confederate Anderson swept in upon Humphrey's Division on the right of Sickles' line; he had Gibson's Division of the 2nd Corps to support him. Humphrey resisted as long as he could, but his flank being enveloped he was obliged to fall back. Other troops from the 6th and 12th Corps were deployed behind a stone wall close at hand, just in the nick of time to save Humphrey. He soon reformed his line and returned to the charge.

It had been an exciting afternoon, yet at sunset the battle was over. Meade had lost the Round Top and the new position was half a mile to the rear; the dead and the wounded of both armies lay between them. The victory was not on our part decisive enough for rejoicing. It only made everybody feel thankful that things were not worse. Everybody treated the enemy. Lee had intended that Webb's Corps should strike our



right by a supporting movement at the same time that Longstreet made the main attack, but Ewell's movement was delayed by unforeseen circumstances till near night. All of a sudden when everybody thought that the battle was over, in the twilight, some Confederate regiments which were lying on their faces just north of my batteries sprang up the slope and made a fierce attack. One of our brigades was completely displaced, but our artillerymen never left their guns, using sponge staffs and hand spikes and anything they could lay their hands on to resist the enemy's charge. Very soon help came from Schurz and Hancock and our lines were re-established.

The same movement went on against Culp's Hill, but Wadsworth's men behind barricades easily repulsed their adversaries. Just beyond Culp's Hill General George S. Green, with a small division defended all the ground belonging to Slocum who, with his men, had gone <sup>over</sup> to the assistance of Sickles. Owing to the darkness and the woods the troops of Confederates Early and Johnson were deceived and held in check by Green with his few troops. They were waiting for daylight though within only a stone's throw of the Baltimore pike and our supply trains.

*of the Second of July*  
Before ten p.m. all the firing ceased; but in the night General Slocum brought back his men and Meade gave him all the batteries he needed. He placed his right at McAllister's Mill and his left joined Green. He had a harrow shaped line with plenty of artillery at the apex.



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troops. They were waiting for daylight though within only a  
stone's throw of the Baltimore Pike and our supply trains.  
Before ten p.m. all the fighting ceased, and in the night  
General Johnson brought back his men and made sure that all the  
positions were secured. He placed his right at Washington's Hill  
and the left joined Green. He had a narrow escape from being  
plenty of artillery at the apex.



## THE THIRD DAY'S BATTLE.

*At dawn,* The Confederates were ready as soon as their adversaries and each began a forward movement at about the same instant. I was sleeping near an iron fence in the cemetery with a grave mound for my pillow--it was my first sound sleep at Gettysburg--when about 5:30 in the morning I was aroused by a terrific cannonade and the rattle of musketry which seemed close at hand. I sent hurriedly to Meade to know what it meant, and he answered, "Slocum is regaining his lines." This was the third day. For five mortal hours that strife went on. Trees were perforated with bullets, many were lopped down by fragments of shells and round shot, and I do not think that I saw at any time during the war a greater apparent havoc than was made by Slocum's efforts and ~~Ewell's~~ resistance. At last, however, every point was cleared and the old barricades from Culp's Hill to McAllister's

Mill were refilled by our gallant defenders. *5th "Pickett's Charge"*  
 PICKETT'S CHARGE.

I will add but one more battle scene. It opened at one p.m. this same day by a cannonade. Lee's plan was similar to that of the day before except that Longstreet was to try and break the center of our line where the ground appeared nearly level, near what were called the umbrella trees. His attacking column now consisted of his third division, Pickett's which had come up from Chambersburg. To this assaulting force Lee gave one division and two brigades from A. P. Hill's corps, making a total of about sixteen thousand men.

Longstreet's Chief of Artillery brought out in front of



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with bullets, many were felled down by fragments of shells and  
round shot, and I do not think that I saw at any time during the  
war a greater apparent havoc than was made by Sherman's efforts  
and Kelly's resistance. At last, however, every point was  
cleared and the old batteries from Culp's Hill to McAllister's  
Hill were retaken by our valiant defenders.  
BLOOMER'S CHARGE.  
I will add but one more battle scene. It opened at  
one p.m. this same day by a demand. Lee's plan was similar  
to that of the day before except that Longstreet was to try and  
break the center of our line where the ground appeared nearly  
level, near what were called the umbellic trees. The attacking  
column now consisted of his third division, Ewell's which had  
come up from Chambersburg. In this attacking force Lee gave one  
division and two brigades from A. S. ELLIOTT's corps, making a total  
of about sixteen thousand men.  
Longstreet's Chief of Artillery brought out in front of



us seventy-five long range guns and Hill massed some seventy-five more opposite our center. When the signal was sounded by the enemy, all these cannon immediately opened fire. Shells burst all around us and in our midst, killing men and horses, exploding caissons, overturning tombstones and smashing fences. The soldiers hugged whatever cover they had at hand. Several officers within a stone's throw of where I stood were either killed or wounded. A German boy holding our staff horses had his left arm carried off by a fragment. A young artilleryman <sup>near my side,</sup> full of life and cheer, was struck with a round shot ~~near my side~~ <sup>far and near</sup> and instantly killed. Life was indeed in peril; men fell while eating, smoking or at work.

For a time we matched fire with fire, but at last to save ammunition and cool our guns our firing ceased. The enemy, thinking they had silenced our batteries, proceeded to the attack. I saw better than the day before their infantry line, at least a quarter of a mile of it exposed to my view as it started from the ridge opposite our left center. It was like an extensive parade with flags flying and lines steadily advancing. These were Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions and part of Pender's, with Wilcox supporting their right, nine brigades in two lines.

On they came. Osborn, Wainwright, McGilvery and other artillery chiefs, started again the fire of their batteries. Now gaps were plainly made, but quickly filled. As they came nearer canister was freely used and the gaps grew bigger and harder to



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 parade with flags flying and lines steadily advancing. These  
 were Robert's and Pettigrew's divisions and part of Cameron's, with  
 Wilson supporting their right, some behind in two lines.  
 As they came. General, Fairbairn, Kellie and other  
 staff were killed, scattered again the fire of their batteries. Now  
 they were plainly made, but getting killed. As they came nearer  
 contact was nearly made and the gaps grew bigger and bigger.



close. Soon this beautiful array came within musketry range of our long full line concealed by temporary cover such as breastworks, stone fences, and a few trenches. The Confederates ~~now~~ fired regularly as they advanced. By some simultaneous impulse our own line <sup>quickly</sup> appeared one sheet of flame, and then this fire continued regularly but rapidly for perhaps ten minutes and possibly more, for one at such a crisis can take no note of time. I kept looking till the smoke began to rise and then I could no longer see the enemy's line. There was running in every direction. Regiments of ours from Steinwehr's position <sup>to Little</sup> ~~on~~ Round Top were moving into the valley with their flags flying, ~~apparently~~ without much order, taking and bringing in prisoners, flags and guns. About this *attack* *(Pickett's Charge)* Hancock wrote: "The shock of the assault fell on the two or three divisions of the 2nd Corps, assisted by a small brigade of Vermont troops, together with the artillery of our line which fired from Round Top to Cemetery Hill."

There were forty cannon of ours firing from the slope of Little Round Top upon the flank of Pickett's Division, and the Vermont troops, a small brigade, pushed out into the little grove of trees where they had a wonderful position to do the same with musketry. Near the Cemetery Ridge were as many more heavy guns under my Chief of Artillery, and they had a more direct fire, but the remainder of our artillery was held in line right opposite the center of the attack. Of course no troops on earth could live under such a combined fire. I knew the leaders on the other



close. Soon this beautiful array came within musketry range of our long full line concealed by temporary cover such as breastworks, stone fences, and a few trenches. The Confederates now fired regularly as they advanced. By some simultaneous impulse our own line appeared one sheet of flame; and then this fire continued regularly but rapidly for perhaps ten minutes and possibly more, for one at such a crisis can take no note of time. I kept looking till the smoke began to rise and then I could no longer see the enemy's line. There was running in every direction. Regiments of ours from Steinwehr's position on Round Top were moving into the valley with their flags flying, apparently without much order, taking and bringing in prisoners, flags and guns. About this *think* Hancock wrote: "The shock of the assault fell on the two or three divisions of the 2nd Corps, assisted by a small brigade of Vermont troops, together with the artillery of our line which fired from Round Top to Cemetery Hill." There were forty cannon of ours firing from the slope of Little Round Top upon the flank of Pickett's Division, and the Vermont troops, a small brigade, pushed out into the little grove of trees where they had a wonderful position to do the same with musketry. Near the Cemetery Hill were no more heavy guns under the Chief of Artillery, and they had a more direct fire, but the remainder of our artillery was held in line right opposite the center of the attack. Of course no troops on either side live under such a combined fire. I knew the leaders on the other



side and cannot fail to admire the resolute bravery, the hardihood which could conduct such an attack. It is said that General Armistage of Virginia, in command of a brigade, led the way with his hat on his sword, followed by his brigade in line. When he reached the wall he had not ten men with him, yet he went through our lines and fell, wounded three times, and asked before he died to be carried to Hancock's tent. Just at that point on the Union side is where Cushing, standing by his battery desperately wounded, held himself together to give just one more shot; and General A. S. Webb near that point rallied his men to refill the gap that the Confederates had made in his line of advance. He was wounded in the head and had a rifle broken in his hands; but this did not deter him from holding his ground till our success was assured.

The battle was over before darkness set in, and the Confederates who were living and not disabled were drawn back beyond the crest of Seminary Hill.

I cannot tell you how many of my comrades whom I had known for fourteen years perished on that field, and how many more who had been with me in previous battles there gave their lives that their country might live. The entire losses on both sides exceeded 50,000 men hors de combat.

#### WHY THE PIVOTAL STRUGGLE.

You may ask me why we say that this battle was the pivotal struggle for the preservation of the Union; why the highest point gained has been called "the high water-mark" of the rebellion.

The answer is simply, <sup>this</sup> Lee's object was to gain a victory. A victory at Gettysburg would have given him Washington, Baltimore,



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which could conduct such an attack. It is said that General Arm-  
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known for fourteen years perished on that field, and how many more  
who had been with me in previous battles there gave their lives  
that their country might live. The entire losses on both sides  
exceeded 50,000 men here on a spot.  
THE CIVIL WAR.  
You may ask me why we say that this battle was the pivot  
stone for the preservation of the Union; why the highest point  
gained was here called "the high water mark" of the rebellion.  
The answer is simply, that's what it was to gain a victory. A  
victory at Gettysburg would have given the Union, Baltimore,



and probably Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Then, of course, he or Davis behind him, could have dictated to us the terms of a settlement, because we had a large body of our people so tired of the war and so hostile to the administration that a further prolongation of the struggle would have been useless. The influences from abroad were not just then, from any quarter, in our favor, so that we had reason to rejoice at our victory, though it was not so complete as Mr. Lincoln had looked for.

We can now see that ~~it~~ was a good Providence which enabled us to stop where we did and be satisfied with the victory we gained at Gettysburg. While we were arresting the progress of the Confederates in Pennsylvania, Grant was obtaining his tremendous victory at Vicksburg.

I think that that 4th of July, 1863, gave to my heart more satisfaction than any other Independence Day. It made possible the victories of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and the Seaward March, and it brought to the front such men as Grant, Thomas, Sherman and Sheridan whose patriotism, tenacity and indomitable will-power were able to clear the whole field of operations and render Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation and promises substantial.

Even the utmost reaches of the imagination cannot picture to ourselves the results of a defeat -- a severed Union, secession forever established as a dissolving principle, trade and commerce ruined, desolation, degradation and woe which go with the success



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 ruined, dissension, rebellion and war which to with the success



of wrong principles, wrong thinking and wrong acting.

We have, however, on the other side <sup>to-day</sup> a practical demonstration of the power and the prosperity that have come to us as a nation. I will not detain you to mention any of the items of the great achievements of the past, which <sup>have</sup> followed, and how we now stand grandly among the foremost nations of the earth. I know there are dangers <sup>to the Republic</sup> and I know there are temptations <sup>to ambition and greed</sup>, and I know there are political sins not confined to one party or another, but in the main who ever heard of such progress <sup>as ours</sup> in so short a time, of any nation on the face of the earth. Wherever our flag goes a free commerce goes, a free teaching of youth and a free gospel. Under the English and the American flags combined all around the whole earth we see written in plain type, "On earth peace and good will to men." They are in sight!

ADDRESS TO GRADUATES.

*Address to graduates.* Now, young gentlemen, as you are just emerging from this institution, having so faithfully completed your course of study, you are doubtless asking, "What part can we play in the future which you hint at, just opening to the world?" I think it depends entirely upon what is your ideal, the ideal of each individual <sup>of success.</sup> <sup>averitable</sup> Lincoln was an unselfish leader in the struggle. He never sought for wealth, or fame simply for fame's sake, but to make the most of himself in every situation and accomplish what he undertook worthily and honestly, and he did his duty as it appeared to him with charity for all and malice toward none. From one point of view his life was not successful. It







was hardship, disappointment, unhappiness often in family and social relations; toil and care till he was haggard and often crest-fallen in appearance; and finally martyrdom. Yet, on the other hand, what a success! Tracing him from his boyhood home in a log cabin to the leadership of the brightest men of the age, and finally to the love and confidence of his friends and of his enemies and of all mankind.

Take General Grant, who would want to go through his experiences from youth to manhood and in all his early career up to the breaking out of the war? and then think of the exposure and trial and wounds and hatreds and abuse of enemies and of his loss and sufferings almost beyond human <sup>endurance</sup> and the torture of the last days! Still, again from humble beginnings he became the greatest commander of the age and was for two terms President of this Republic, and he did such things as have cemented the Union of the people of the South to the people of the North; <sup>today</sup> and his memory is fresh in every household in the land, and he is beloved by everyone who knows of him and has a loving heart.

My own ideas of veritable success in life for man, woman or child are these: Think carefully of what department of activity apparently accords with your taste and is within the compass of your ability; then persevere in its accomplishment.

Like you I tried to prepare for college and I did not rest until I had accomplished it; then I studied to graduate with all the information for help that I could garner in; then I under-



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all the information for help that I could gather up; then I under-



took a professional career and gave all the energy of my mind and heart to prepare myself for it. After that I endeavored with dilligence to accomplish well what was given me to do, or what came within the province and scope of my life.

To do the duty immediately at hand and to do it well is a good stepping stone to the next duty which is sure to dawn upon you. The wisest man wrote that the whole of man consisted in fearing God and keeping his commandments, and I think that any life at its close is a grand success which has been able through the help of the Divine Saviour and his Spirit to entertain the filial fear of God and to so keep his commandments as to give him a contented soul. There is a step that is higher even than this and bespeaks a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory; it is worded by Mrs. Browning thus:

"The man most man, with tenderest human hands,  
Works best for man,- as God in Nazereth."

Our Saviour best expressed it in the sentiment contained in the greatest commandment, namely,

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself."

Remembering always that "thy neighbor", as interpreted by our Saviour, is the man most in need of thy help.



