

TEACHERS' GUIDE
FOR
UNFINISHED WORK:
THE CREATION AND DEDICATION
OF THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY



*"The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here,
but it can never forget what they did here."*

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
STUDENT PROGRAM



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

TEACHERS' GUIDE

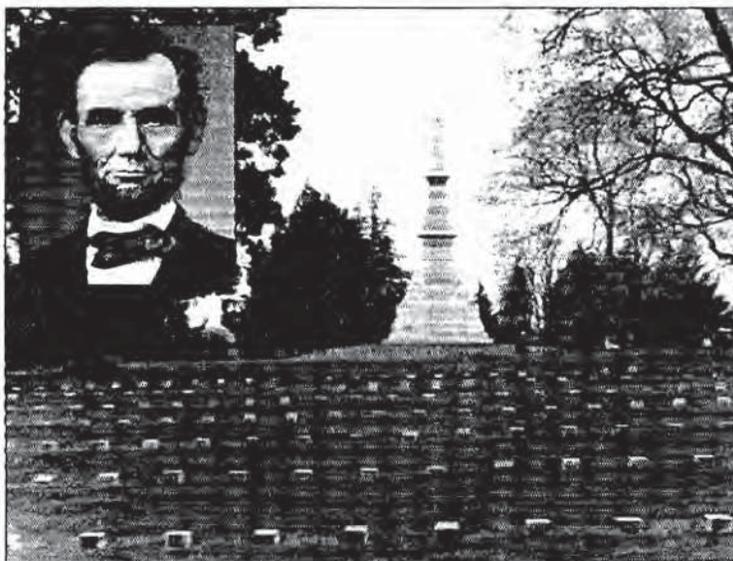


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United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17325

EISENHOWER NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17325

IN REPLY REFER TO:

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Dear Teacher,

The Gettysburg National Military Park is pleased to provide you and your students with our student education program materials on “**Unfinished Work: The Creation and Dedication of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery.**” Hopefully it will enrich your studies of Abraham Lincoln and the American Civil War, providing you and your students with added insights into this American tragedy and triumph.

This program is targeted at students in grades 8-12 and includes pre-visit preparation in the classroom, an on-site, two-hour program conducted by a park ranger, and post visit follow-up in the classroom. Using the materials provided within, the students will become highly involved with both secondary and primary sources in the classroom and in the Soldiers’ National Cemetery.

The pre-visit activities are meant to help the teacher stimulate student interest, motivate them for their visit to Gettysburg, and provide a foundation of knowledge upon which the program ranger can build here at the site. **It is extremely important**, for the success of the on-site program, **that the students complete the essential pre-visit readings and exercises.** The supplemental materials provide additional information and enrichment exercises.

The maximum class size for this program is 30 students and the minimum is 10. Please divide students into **10 groups before leaving for Gettysburg!** Each group needs to have a **facilitator**, a **reader**, and a **reporter**. (Adjustments can be made in cooperative group sizes to correspond to class size.) Groups should be comprised of students who work well together and who will complete their tasks in a given amount of time. The teacher may find it useful to use this same group format for doing the pre-visit work.

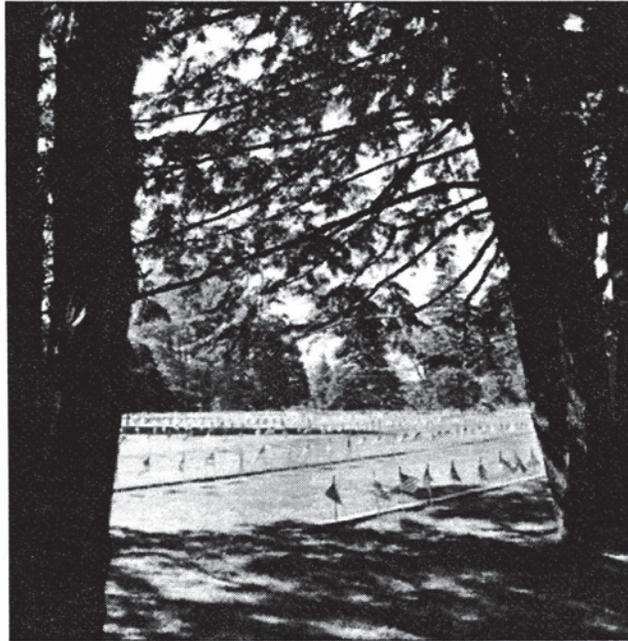
Please keep in mind that some of the material in this packet is very specific to the topic of Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address and the creation of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. Other material is quite general. But in neither case is it comprehensive. The overall complexity of the topics is tremendous in scope. Some material may not be appropriate to the grade or ability level you are teaching. We leave the interpretation of this information in the hands of the teacher, where it belongs.

Please refer any questions or comments to the education coordinator at (717) 338-4422.

Sincerely,

Gettysburg National Military Park

UNFINISHED WORK:
*The Creation and Dedication
of the Soldiers' National Cemetery*



THEME: The Soldiers' National Cemetery and the Gettysburg Address are ever present reminders of the horror of war and of man's capacity to endure, overcome and grow from tragic events.

GOAL: To convey the significance and relevance of the Gettysburg Address and Soldiers' National Cemetery to the students.

OBJECTIVES:

After completing the pre-visit activities and on-site program, the students will be able to:

- discuss the Gettysburg Address and the Emancipation Proclamation within the context of Abraham Lincoln's personal and political views regarding slavery and democracy;
- describe the horrific conditions of the dead on the battlefield, and list several ways by which a majority of the Union dead were identified;
- relate personal accounts as to why individual soldiers were fighting and compare and contrast these with the war aims as expressed in the Gettysburg Address;
- determine the reasons why Lincoln came to Gettysburg;
- analyze the Gettysburg Address in the context of the time.

After completing the post-visit activities, the students will be able to:

- determine the significance of the Gettysburg Address as it transcends time and place.

Field Trip Day Procedures



If your students are participating in our program, please follow these directions:

1. Report to the **Bus Parking Lot at the Gettysburg National Military Park Visitor Center, 1195 Baltimore Pike**, on or before the scheduled time, with your bus or vehicle and all students ready to go.
2. Your program ranger will meet you there, and ride on the bus with you to the program starting point. Your bus is necessary in the transport of your students to the program site. Any further directions necessary will be given to the bus driver by the student program ranger at this meeting point.
3. Have the students remain on the bus at this time, and remind them that once they arrive at the program site they should keep all unnecessary personal items on the bus (hats, cameras, lunch etc.) so that they are free to actively participate.
4. If the weather appears bad and you are enroute, contact the Education office at (717) 338-4422. An indoor program (possibly abbreviated, however) will be offered if we cannot stay outside.

TO GET THE FULL BENEFITS OF THE PROGRAM, IT IS IMPORTANT TO ARRIVE ON OR BEFORE YOUR SCHEDULED STARTING TIME. RANGERS RESERVE THE RIGHT TO CANCEL PROGRAMS OF GROUPS ARRIVING MORE THAN 15 MINUTES LATE!

We would like to remind those participating in our student programs that they are designed to take place outside in the natural environment. The weather therefore, and how the students are dressed for the weather, will be big factors in their comfort and level of program participation. In particular, this program takes place in the Soldiers' National Cemetery – a solemn place that requires quiet and respect. *We ask that you please have your students dress and behave appropriately on Field Trip Day.*

OVERVIEW OF READINGS AND ACTIVITIES

****Note To Teachers:** *Essential activities are required for a successful on-site experience. Supplemental activities are recommended if you have additional classroom time.*

ESSENTIAL ACTIVITY

PURPOSE

Pre-Visit:

The Causes of the Civil War

To provide an overview of the causes of the war.

The Gettysburg Battle

To provide a summary of the 3 days of the battle.

Readings:

Excerpts from “A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913” and “Lincoln”

To describe the aftermath of the battle and the need for a dignified, common burial ground, and to help develop the role that public opinion played in Lincoln’s decision to come to Gettysburg.

Pre or Post-Visit:

Analyzing “The Gettysburg Address”

To clarify vocabulary and references as well as to provide a springboard for analysis and discussion.

SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITY

PURPOSE

Pre-Visit:

Selected Writings and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln

To provide insight into the development of Lincoln’s personal and political beliefs.

Analyzing the Emancipation Proclamation

To utilize primary sources in creating an historical context for Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address

Design a Cemetery

To utilize primary sources to gain an understanding of the difficulty of cemetery design and an appreciation of its symbolism.

Discussion Questions for Prologue “Lincoln at Gettysburg” by Garry Wills

To help develop the role that politics and personal beliefs played in Lincoln’s decision to come to Gettysburg.

ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

What was the Civil War really fought over? Let the people who lived through this emotional and complex time period tell you what it was like, and why they became involved in a war that would ultimately claim 620,000 lives.

Respond as each author might to the following questions: “What was the cause of the Civil War?”

POLITICIANS’ VIEWS

Alexander Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States of America, March 1861:

This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. [Our] foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition.

Mississippi Declaration of Secession, January 1861:

We must either submit to degradation, and to the loss of property worth four billions of money (the estimated total market value of slaves), or we must secede from the Union framed by our fathers, to secure this as well as every other species of property.

President Lincoln’s “House Divided” Speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved -- I do not expect the house to fall - - but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.

Frederick Douglass, abolitionist and former-slave, speech delivered on March 26, 1860:

If slaveholders have ruled the American Government for the last fifty years, let the anti-slavery men rule the nation for the next fifty years. If the South has made the Constitution bend to the purposes of slavery, let the North now make that instrument bend to the cause of freedom and justice. If 350,000 slaveholders have, by devoting their energies to that single end, been able to make slavery the vital and animating spirit of the American Confederacy for the last 72 years, now let the freemen of the North, who have the power in their own hands, and who can make the American Government just what they think fit, resolve to blot out for ever the foul and haggard crime, which is the blight and mildew, the curse and the disgrace of the whole United States.

Rewrite the excerpted letters in your own words, answering the question:
“What was the cause of the Civil War?”

SOLDIERS' VIEWS

(All three soldiers perished from their wounds at the battle of Gettysburg.)

Sergeant Philip Hamlin of the First Minnesota Infantry Regiment wrote home on March 1, 1862:

The example of our nation has been a fountain of light to the people of the old world foreshadowing to the struggling nationalities a future destiny gloriously delivered from the weights and embarrassments of the past which have limited privileges, combated freedom, made the distributions of blessings unequal, and restricted the culture of the mind, and the consequent elevation of man in opposition to a class endowed with special privileges only by arbitrary enactment . . . May God preserve us from ourselves.

Private George W. Ervay, 16th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, wrote the following letter excerpt on February 16, 1863, referencing the recent recruitment of African-American soldiers – an action made possible by Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, but not “endorsed” by soldiers such as Ervay.

. . . I think that I shall be clear of the war soon for we white soldiers are going to be relieved by the n-----s. last pay day the officers had to pay taxes on the n-----s that are in the army and around Washington and it is in the New York herrild that every private soldier will have to forfeit fifteen percent next pay day that will be three & 1/2 dollars every two monts for the support of the counter bands some say that if they take any money out of their pay that they will disert others say that they will mutenize and I think that if they ever take any of my pay that I shall prefer the former . . .

Lieutenant Sidney Carter was from South Carolina, and had a big enough farm to own a few slaves. This makes his war reasoning in the last line all the more interesting (and perplexing from our modern viewpoint) from this January 1862 letter home.

. . . One thing I must say I want you to do is if Judson will not ally you in making the negroes know their place, I want you to call on Giles to do it. If you will be prompt when they need whipping, then they will think of this when help is not present . . . I think it would be best not to plant any cotton except enough to keep seeds (and one bale for house use). . . Give my love to all and accept your own part. Kiss the dear little ones for me. If I never see them again, I will try to leave them a free home.

Note to teachers: Primary sources are often difficult for even the best students. Define terms within, choose and/or abbreviate excerpts, and incorporate in the manner most suitable for the age and experience level of your students.

Underlined words or phrases within the student readings above should be explained prior to class reading, if possible. For excerpted post-war sources on the causes of the war, check out the "GETTYSBURG SCHOOLBUS" -- a new blog for educators -- at www.nps.gov/gett/forteachers.

Questions for class discussion:

- Why do you think some contemporaries refer to the U.S. Constitution and some to the Declaration of Independence when referring to the coming of war?
- How were the soldiers' reasons for fighting alike? How were they different?
- How were the soldiers' reasons alike or different from the politicians' views?
- What is the difference between a contemporary and a post-war source? A primary and a secondary source? Which are most reliable, in your opinion?
- Based on these sources, and others you have read, what was the main cause of the Civil War? Support your answer.

ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND:

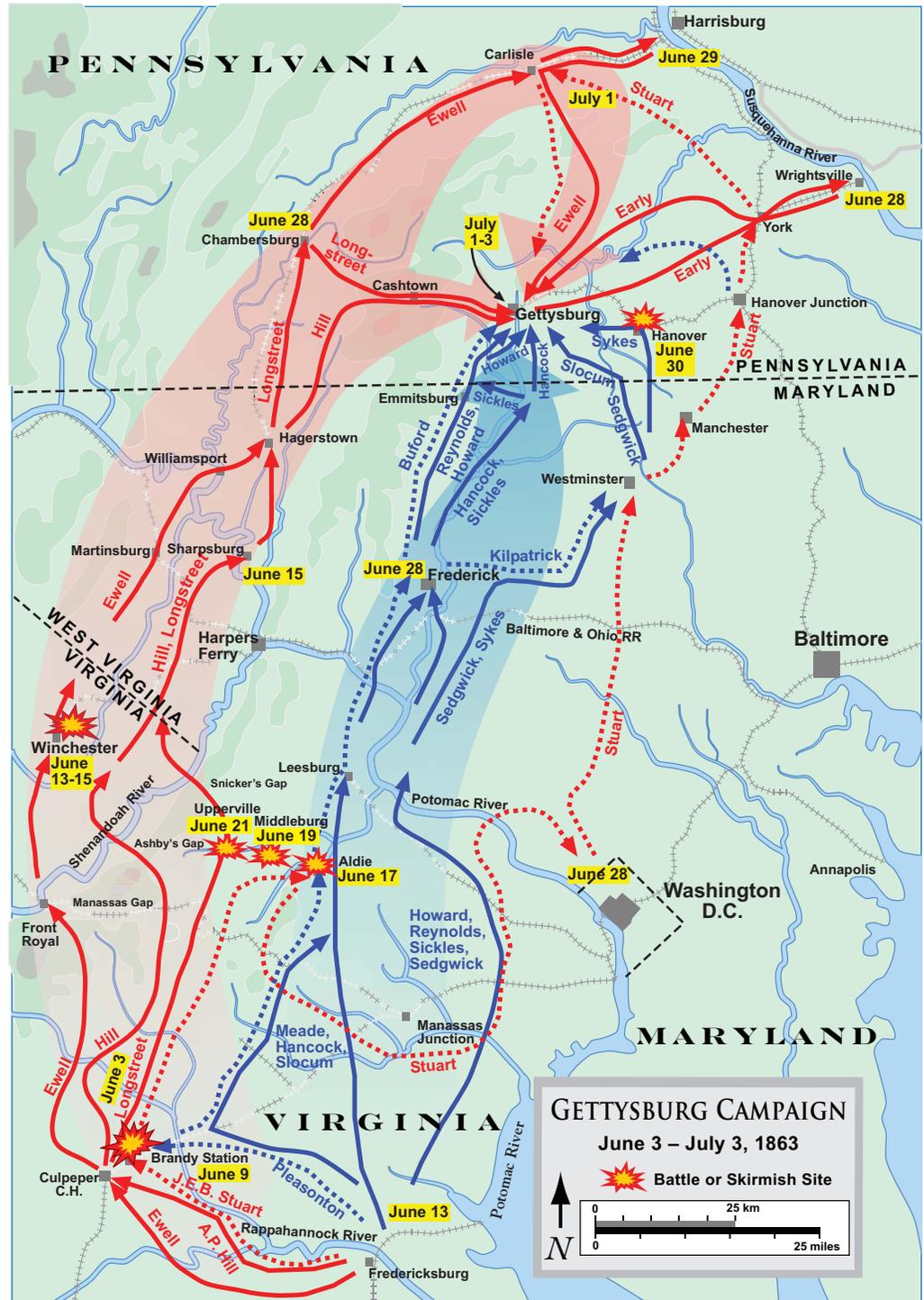
THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

In the spring of 1863, the Confederacy found itself in a situation that called for action. The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, commanded by General Robert E. Lee, had defeated the Union forces at Fredericksburg in December of 1862, however December was not the optimal time to give battle. At Chancellorsville in May of 1863, Lee again defeated the Union forces but the situation gave Lee little chance to follow up his victory. First of all, he was without a third of his army, and secondly his army would have had to cross a river in three places to resume the fight.

JUNE 1863

Lee, therefore, began moving his army north in early June, hoping to draw his enemy to a better battleground and also to find desperately needed supplies in the rich Pennsylvania farmlands, which up until then had not been nearly as damaged by the War as the Virginia farmlands. Lee also reasoned that one or more decisive victories in the North would increase pressure on the United States government to seek a peace agreement with the Confederacy. Thus, Lee and his army moved into Pennsylvania during June and eventually converged in Chambersburg, about 22 miles west of Gettysburg.

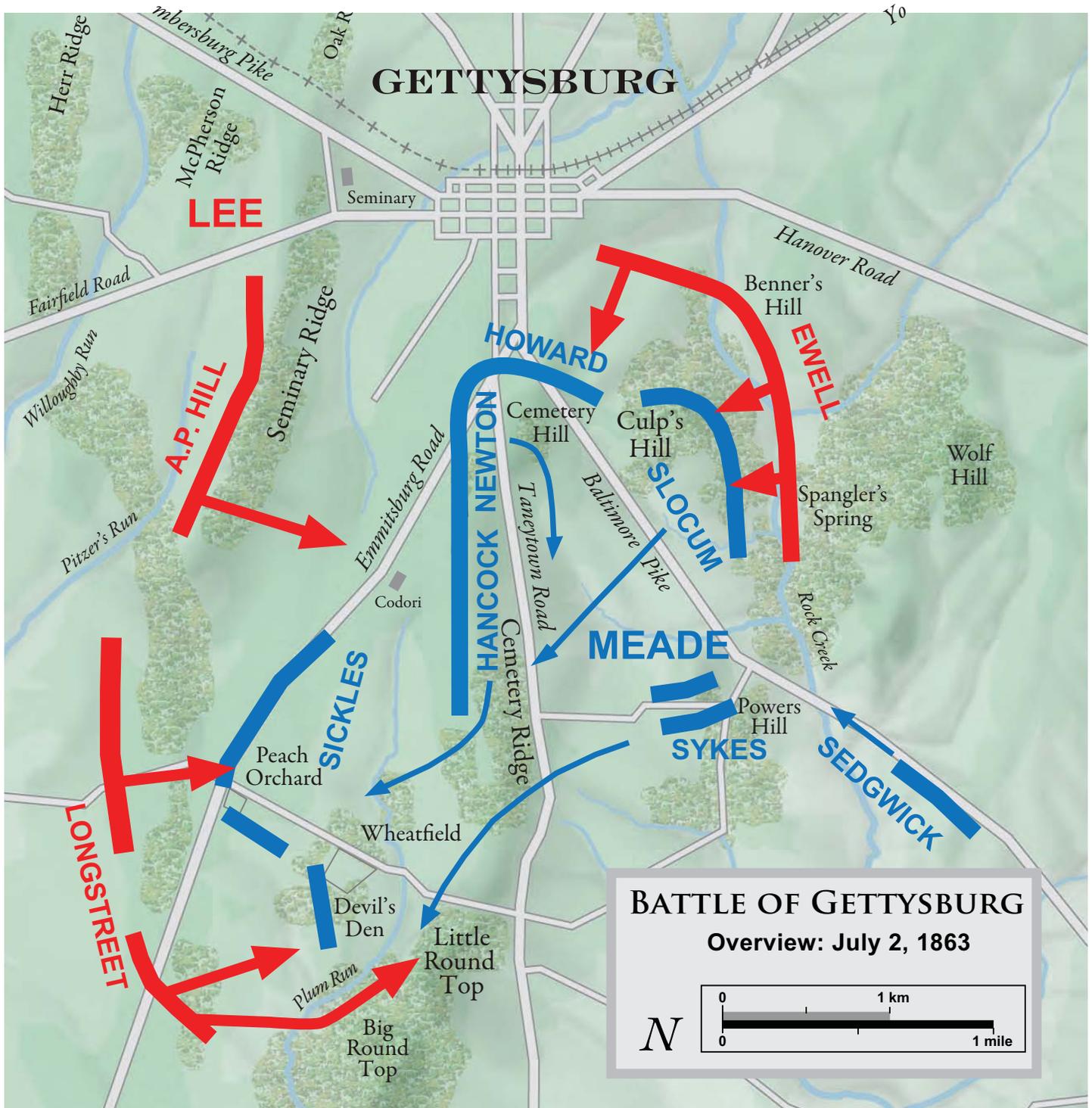
Look carefully at the map of Lee's invasion. Where do you think Lee was originally headed?



JULY 2, 1863

The Union troops retreated but regrouped on the high ground south of town-on Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, Cemetery Ridge, and Little Round Top-and formed a long defensive line shaped like a fishhook. On July 2, the Confederates struck both ends of the Union line. They hit hard, first at Little Round Top and then at Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill; but with high ground and craggy rock formations in their favor, the Union troops held out against these attacks, and the Confederate forces fell back and reformed along Seminary Ridge again.

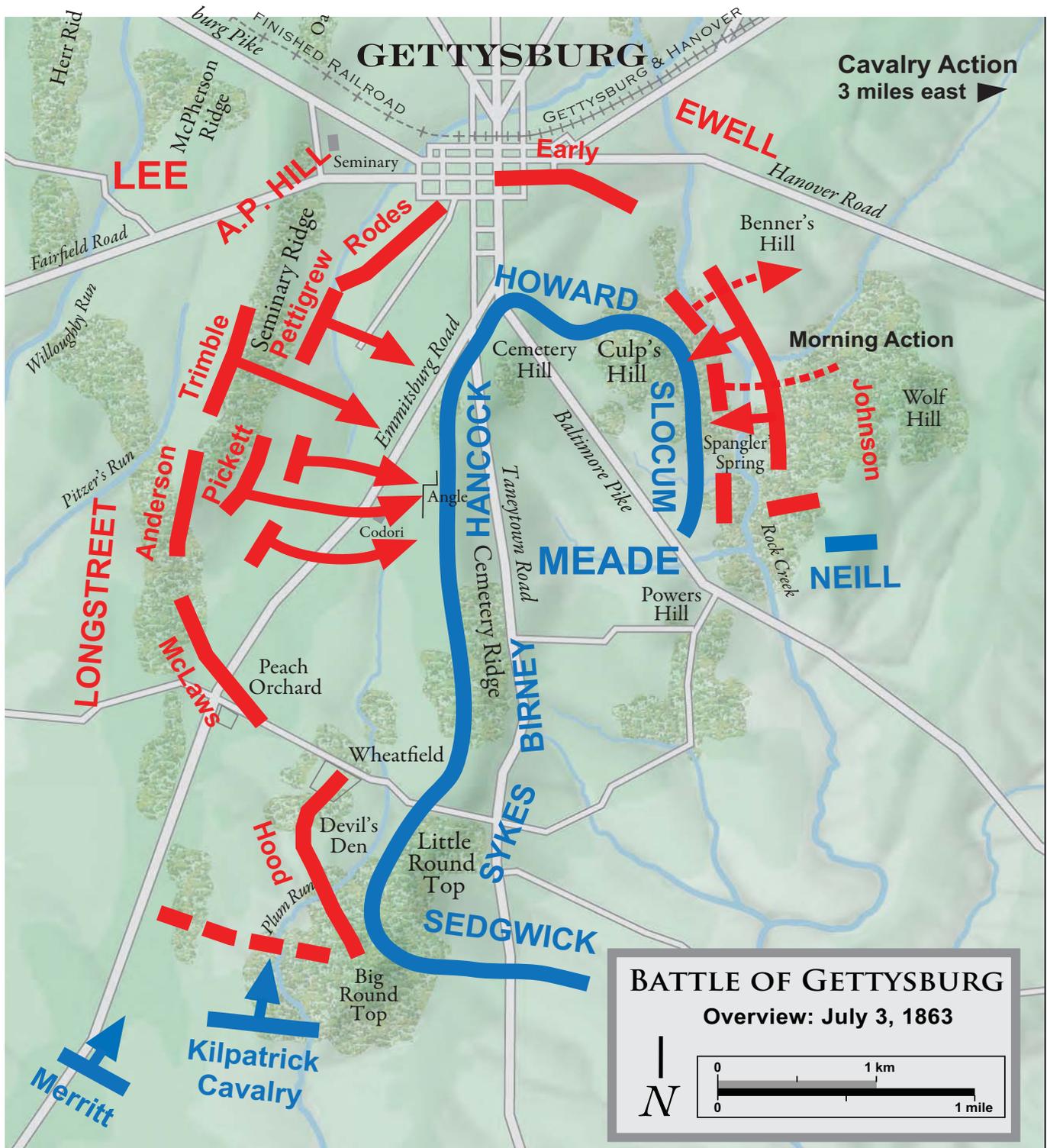
Measure the approximate length of the Union line of battle, and then the approximate length of the Confederate line of battle. Why is the Union "interior line" becoming a better position than the Confederate "exterior line"?



JULY 3, 1863

On July 3, General Lee again attacked the Union forces. But this time Lee struck at the center of the Union line since the fighting on the previous day had demonstrated the strength of the Union flanks or ends. In this massive assault, now popularly known as Pickett's Charge, the Confederates attacked the Union troops on Cemetery Ridge. But the Union Soldiers held once again and pushed the Confederates back to their original position on Seminary Ridge. The Battle of Gettysburg was over.

Locate Pickett's Division on the July 3rd map. Trace and measure its route to the center of the Union line. How far across the fields did they have to march before reaching the enemy? What major obstacle did they confront along this route?



ESSENTIAL READING:

Patterson, John S., "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913", from a paper prepared for the "Victorian Album Conference: sponsored by the Victorian Society in America and held at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., March 21-24, 1979."

The Battle of Gettysburg would leave 51,000 casualties in its wake. Over 6,000 of the soldiers would die outright on the field of battle. Thousands of others would eventually die of their wounds or related infection. What would happen to the bodies of these fallen men? Would they be treated with the dignity and respect they deserved? Keep in mind that approximately 50% of those that died were Confederates. What should, or would, happen to their remains? The following excerpt from John Patterson's "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg 1863-1913" seeks to provide some answers and provoke discussion concerning this aspect of the aftermath of the battle.

Read the following pages of Patterson's essay using the questions (page 19) that follow it as a guide for further discussion.

Vocabulary: immortal; grandeur; daguerreotype; regeneration; sublime.



Excerpts from:
A PATRIOTIC LANDSCAPE: GETTYSBURG, 1863-1913

John S. Patterson
The Pennsylvania State University

“What makes Gettysburg immortal,” William E. Barton suggested in 1930, “is less the military victory than the speech of Lincoln.” Undoubtedly the simple eloquence of Lincoln’s most celebrated address, with its brilliant enunciation of the Union’s most cherished ideals, has played an important part in fixing Gettysburg’s place in the American popular imagination. But even without its associations with Lincoln the creation of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery was a remarkable achievement—and one which provides a splendid glimpse of mid-nineteenth century American social, political, and aesthetic attitudes. It is hardly necessary to repeat all the details of the founding of the cemetery here, but it may be worthwhile to pay some brief attention to their implications.

From a distance or through the selective glaze of memory the battle might be viewed as a grand spectacle, but, seen close up, the event which thrust the rural Pennsylvania county seat into national prominence was first of all a disaster of incredible proportions. “It seemed as if a furious hurricane had passed over our town,” one resident declared soon after the battle, “sweeping with destructive violence everything before it.” The bodies of some 6,000 dead soldiers—well over twice the total population of the borough of Gettysburg—were hastily gathered into shallow graves on farmers’ trampled fields; more than 20,000 wounded men were crammed into every available space in churches, schools, homes and sheds; the carcasses of several thousand dead horses, bloated by the heavy rains which came soon after the battle, rotted in the summer heat; and a steady stream of anxious relatives, curiosity seekers, and vandals provided a further strain on the depleted resources of the community.

On the sixth of July, while the readers of Northern newspapers were already devouring descriptions which emphasized the grandeur of the battle and the magnitude of the Union victory, a reporter from the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* toured the battlefield and then filed a chilling account of the mundane horrors he had encountered: “I visited this morning the cemetery hill, and for nearly a mile beyond, where the greatest storm of the battle took place. Here many of the rebel dead yet lie unburied, every one of their pockets turned inside out. Many rebel wounded lie in the wood adjacent, and the air is polluted with a heavy sickening, disgusting stench. Thanks for the heavy rain we have had, carrying off much of the blood, otherwise I do not see how people could live here. As it is, it is the most disgusting atmosphere I ever breathed, or thought it possible human beings could live in.”

It was virtually in the midst of these appalling scenes that plans for the Soldiers’ National Cemetery began to take shape. On July 24th, David Wills, a Gettysburg attorney who had been overseeing the removal of the bodies of Pennsylvania soldiers from the battlefield, directed a letter to Governor Andrew C. Curtin in which he urged “the propriety and actual necessity” of acquiring land for “a common burial ground for the dead, now only partially buried over miles of country around Gettysburg.” This ambitious undertaking eventually had a profound impact on Gettysburg’s future and a significant influence on American understanding of the experience of war. Its story furnishes unusual opportunities to trace the development (and limits) of a democratized American nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century, to explore the transformation of a landscape of horror into a peaceful symbol of victory and unity, and to observe the creation of an oasis of pastoral stability in a world increasingly buffeted by change.

The idea of gathering the remains of fallen warriors into a specially honored resting place was not altogether new. There was, first of all, the appealing and frequently cited example of the ancient Greeks. The Soldiers’

National Cemetery, moreover, was not strictly speaking the first of our national burial grounds. Nevertheless, it is clear that in 1863 the initiators of the cemetery project could find relatively few helpful precedents for their work. To appreciate the novelty of the undertaking it is useful to recall the burial practices in the War for Independence: there were no revered military cemeteries at Saratoga or Yorktown; and at Valley Forge, where some 3,000 soldiers perished in the bitter winter of 1777-1778, there is only one marked grave, that of a lieutenant from Rhode Island.

By the Civil War years, however, both attitudes toward death and burial and the capacity to memorialize fallen soldiers were beginning to change significantly. It was perhaps still “usual,” as the *New York Herald* commented on the day after the Gettysburg ceremonies, to bury fallen soldiers “near where they fell”—but it was also increasingly clear that such dispositions were unsatisfactory in a war which involved appeals to democratic principles and depended on the services of mass armies. (At the same time, of course, transportation and communication systems were undergoing dramatic development: Railroads now made some of the battlefields more accessible, for example, and photography made it possible to bring images of war’s destructiveness into homes far from the scenes of battle.) The impressive Union victory at Gettysburg, combined with the awesome scale of the fighting and the relative accessibility of a battlefield on Northern soil offered unique opportunities for the commemoration of the fallen heroes. A few days before the consecration ceremonies, an article in the *New York Times* suggested that: “Attaching to this inauguration is a national interest, which possibly precludes the establishment of similar cemeteries. But the Gettysburg Cemetery will have the prestige of priority.”

Certainly the expensive and painstaking effort which was made to identify the Union dead—and at the same time to ensure that no rebels found their way into the cemetery by mistake—was unequalled in previous American experience. As David Wills pointed out, some Northern soldiers initially lay in graves which had only been marked with a penciled notation on a board, while the graves of many others were not marked at all. “To preserve their identity,” Wills commented, “I deemed it very important to have the removals of the dead made as soon as possible.” Between October 1863 and March 1864, at a cost of \$1.59 per body, 3354 bodies were exhumed, placed in coffins furnished by the War Department, transported to Cemetery Hill, and reburied in the grounds set aside for the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. As each grave was opened, any clues which might aid in the identification of an individual soldier—a diary, a signature in a pocket Testament, letters, daguerreotypes, initials scratched onto military equipment—were carefully recorded. When the work was completed, hundreds of men whose remains otherwise would have been lost in unknown or imperfectly marked graves had been positively identified. In the process of gathering the bodies, Samuel Weaver, who supervised the operation, accumulated nearly three hundred packages containing articles which had been carried into battle by the men.

The “List of Articles” which Weaver drew up and included as part of his report, provides one of the most moving of all the tributes to the dead soldiers. Unlike the countless commemoration speeches to come, the list offers no references to classical antiquity and debates no abstract principles; it simply identifies the physical possessions which were, quite literally, closest to the men at the moment when they died. With its clues to the pleasures, fears, hopes and commitments of young men now dead, Weaver’s list possesses the unadorned eloquence and concreteness which we typically associate with the Gettysburg Address, and the democratic vitality which we sometimes find in the poetic inventories in *Leaves of Grass*. “I will make the poems of materials, for I think they are to be the most spiritual poems,” Whitman had bragged, “And I will report all heroism from an American point of view.” Though it did not set out to do so, Weaver’s list finally does provide a record of American heroism which the poet might have admired:

- William S. Hodgdon, Company F, 20th Regiment, letter and fish hook.
- Unknown, 20th Regiment, Testament, and letter signed Anna Grove.

- Richard Shuley, Company K, 7th Regiment, bugle off cap.
- M. Davis, Company C, 20th Regiment, Thanksgiving book.
- E. Cunningham, Co. L, 1st Regiment, \$3.95, comb and postage stamps.
- S.R. White, Company C, 20th Regiment, Stencil plate and two cents.

- James Wallace, Pa., purse and twenty-five cents
- Unknown, inkstand, knife, letter and seventy-five cents
- A. Calhoun, diary
- Unknown Corporal, ambrotype of female
- Unknown, "Soldier's Pocket Book"
- Unknown, pipe
- Sergeant L.H. Lee, two combs, diary, and bullet that killed him

The reverent attention given to the remains of the Union dead at Gettysburg was one novel aspect of the creation of the cemetery and, lugubrious as the details may appear, the process of regathering and identifying the decaying bodies of the fallen men deserves to be recorded as a significant step in the democratization of American experience. But there were many other questions to be resolved in the creation of the Soldiers' National Cemetery—and in 1863 there were few obvious answers. What *was* a "national" cemetery? Who would pay for it? How should it be laid out? What memorial for the soldiers could pay appropriate tribute to their individual worth and dignity, and, at the same time, provide a suitably impressive overall effect?

In what sense was the Soldiers' National Cemetery a truly *national* undertaking? It "assumed a National character," Wills insisted, "by being independent of any local controlling influence." The Gettysburg lawyer was proud of the fact that he had foiled the "persistent effort" of a "local cemetery association of this place" to have the Union heroes removed to the Evergreen Cemetery. On the other hand, although authority to create a cemetery administered by the Federal Government existed in the summer of 1863, no one seems to have thought seriously of invoking it to create a nationally financed and controlled cemetery at Gettysburg. Created through the voluntary cooperation of agents acting on behalf of the Northern states, the cemetery grounds were purchased by Wills for the State of Pennsylvania, and the additional costs were divided among the participating states according to their representation in Congress. Here was a "national" undertaking, in other words, which steered a careful course between local determination, on the one hand, and centralized control, on the other.

The need to strike a satisfactory balance between the claims of individual, state, and nation was not, of course, simply a matter of legal title and financial arrangements. The issue was also central to the adoption of a design for the grounds. Wills tended to take a decidedly *national* view of the subject. "These men came here from the east and from the west, stood side by side, and fought and fell in one common cause and for one common country, irrespective of State organizations or geographical lines," he wrote in an 1865 report to the Pennsylvania Legislature. But in the summer of 1863, when he urged that the heroes be reburied without regard to the States from which they came, he encountered sharp opposition and was quickly forced to modify his position.

To resolve the problems involved in producing a satisfactory design, Wills turned to William Saunders, a landscape gardener who had recently moved to Washington to work for the Department of Agriculture. The

choice proved to be an excellent one. Saunders first visited Gettysburg about six weeks after the battle, and was soon convinced that “the remains of the soldiers from each State should be laid together in a group.” However, Saunders also quickly grasped both the practical difficulties in developing such an arrangement and their broader implications. The unevenness of the ground was one cause for concern, he noted, for “some [graves] would of necessity be placed in the lower portions, and thus an apparently unjust discrimination might be inferred.” Moreover, the various States had suffered widely different numbers of casualties and would therefore require unequal amounts of space for their burials. New York needed more than 850 spaces, for example, while Illinois required only six; but this surely didn’t mean that New York should be awarded a central position and Illinois relegated to an obscure corner of the grounds.

How, then, could each State and each grave be given equal treatment and the cemetery as a whole still arranged to produce a unified “national” effect? Saunders’ answer involved an adaptation to the needs of a military burial ground of democratic and transcendental principles along with certain features of the rural cemetery. His design managed to combine impressive monumentation with elaborately “simple” landscaping and a carefully planned emphasis on natural regeneration. Rather than a long, straight parade-ground style of arrangement, Saunders adopted a semi-circular plan in which the graves were grouped around a central monument. In this way, as he explained, “The ground appropriated to each State, is part, as it were, of a common centre; the position of each lot, and indeed of each interment is relatively of equal importance, the only differences being that of extent, as determined by the number of interments belonging to each State.” The overall effect which Saunders sought was one of “simple grandeur.” To achieve it, he tried to balance the “quiet beauty” of ample lawns and carefully limited plantings (which “will yearly become more striking”), with a substantial monument surrounded by absolutely uniform markers (no differentiations were made on the basis of rank). The interaction of these ingredients would eventually produce what he termed a “pleasure ground effect” and a “sublime” patriotic landscape. “The sublime in scenery,” Saunders explained, “may be defined as continuity of extent, the repetition of objects in themselves simple and commonplace. We do not apply this epithet to the scanty trickling of the brook, but rather to the collected waters of the ocean. To produce an expression of grandeur, we must avoid intricacy and great variety of parts, more particularly must we refrain from introducing any intermixture or meretricious display of ornament.”

“A few days before the dedication of the grounds,” Saunders later recalled, “President Lincoln sent word to me that he desired me to call at his office on the evening of the 17th (November 1863) and take with me the plans of the Gettysburg Cemetery. I was on hand at the appointed time, and spread the plan on his office table, he took much interest in it, asked about its surroundings about Culp’s Hill, Round Top and seemed familiar with the topography of the place, although he had never been there. He was much pleased with the method of the graves, said it differed from the ordinary cemetery and, after I explained the reasons, said it was an admirable and befitting arrangement.” It is easy to see why Lincoln found much to admire in Saunders’ plan for the cemetery. The design held out the prospect of natural rebirth and controlled growth toward “ultimate harmony,” and it balanced simple, unadorned memorials for individual soldiers with a more elaborate central monument—much as Lincoln’s brief address two days later would balance the classical periods of Edward Everett’s formal oration.

By the time the President left for Gettysburg, only about one-third of the reburials in the Soldiers’ National Cemetery had been completed and the countryside was still deeply scarred by the battle. But the groundwork had been laid for what was widely recognized at the time as an extraordinary commemorative undertaking. “The consecration ceremonies will be the most interesting ever witnessed in the United States,” declared an article in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* shortly before the dedication ceremonies. “On the Gettysburg battlefield will be witnessed one of the most imposing spectacles in this century, and the ground ... will be one of the most sacred spots in the Union.”

For Thought and Discussion

(Questions to accompany "A Patriotic Landscape")

1. Do you agree with the statement that "What makes Gettysburg immortal is less the military victory than the speech of Lincoln?" Explain.
2. Contrast the "grandeur" of battle with the scene of its aftermath. Do you think that the people reading accounts of the battle in 1863 could comprehend its horror? What may have aided them?
3. What were the political realities behind the creation of the Soldiers' National Cemetery?
4. Imagine yourself as a member of the detail removing 3354 bodies from hastily dug battlefield graves to the new cemetery (this is over a thousand more bodies than the entire 1863 civilian population of Gettysburg). Describe the physical and emotional difficulties that you encounter.
5. The process of identifying the dead was carefully and painstakingly accomplished, yet many of the soldiers would remain unknown. Why? Why is it unlikely that we will have unknown soldiers in the future?
6. How was the creation of the cemetery a compromise or balance between local and national control?
7. Read the description of William Saunders' design for the cemetery and study his layout (pages 38 – 39). Was Saunders successful in demonstrating democratic principles and "simple grandeur?" Keep his view and plans in mind for when you visit the cemetery.
8. What did Lincoln think of Saunders' plan?

Pre or Post-Visit Question:

9. Just before the dedication of the cemetery the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* editorialized that "On the Gettysburg battlefield will be witnessed one of the most imposing spectacles in this century, and the ground...will be one of the most sacred spots in the Union." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why? What other places, and/or memorials does our nation hold sacred? Which are special to you?

ESSENTIAL READING:

Donald, David Herbert, Lincoln, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1995.

The Fall of 1863 brought important Republican political victories in Iowa, Pennsylvania, Maine, California, Ohio and New York. Republican leaders gave much of the credit for these successes to the public letters of President Lincoln. The *Chicago Tribune* called him “the most popular man in the United States.” During this period the President is planning another public statement that will become known as the “Gettysburg Address.” The following selection is taken from Chapter 16 of Lincoln. Used by permission of the author and publisher.

Read the following selection using the questions (page 26) that follow it as a springboard for later discussion.

Vocabulary: inter; orator; democracy; score; solemnity; antithesis; “negotiated peace”.



EXCERPTS FROM *LINCOLN* by David Herbert Donald

During the fall of 1863 there was, apart from the campaigns around Chattanooga, a lull in the war. The federal fleet, under Admiral Dahlgreen, continued to bombard the fortifications of Charleston harbor but without decisive results. In northern Virginia, Meade followed a strategy of maneuver and minor engagement with Lee, with no major battle in prospect. The President, for once, had time on his hands, and he busied himself with such matters as an interview with a Mrs. Hutter, who had invented some earmuffs she wanted to introduce into the service, and a recommendation for “one of Mrs. L’s numerous cousins” for a job in the Treasury Department.

When Mary returned refreshed from her vacation in the mountains, a normal social life began again at the White House. The Lincolns began going to the theater again, seeing Maggie Mitchell’s performance of *Fanchon, the Cricket* at Ford’s Theatre. But, pleading a diplomatic indisposition, Mary did not accompany her husband when he attended the wedding of Kate Chase, daughter of the Secretary of the Treasury, to Senator William Sprague, the millionaire Rhode Island manufacturer, on November 12. She regarded Kate, who was younger, prettier, and slimmer, as a rival for the social leadership of the capital and rightly suspected that she was promoting her father’s presidential prospects. To compensate for his wife’s absence, Lincoln stayed for an unusually long time at the wedding.

In this period of relative quiet the President allowed his thoughts to turn to making another public statement – this time something less defensive than his extraordinarily successful letters to Corning, Birchard, Seymour, and Conkling, something that would explain to the American people the significance of the huge war into which they had stumbled. Lincoln had been brooding over this idea for some time. Shortly after the news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg reached Washington, he responded to a group of serenaders by pointing out how appropriate it was that the Union victory occurred on the nation’s birthday. What better way was there to celebrate that day when – “How long ago is it? – eighty odd years – since on the Fourth of July for the first time in the history of the world a nation by its representatives, assembled and declared as a self-evident truth that ‘all men are created equal.’” The root of the rebellion was “an effort to overthrow the principle that all men were created equal,” and now it had suffered major defeats on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. But the President’s thoughts were not yet sufficiently matured for full expression, and he concluded, “Gentlemen, this is a glorious theme, and the occasion for a speech, but I am not prepared to make one worthy of the occasion.”

During the following months the larger significance of the war was never far from Lincoln’s mind. The need for a broad statement on the subject began to seem more and more pressing as Northerners, convinced by the victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg that the end of the war was in sight, began debating the terms on which the Southern states should be restored to the Union. Many urged the President to address the people directly on these issues, describing the significance of the conflict and explaining why the enormous sacrifices required by the war were worthwhile. Even before the news from Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Horace Greeley, impressed by Lincoln’s letter to the Albany Democrats, begged the President to write such a “greatly needed letter” on “*the causes of the War and the necessary conditions of Peace.*” From Boston, the wealthy merchant and railroad man John Murray Forbes suggested that the President should address “the public mind of the North and of such part of the South as you can reach” on the basic issue of the war, which he saw as not just a contest of “North against South but *the People against the Aristocrats.*” If Lincoln would seize every opportunity to hammer home the simple idea “that we are fighting for Democracy or (to get rid of the technical name) for liberal institutions,” Forbes predicted, “the Rebellion would be crushed.”

In November, after the elections, the opportunity came to do just what Forbes had urged. The President was invited to attend the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg, where the thousands of men killed in that battle, imperfectly identified and hastily buried, were being re-interred. The orator for the occasion, Edward Everett,

the former president of Harvard College, former United States senator, and former Secretary of State, could be counted on to give an extended speech. The President was asked, “as Chief Executive of the nation, formally [to] set apart these ground to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks.” The invitation to the President was not an afterthought on the part of David Wills and the other members of the Gettysburg Cemetery Commission; to make sure that their letter would be favorably received, they doubtless preceded it by informal contacts through Ward Hill Lamon, who was known to be an intimate of the President, and they probably chose Lamon to be grand marshal of the procession at Gettysburg just for this reason.

Lincoln accepted, and during the following weeks he gave much thought to the brief remarks that he would make on November 19. He took the assignment very seriously and in the course of his preparation called to the White House William Saunders, the landscape architect in charge of planning the Gettysburg cemetery, in order to learn the topography of a place he had never visited but knew well from his commanders’ reports of the great battle. Using White House stationery, Lincoln began writing out an address expressing the ideas he had voiced in his brief response to the serenade after Gettysburg and Vicksburg. By this time the President had his facts straight. No longer did he refer to the Declaration of Independence as having been written “about eighty years ago”; now he wrote without hesitation, “Four score and seven years ago.” For the most part, the writing went smoothly and without interruptions – a sure sign that he had carefully reflected on his words – but toward the end of the first page of the short address Lincoln faltered after writing “It is rather for us, the living, to stand here...,” crossed out the last three words, and substituted “we here be dedicated.” He had trouble with the ending, and shortly before he went to Gettysburg he told James Speed that he had found time to write only about half of his address.

But he had the rest of it in his mind before he left the White House on November 18 and needed only a few quiet minutes to write it all out. He chose his words deliberately, preferring, as he always did, short words to long, words of Anglo-Saxon origin to those of Latin derivation. From the first two rhyming words – “Four score” – the cadences were somberly musical, and his gravely repetitive phrases – “we can not dedicate – we can not consecrate – we can not hallow” – had a solemnity worthy of the occasion. Antithesis was his basic rhetorical strategy, contrasting the living with the dead, “what we say here” with “what they [the soldiers] did here.” He did not strive for novelty in language but drew, consciously or unconsciously, on the stores of his memory. Many of his phrases had echoes of the King James version of the Bible. His closing promise of survival for “government of the people, by the people, for the people” may have had its origin in Daniel Webster’s 1830 speech calling the American government “made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people,” but more probably he derived it from a sermon of Theodore Parker, to which Herndon has called his attention, defining democracy as “a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.” Lincoln had made earlier use of the idea in his July 1861 message to Congress when he referred to the United States as “a democracy – a government of the people, by the same people.”

Moving from past to present to future, Lincoln’s address assumed an hourglass form: an opening account of the events of the past that had led up to the battle of Gettysburg; three brief sentences on the present occasion; and a final, more expansive view of the nation’s future. His tone was deliberately abstract; he made no specific reference to either the battle of Gettysburg or of the cemetery that he was dedicating, he did not mention the South or the Confederacy, and he did not speak of the Army of the Potomac or of its commanders. He was deliberately moving away from the particular occasion to make a general argument.

Lincoln read his draft to no one before he reached Gettysburg, and he explained to no one why he had accepted the invitation to attend the dedication ceremonies or what he hoped to accomplish in his address. Yet his text suggested his purpose. When he drafted his Gettysburg speech, he did not know for certain what Edward Everett would say, but he could safely predict that this conservative former Whig would stress the ties of common origin, language, belief, and law shared by Southerners and Northerners and appeal for a speedy restoration of the Union under the Constitution. Everett’s oration could give another push to the movement for

a negotiated peace and strengthen the conservative call for a return to “the Union as it was,” with all the constitutional guarantees of state sovereignty, state rights, and even state control over domestic institutions, such as slavery.

Lincoln thought it important to anticipate this appeal by building on and extending the argument he had advanced in his letter to Conkling against the possibility of a negotiated peace with the Confederates. In the Gettysburg address he drove home his belief that the United States was not just a political union, but a nation – a word he used five times. Its origins antedated the 1789 Constitution, with its restrictions on the powers of the national government; it stemmed from 1776. It was with the Declaration of Independence that “our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” This was, of course, not a new idea for Lincoln; his first inaugural address carefully developed the thesis that the Union was older than the Constitution. Nor was it an original contribution to American political discourse. It had been an essential part of the ideology of the Whig party, which had been elaborated by Daniel Webster; indeed, almost any advocate of a broad construction of the powers of the federal government was forced to appeal from the constraints of the Constitution to the liberties of the Declaration.

In evoking the Declaration now, Lincoln was reminding his listeners – and, beyond them, the thousands who would read his words – that theirs was a nation pledged not merely to constitutional liberty but to human equality. He did have to mention slavery in his brief address to make the point that the Confederacy did not share these values. Instead, in language that evoked images of generation and birth – using what the Democratic *New York World* caustically called “obstetric analogies” – he stressed the role of the Declaration in the origins of the nation, which had been “conceived in liberty” and “brought forth” by the attending Founding Fathers. Now the sacrifices of “the brave men, living and dead, who struggled here” on the battlefield at Gettysburg had renewed the power of the Declaration. “The last full measure of devotion” which they gave made it possible to “highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain” and to pledge “that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.”

Compressed into 272 words, Lincoln’s message was at once a defense of his administration, an explanation why the war with its attendant horrors had to continue, and a pledge that because of these exertions “government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

For all Lincoln’s careful preparation, it seemed for a while that he might not be able to attend the dedication ceremonies. On the day he was scheduled to go to Gettysburg, Tad was ill, too sick to eat his breakfast, and Mary Lincoln, recalling the deaths of her other boys, became hysterical at the thought that her husband would leave her at such a critical time. But so important was the occasion and so weighty was the message he intended to deliver that he brushed aside his wife’s pleas and about noon left Washington on a special train of four cars. All the members of the cabinet had been invited to attend the ceremonies, but only Seward, Blair, and Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher were able to accompany the President. The presence of only the more conservative members of the administration in the President’s entourage caused derisive comment in Washington, where United States Treasurer Francis E. Spinner guffawed, “*Let the dead bury the dead.*” The party also included Nicolay and Hay, the President’s secretaries; William Johnson, Lincoln’s black manservant; Benjamin B. French, who had written a hymn to be performed at the ceremonies; the ubiquitous Lamon; members of the diplomatic corps; and some foreign visitors, along with the Marine Band and a military escort from the Invalid Corps. The President was in good spirits, laughing and joking with his companions on the train. At one stop a beautiful little girl lifted a bouquet of rosebuds to the open window in the President’s car, saying with her childish lisp, “Flowrth for the President!” Stepping to the window, Lincoln bent down and kissed the child saying: “You’re a sweet little rosebud yourself. I hope your life will open into perpetual beauty and goodness.”

relieved to receive a telegram from Stanton: "Mrs. Lincoln informed me that your son is better this evening." After dinner at Wills's impressive mansion, Lincoln was called out to respond to a serenade by the Fifth New York Artillery Band. Never happy at extemporaneous speaking, the President apologized that he had "several substantial reasons" for not making a speech, the chief of which was that he had no speech to make. "In my position," he observed, "it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things." A voice from the crowd said, "If you can help it." "It very often happens," Lincoln responded, "that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all."

Disappointed at hearing only what the Dutch ambassador scornfully called one of Lincoln's "pasquinades," the crowd moved on to serenade Seward, who gave them the kind of speech they wanted, praising the United States as "the richest, the broadest, the most beautiful, the most magnificent, and capable of a great destiny, that has ever been given to any part of the human race." But Seward's tone of reconciliation with the rebellious Southerners as friends and brothers and his insistence that the sole objective of the war was to establish "the principle of democratic government" were not exactly in tune with the message that the President proposed to deliver the next day. Perhaps partly for this reason Lincoln, after working for a while in his room at Wills's house to prepare a clean copy of his remarks, took it over to Seward's room, where he presumably read it to the Secretary.

On the morning of the nineteenth Lincoln, after giving the final touches to his address, made a clear copy and appeared at the door of the Wills house at about ten o'clock, dressed in a new black suit, with which the white gauntlets he was wearing sharply contrasted. His stovepipe hat bore a black band, to indicate that he was still mourning the death of his son Willie. After he mounted his horse, which some observers thought too small for so tall a man, there was a considerable delay before the procession got under way, and the President spent time shaking hands with the well-wishers who crowded about him. Finally the procession began, with four military bands providing music, and the President, along with his three cabinet officers, representatives of the military, and members of the Cemetery Commission representing the various states, made a slow march of about three-quarters of a mile to the burial ground. Recognizing the solemnity of the occasion, the President appeared somber and absorbed in thought.

At the speakers' platform, where he was joined by several governors of Northern states, Lincoln had to wait again until Edward Everett appeared. The Massachusetts orator, who was suffering from bladder trouble, knew that the occasion was going to be physically taxing, and he had arranged for a small tent to be erected at one end of the platform so that he might relieve himself before beginning his oration. After an interminable invocation by the chaplain of the House of Representatives, which the irreverent John Hay called "a prayer which thought it was an oration," Everett began his two hour address. Contrary to expectations, it was not full of purple passages or rhetorical ornamentation. For the most part, it was a clear exposition, based on information provided by General Meade and others, of just what had happened during those fiercely hot three days in July, when the nation's life hung in the balance. Everett had committed his long oration to memory, and most in the audience thought he recited it perfectly, though he himself noted that "parts of the address were poorly memorized, several long paragraphs condensed, [and] several thoughts occurred at the moment as happens generally." Even though many in the audience had been standing for four hours, they listened with absorbed interest, and only toward the end did some break away from the crowd and begin informal exploration of the battlefield. It was a moving address and, according to Benjamin B. French, left "his audience in tears many times during his masterly effort." When Everett concluded, the President pressed his hand with great fervor and said, "I am more than gratified, I am grateful to you."

Then, after French's unmemorable hymn, hastily composed for the occasion, Lamon introduced the President of the United States. With his high penetrating voice, in which some listeners detected a strong Kentucky accent, Lincoln began. A little restive after Everett's long oration, many in the crowd focused on the unsuccessful efforts of a photographer to get his equipment in place to take a picture of the President.

Expecting another long speech, most thought that Lincoln was only getting underway when he pledged “that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth” and sat down. So brief were his remarks that those in the audience came away with very different recollections of the occasion – whether Lincoln read his manuscript or relied on his memory, whether he made gestures, whether he inserted the phrase “under God” in his promise of a new birth of freedom, whether he was interrupted by applause.

Immediately afterward, Lincoln may have felt that his Gettysburg address was not successful. “Lamon, that speech won’t *scour!*” he is supposed to have said, referring to plows used on the western prairies that failed to turn back the heavy soil and allowed it to collect on the blade. If he felt disappointment, it may have been because during so short an address there was no time to build up the sort of rapport that a speaker needs with his audience, and its abrupt ending left listeners with a sense of being let down. No doubt his judgment was also affected by his fatigue and illness, which would prostrate him by the time he returned to the White House.

But responses to his address quickly made it clear that, however his words affected his immediate audience, they reached the general public. Most newspapers reporting the Gettysburg ceremonies properly devoted most of their attention to Everett’s oration, but praise for the President’s address mounted. “The dedicatory remarks by President Lincoln will live among the annals of man,” announced the *Chicago Tribune*, in one of the earliest expressions of appreciation. In the *Washington Chronicle*, John W. Forney wrote that Lincoln’s address, “though short, glittered with gems, evincing the gentleness and goodness of heart peculiar to him.” The *Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican* carried a more extensive evaluation, probably written by Josiah G. Holland, who called Lincoln’s “little speech...deep in feeling, compact in thought and expression, and tasteful and elegant in every word and comma.” “We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the President made,” declared the *Providence Journal*, asking whether “the most elaborate and splendid oration [could] be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words of the President.” “The few words of the President were from the heart to the heart,” wrote George William Curtis, the editor of *Harper’s Weekly*, who called the address “as simple and felicitous and earnest a word as was ever spoken.”

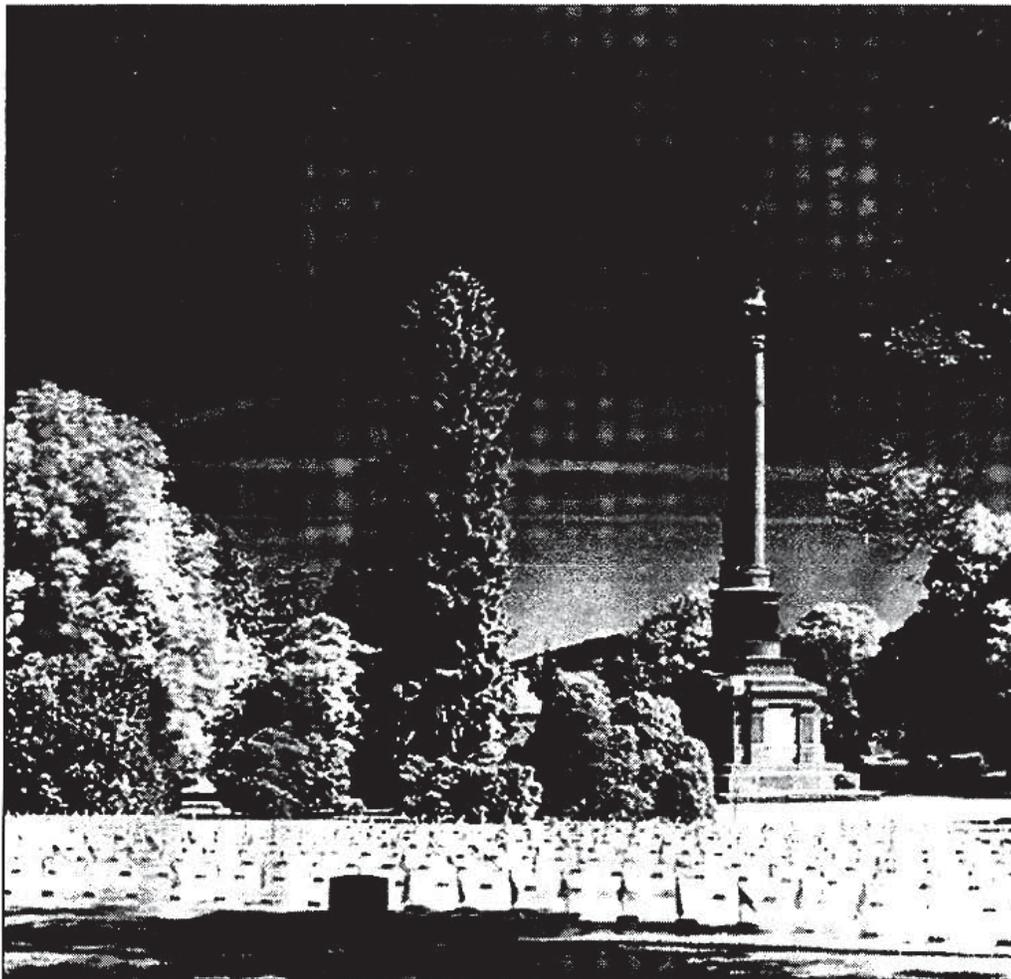
The impact of the speech could be measured in the number of times that the President was asked to provide autograph copies of his Gettysburg address. There are at least five copies in Lincoln’s own handwriting—more than for any other document Lincoln wrote—and doubtless others have been lost.

Another measure of its significance was the criticism that opponents leveled against it. The earliest attacks simply condemned “the silly remarks of the President,” but abler critics recognized the importance of Lincoln’s argument. Accusing the President of “gross ignorance or willful misstatement,” the *New York World* sharply reminded him that “*This United States*” was not the product of the Declaration of Independence, but “the result of the ratification of a compact known as the Constitution.” A compact that said nothing whatever about equality. Similarly Wilbur F. Storey of the ultra-Democratic *Chicago Times* recognized that in invoking the Declaration of Independence Lincoln was announcing a new objective in the war. Calling the Gettysburg address “a perversion of history so flagrant that the most extended charity cannot regard it as otherwise than willful,” Storey insisted that the officers and men who gave their lives at Gettysburg died “to uphold this constitution, and the Union created by it,” not to “dedicate the nation to ‘the proposition that all men are created equal.’” The bitterness of these protests was evidence that Lincoln had succeeded in broadening the aims of the war from Union to Equality and Union.

For Thought and Discussion

(Questions to accompany the reading on "Lincoln" by David Herbert Donald.)

1. How did the Independence Day celebration of 1863 influence Lincoln's thinking toward his remarks given on November 19?
2. Do you feel there was anyone in particular that influenced Lincoln to speak at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg?
3. Why was Lincoln strongly opposed to a negotiated peace with the Confederates?
4. Explain Lincoln's appeal to the Declaration of Independence rather than the Constitution in his address?
5. Where, in such a brief address, did Lincoln defend his administration, explain why the war had to continue and pledge that democracy would not "perish from the earth"?
6. How did the brevity of Lincoln's speech lead to misconceptions about its content and delivery?
7. Did Lincoln change the war aim in his remarks? Explain.



ESSENTIAL PRE OR POST-VISIT ACTIVITY: ANALYZING THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Hand out copies of the "Gettysburg Address." Have students take turns reading the 3 paragraphs. Afterward, ask the following questions to make sure students understand the key points in the speech. Other activities related to the Gettysburg Address will be done on site and upon returning to the classroom. Please adapt to various grade levels.

Paragraph 1

- What is a "score"?
- Who did Lincoln mean when he talked about "our fathers"?
- Where did the idea come from that it was a "nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal?"
- How is Lincoln's definition of "all men" different from the writers of the Declaration of Independence?

Paragraph 2

- Lincoln states what he thinks is the purpose of the Civil War. What is it, in his opinion?

Paragraph 3

- What is Lincoln saying about the men who died in battle here?
- Did Lincoln think that his words would be remembered?
- What does Lincoln say is the responsibility of those who are still living?
- What do you think Lincoln means by the phrase, "government of the people, by the people, for the people?"

Essay: The Gettysburg Address contains only 10 sentences, 271 words, and took but two minutes to read. In an age where long, detailed and splendid orations were the expectation, how do you account for the success of Lincoln's speech?

The Gettysburg Address

November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we cannot hollow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here, have, thus far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that, government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITY:
THE HOUSE DIVIDED:
Lincoln's Views on Slavery and Democracy

A portion of the following lesson was taken from "Abraham Lincoln and Slavery" by Kirk Ankeny and David Vigilante which was done for the
NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS.

A. Objectives

1. To analyze Lincoln's personal and political positions regarding slavery prior to 1860.
2. To assess the depths of Lincoln's aversion to slavery.

B. Lesson Activities - Part 1, Documents A, B, C and D

In groups of two or three, have students read and discuss the collection of primary sources labeled Documents A, B, C and D. Next, ask each group to select either Documents A and B *or* Documents C and D for primary focus, and to sketch and label the metaphor of a "house divided" in document B *or* create a chart comparing the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence (1776) with Lincoln's assertions in Documents C and D. Have each group present their work in class discussion. As part of that discussion, consider such questions as:

Where did Lincoln's disdain for slavery originate?
What specifically about the institution of slavery did he oppose?
What, in his view, were the constitutional aspects of the issue?

C. Lesson Activities - Part 2 - Documents E, F & G

Students, working in their groups, should now read the documents for Part 2. As they read they should note similarities and differences with Lincoln's earlier views. As you discuss these views consider such questions as:

Why is the time frame of the documents of critical importance?
What positions has Lincoln maintained, modified or changed since becoming President?
What is Lincoln referring to as "the last best hope on earth?" Do you agree or disagree?
Lincoln invoked the military powers of the president to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. Was he justified? Explain.

PART 1 - LINCOLN'S EARLY VIEWS ON SLAVERY AND DEMOCRACY

DOCUMENT A - From a letter to Joshua F. Speed, 24 August 1855 - (Primary Source)

Excerpts from Lincoln's response to a letter from a long-time friend (and slaveholder) revealed his views about the enslavement of African Americans.

...You know I dislike slavery;...I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. It is hardly fair for you to assume, that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the constitution and the Union...

I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligation to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must...

Library of America, vol. 1, pp. 360-63

DOCUMENT B: "House Divided" Speech, Springfield, Illinois, 16 June 1858, (Primary Source)

The excerpts which follow are from a speech given by Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois on the occasion of his selection as the Illinois State Republican Party's candidate for United States Senate.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.

Library of America, vol. 1, pp. 426-34

DOCUMENT C: “On Slavery and Democracy” 1858? (Primary Source)

The undated statement below was found in Lincoln’s papers in the approximate period of his preparation for the Lincoln-Douglas debates; it was not uncommon for him to jot down notes of the sort as a way of clarifying his views.

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.

Library of America, vol. 1, p. 484

DOCUMENT D: Letter to James N. Brown, 18 October 1858 (Primary Source)

Lincoln’s views excerpted below are from a letter he wrote in response to queries from a man who had either witnessed or read reports about the Lincoln-Douglas debate series. The final debate had been concluded a few days previous to the date Lincoln penned his response.

I do not perceive how I can express myself, more plainly, than I have done in the foregoing extracts. In four of them I have expressly disclaimed all intention to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races, and, in all the rest, I have done the same thing by clear implication...

I have made it equally plain that I think the negro is included in the word “men” used in the Declaration of Independence.

I believe the declaration that “all men are created equal” is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest; that negro slavery is violative of that principle;...that by our frame of government, the States which have slavery are to retain it, or surrender it at their own pleasure; and that all others — individuals, free-states and national government — are constitutionally bound to leave them alone about it.

Library of America, vol.1, pp. 822-3

PART 2 - LINCOLN'S LATER VIEWS ON SLAVERY AND DEMOCRACY

DOCUMENT E: From a letter to Horace Greeley, **August 22, 1862** (primary source)

Excerpts from Lincoln's response to Horace Greeley's open letter to the President entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions." Lincoln's prompt reply vigorously defined the purpose of the war.

...As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored; the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. ...I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men every where could be free.

Fehrenbacher, pp. 192-93

DOCUMENT F: From the President's Annual Message to Congress - **Dec. 1, 1862**, (primary source)

The excerpt that follows is paving the way for the Emancipation Proclamation.

In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free — honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope on earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just — a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

Fehrenbacher, pp. 202-209

DOCUMENT G: Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 (primary source)

On New Year's Day, 1863, the most famous document written by Lincoln was issued. It did not apply to the border slave states, to Tennessee or to those parts of Virginia and Louisiana that were occupied by Union forces; therefore it gave freedom to only those states that were beyond federal power. But it had the desired effect of transforming the character of the war.

Excerpts:

...And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons...

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Fehrenbacher, pp. 210-212

SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITY:
ANALYZING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Read Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (pages 35 and 36) and then answer the following questions.

- Did Lincoln free all of the slaves with the Emancipation Proclamation? What sentence(s) support your answer?

- How best would you describe the language of this document? Why do you think Lincoln used such language?

- In your opinion, what is the most important sentence of the proclamation? Justify your answer.

- Do an image search on the internet for contemporary reactions to the Emancipation Proclamation. Examine two opposing reactions, illustrations or cartoons, and label them. Which do you feel is the most accurate portrayal of Lincoln? Create a drawing of your own to express your approval or disapproval of the proclamation. Use symbolism in your drawing, and explain your answer.

- There have been many opponents of this document, some declaring it totally useless, and others declaring it unconstitutional and an abuse of power. What interpretation do you most support? Why? Which sentence(s) supports your argument?

- Lincoln was very conscious of the timing of the issuance of this proclamation. What was going on at this time in the war? Was this the best time for him to issue the proclamation? Support your answer.

- Paragraphs 7 and 8 were not in the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. What purposes do these paragraphs serve? What future events might Lincoln have envisioned?

The Emancipation Proclamation

January 1, 1863

A Proclamation

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, towit:

“That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such person, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.”

“That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voter of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.”

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in the time of actual armed rebellion against authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty- three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designated as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, towit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaque-mines, Jefferson, St. Johns, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth-City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth; and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man all vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

**SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITY:
DESIGN A CEMETERY**

Goal: To build anticipation for the field trip to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, as well as to initiate a greater understanding and appreciation for the design and symbolism that William Saunders used in creating the Soldiers' National Cemetery.

Objectives: After participating in this activity, students will be able to:

- identify Saunders' criteria for the design of the Soldiers' National Cemetery;
- use the criteria to design their own plan for the cemetery;
- roughly sketch a symbolic monument for their cemetery;
- present their ideas to the class, explaining any symbolism and how they have met the criteria.

Materials: graph paper
sketch paper
or a computer graphics program

Process:

I. Creation of Cemetery Design

Students may work individually or in small groups. This may be a class activity or an assignment. *It should be clearly explained to the students that there are no right or wrong answers for this activity; their creativity will be the key to their success.* Distribute the Design a Cemetery handout as well as some graph paper and sketch paper to each student or student group. Tell the students that they should be prepared to present their ideas to the class, explaining how they have addressed each Consideration and the symbolism that they used, such as how they have chosen to express the idea of equality or sacrifice.

II. Comparison to Saunders' Design

After the students have presented their design concepts to the class, Saunders' plan can be presented. Pass out copies of the visual plan, plus copies of his "Remarks on the Design of the Soldiers' National Cemetery" which explains his design and symbolism.

(Another option is to have one student or group of students prepare a presentation of Saunders' design, based on these documents, in lieu of their own design. This presentation would, of course, be the final one.)

DESIGN A CEMETERY

William Saunders was the person selected to create a design and landscaping plan for the Soldiers' National Cemetery. There were many things that he wanted to "say" with his design. Referring to his official "Remarks on the Design for the Soldiers' National Cemetery," below are the "four considerations" that he used when planning the cemetery. Using these considerations and the specifications below, design your own plan for the National Cemetery.

Saunders' Considerations:

1. There will be different amounts of space required for each state plot, yet each state plot must be equal in importance to the overall design.
Equality was an important concept that Saunders wanted to convey.
2. The design should make people think of "simple grandeur." Saunders' definitions for these terms are as follows:
simplicity = leading gradually from one element to another, in easy harmony, avoiding abrupt contrasts and unexpected features.
grandeur = the repetition of objects in themselves simple and commonplace, for example the collected waters of the ocean.
Uniformity was another important Saunders' concept.
3. Roads, walks, trees and shrubs should be arranged so that they are useful/functional and pleasing to be around. Also, the landscaping design should strive to keep future costs of maintaining the grounds to a minimum.
Saunders wanted the cemetery to be a place where people could come to peacefully contemplate the sacrifice of the soldiers buried there.
4. A monument honoring all of the soldiers should be placed at an appropriate spot within the cemetery.

Other Specifications:

1. Within your cemetery, each state plot has the following numbers of graves:

Connecticut22	New Jersey77
Delaware15	New York860
Illinois6	Ohio131
Indiana79	Pennsylvania501
Maine104	Rhode Island12
Maryland21	U.S. Regulars136
Massachusetts158	Vermont61
Michigan166	West Virginia11
Minnesota56	Wisconsin71
New Hampshire46	Unknown979

2. Additional elements to include in the cemetery are:
Walkways, trees, shrubs, and a monument honoring all of the soldiers.
3. There should be a key or legend included with simple pictures to represent each element.

REMARKS
ON THE DESIGN FOR THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

In constructing a design for the cemetery, the following considerations and details suggested themselves, as objects of paramount importance:

First. - the great disparity that exists, with reference to the space required for the interments of each State, necessitates a discrimination as to position and extent, while the peculiar solemnity of the interest attached by each State to each interment, allows of no distinction. Therefore, the arrangement must be of a kind that will obviate criticism as to position, and at the same times possess other equally important requirements and relations to the general design. (a)

Second. - The principal expression of the improvement should be that produced by simple grandeur and propriety. (b)

Third. - To arrange the road, walks, trees and shrubs, so as to answer every purpose required by utility and realize a pleasing landscape and pleasure ground effect, at the same time paying due regard to economy of construction, as well as to the future cost of maintenance and keeping the grounds. (c)

Fourth. - To select an appropriate site for the monument. (d)

(a) In order to secure the condition embraced in the first of the above propositions, a semi-circular arrangement was adopted for the interments. By referring to the plan, the propriety of this mode will, I think, be conceded without further explanation. The ground appropriated to each State, is part, as it were, of a common centre; the position of each lot, and indeed of each interment, is relatively of equal importance, the only difference being that of extent, as determined by the number of interments belonging to each State. The coffins are deposited side by side, in parallel trenches. A space of twelve feet is allowed to each parallel, about five feet of which forms a grass path between each row of interments. The configuration of the ground surface is singularly appropriate at the point selected, falling away in a gradual and regular slope in every direction, from the centre to the circumference, a feature alike pleasing and desirable. In order to secure regularity, the head-stones are precisely alike throughout the entire area of lots, and are constructed so as not to detract from the effect and prominence of the monument. The head-stones form a continuous line of granite blocks, rising nine inches above the ground, and showing a face of width of ten inches on their upper surface. The name, company and regiment being carved in the granite, opposite each interment, thus securing a simple and expressive arrangement, combined with great permanence and durability.

(b) The prevailing expression of the Cemetery should be that of simple grandeur. Simplicity is that element of beauty in a scene that lead gradually from one object to another, in easy harmony, avoiding abrupt contrasts and unexpected features. Grandeur, in this application, is closely allied to solemnity. Solemnity is an attribute of the sublime. The sublime in scenery may be defined as continuity of extent, the repetition of objects in themselves simple and common place. We do not apply this epithet to the scanty trickling of the brook, but rather to the collected waters of the ocean. To produce an expression of grandeur, we must avoid intricacy and great variety of parts, more particularly must we refrain from introducing any intermixture of meretricious display of ornament.

(c) The disposition of trees and shrubs is such as will ultimately produce a considerable degree of landscape effect. Ample spaces of lawn are provided; these will form vistas, as seen from the drive, showing the monument and other prominent points. Any abridgment of these lawns by planting further than is shown in the design, will tend to destroy the massive effect of the groupings, and in time would render the whole confused and intricate. As the trees spread and extend, the quiet beauty produced by these open spaces of lawn will yearly become more striking; designs of this character require time for their development, and their ultimate harmony should not be impaired or sacrificed to immediate and temporary interest. Further, to secure proper breadth of scene, few walks or roads are introduced. A main roadway or drive of sufficient width courses round the grounds; a few paths or walks are also provided for facilitating the inspection of the interment lots. Roads and walks are exclusively objects of utility; their introduction can only be justified by direct necessity.

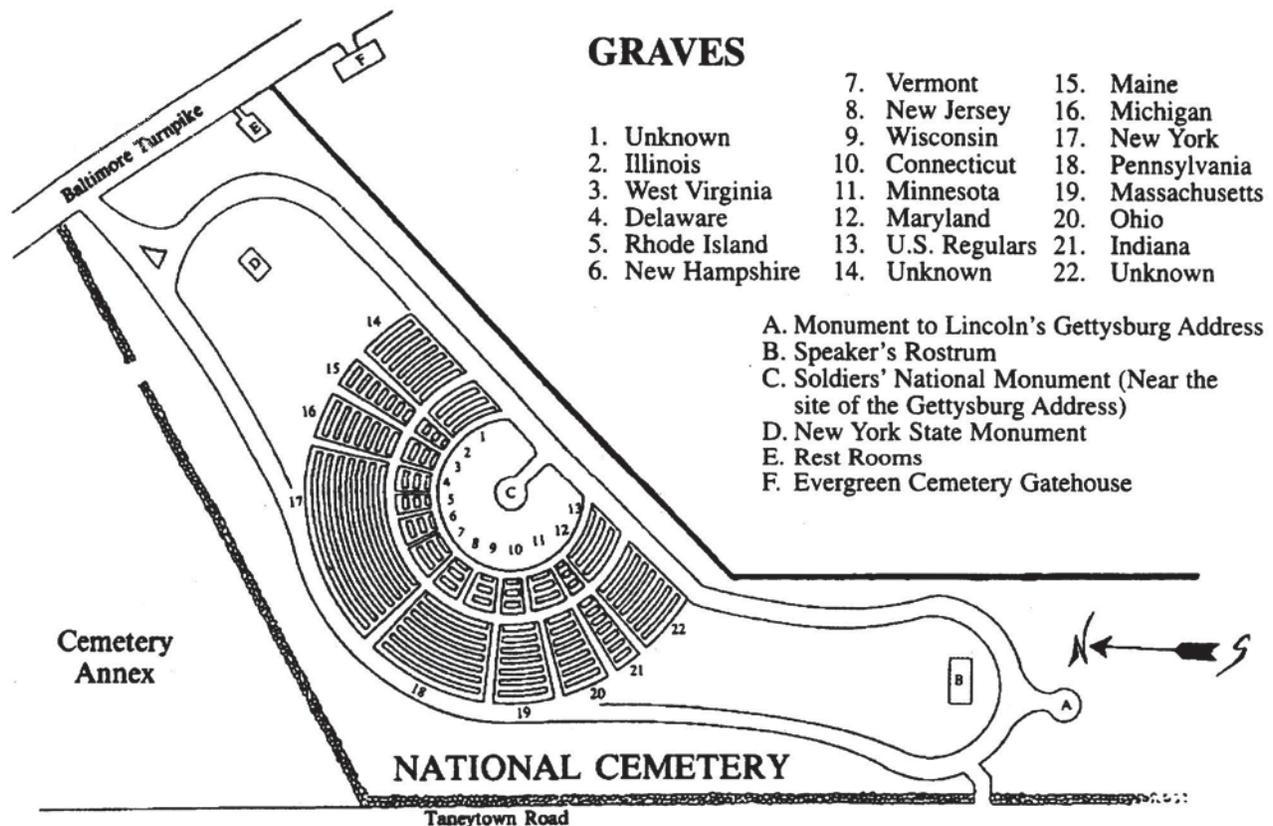
(d) The centre of the semi-circle is reserved for the monument. An irregularly shaped belting of dwarf shrubbery borders partially isolate it from the lots. It may be suggested that the style of the monument should be in keeping with the surrounding improvements, showing no effort to an exhibition of cost or ostentatious display on the one hand, and no apparent desire to avoid reasonable expense on the other.

The gateway and gatehouse should also be designed in the same spirit, massive, solid, substantial and tasteful.

With regard to the future keeping to the ground, the walks should be smooth, hard and clean, the grass kept short, and maintained as clean and neat as the best pleasure ground in the country. No effort should be wanting to attain excellence in this respect.

William Saunders

Dep't of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.



SUGGESTED READING

Wills, Garry, Prologue from *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1992.

*Another suggested pre-visit reading is the Prologue from Garry Wills' Pulitzer Prize book **Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America**. Below is a brief description, vocabulary list, and discussion questions for this reading, which can easily be found in your school or public library.*

Once the site had been selected for the burial of the Union dead at Gettysburg, and the reburials were about to take place, David Wills, a prominent local attorney, sought to properly dedicate the ground. Little did he know that his invitation to the President to deliver “a few appropriate remarks” would result in perhaps the most famous of all speeches and one that changed the aims of the Civil War and the course of a whole country.

Vocabulary: fermenting; exhumation; oratory; rhetoric; muse; transcendental; ideological.



FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

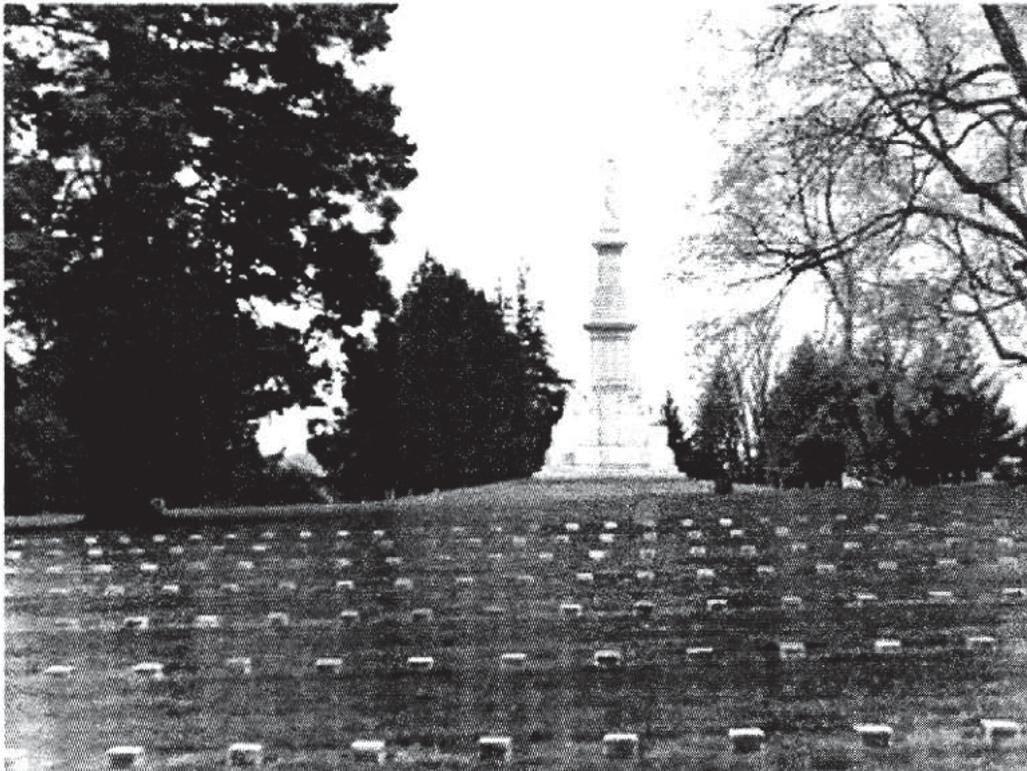
(Questions to accompany Prologue to “Lincoln at Gettysburg.”)

1. As an attendee at the dedication ceremonies what comments would you make about Edward Everett as the choice for main speaker?
2. How would the dedication of a major memorial in the year 2000 be different from one in 1863?
3. Why was Lincoln’s invitation to deliver only a “few appropriate remarks” not meant as an insult to the President?
4. Discuss several ways that Lincoln saw his presence at Gettysburg as an opportunity.
5. What are some of the myths as to how, why, when and where Lincoln prepared his speech? Which seems closest to the truth?
6. Locate a copy of Everett’s speech and compare and contrast it with Lincoln’s.
7. Have you found any evidence of how Lincoln felt about his speech? If so, comment on it.
8. “They walked off, from those curving graves on the hillside, under a changed sky, into a different America.” Interpret the author’s meaning.

FIELD TRIP ACTIVITIES

While your students are attending the ranger-led student education program on the creation and dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery they will be actively engaged for a period of two hours. The following are the major activities with which they will be involved:

- Ranger will lead a discussion of the aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg and the need for a dignified and honorable resting place for the thousands of dead soldiers;
- In small groups, the students will identify several soldiers by name, unit and state from facsimiles of artifacts found on these soldiers;
- In small groups, the students will read the personal correspondence of these soldiers and identify significant aspects of their reasons for soldiering;
- In the large group the students will share their soldiers' most important reasons for fighting with the rest of the class;
- The class will discuss the reasons why Lincoln came to Gettysburg and the significance of the Gettysburg Address for the Civil War era;
- The class will then be asked to think about, for when they return to the classroom, how the Gettysburg Address transcends time and place.



SUGGESTED POST-VISIT ACTIVITIES

James Rawley, in his book, "Abraham Lincoln and A Nation Worth Fighting For," said that three aspects of the Gettysburg Address are striking.

"One is the felicity of its language, ...the second is Lincoln's interpretation of the Civil War, ...the third placed the founding of the nation, not on the Constitution, which was the common view, but on the Declaration of Independence."

- Write an essay that expounds on these views *or* write an essay on what is most striking to you about the speech.
- Re-write the Gettysburg Address in your own words, without using any of the phrases that Lincoln used. Your address could be a speech, a poem, a song, or in any format that helps you best express its meaning.
- Compare and contrast the symbolism of William Saunders' cemetery design to the symbolism of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.
- Recalling your visit to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, write a diary entry *or* letter taking on the identity of someone who has just discovered the grave of an ancestor who fought and died at Gettysburg.
- Americans and people all over the world continue to memorialize significant events and people who have had a major impact on their lives. Create a photographic collage of ways that events or people are memorialized in your town or city.
- Create a collage of pictures on poster board that shows people in today's world engaged in activities that reflect the words of Lincoln.
- Compare and contrast the language, intent, and significance of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Gettysburg Address.
- Write a letter to Gettysburg National Military Park telling us about your Gettysburg experience. Have your feelings changed since you participated in this program? If so, how? Do you feel other students should experience the program? Are there any improvements you can suggest for the program?
- Talk to veterans of another war or military action and, with their permission, create an oral history of their experiences and understandings of sacrifice, liberty, patriotism or other values expressed in the National Cemetery and the Gettysburg Address.

READING LIST FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

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- Cole, James M. and Roy E. Frampton, *Lincoln And The Human Interest Stories Of the Gettysburg National Cemetery*, Sheridan Press, 1995.
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- Garrison, Webb, *The Lincoln No One Knows*, Rutledge Hill Press, 1993.
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- Linenthal, Edward Tabor, *Sacred Ground, Americans And Their Battlefields*, Second Edition, University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Neely, Mark E. Jr., *The Last Best Hope On Earth*, Harvard University Press, 1993.
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- Steers, Edward, Jr. *Lincoln: A Pictorial History*, Thomas Publications, 1993.
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