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A Tour of Gettysburg's Visual Battle Damage

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Abstract

A little-known aspect of the Battle of Gettysburg is the story behind the Civil War battle damage still present in some of the town's buildings. During the first three days of July 1863, cannons fired over and into Gettysburg, and as a result some of the homes were inadvertently struck by the shells. As a battlefield guide, the author has driven by these structures everyday for the past few years, and a highlight of any tour is a stop in front of the Sheads house on Buford Avenue, where one can point up to an artillery shell embedded just to the left of its attic window. The loud Oehs and Aahs that emanate from visitors are more than ample evidence of the fascination experienced when coming face to face with battle damage caused more than 130 years earlier. It conjures up the frightening image of a family huddled in the corner of their cellar, while the cannon from both armies fire missiles of death back and forth across the town. For the Gettysburg civilians, this was the true horror of war, the constant fear that one of these shells might crash through their wall, explode in their home, and kill members of their family. It does not take a great knowledge of Civil War tactics to understand and appreciate that fear. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Battle of Gettysburg, Civil War, Damage Claim

A Tour of Gettysburg's Visual Battle Damage

by Timothy H. Smith

Introduction

A little-known aspect of the Battle of Gettysburg is the story behind the Civil War battle damage still present in some of the town's buildings. During the first three days of July 1863, cannons fired over and into Gettysburg, and as a result some of the homes were inadvertently struck by the shells. As a battlefield guide, the author has driven by these structures everyday for the past few years, and a highlight of any tour is a stop in front of the Sheads house on Buford Avenue, where one can point up to an artillery shell embedded just to the left of its attic window. The loud *Oohs* and *Aahs* that emanate from visitors are more than ample evidence of the fascination experienced when coming face to face with battle damage caused more than 130 years earlier. It conjures up the frightening image of a family huddled in the corner of their cellar, while the cannon from both armies fire missiles of death back and forth across the town. For the Gettysburg civilians, this was the true horror of war, the constant fear that one of these shells might crash through their wall, explode in their home, and kill members of their family. It does not take a great knowledge of Civil War tactics to understand and appreciate that fear.

Occasionally, on a tour, however, someone will ask the guide: "Did that cannon ball really hit that wall during the battle and just stick there?" "How come it didn't knock the wall down and keep going?" "If it was an explosive shell, why wasn't it removed after the battle?" And the most feared question of all: "How do you know that shell is really from the battle and not a hoax planted years later?" These are good questions and I am not so sure that anyone really knows the answers. This article is based on research that the author has conducted over the past two years in an attempt to answer some of these nagging questions.

By simply asking around, the author quickly discovered that no one had ever even made a list of the buildings in town that have shells in them, let alone research any of them. Very few people (with the exception of the battlefield guides who point them out daily) even know where half of them are. So why should we bother trying to identify them now? Is there a danger that some of them may disappear if they are not

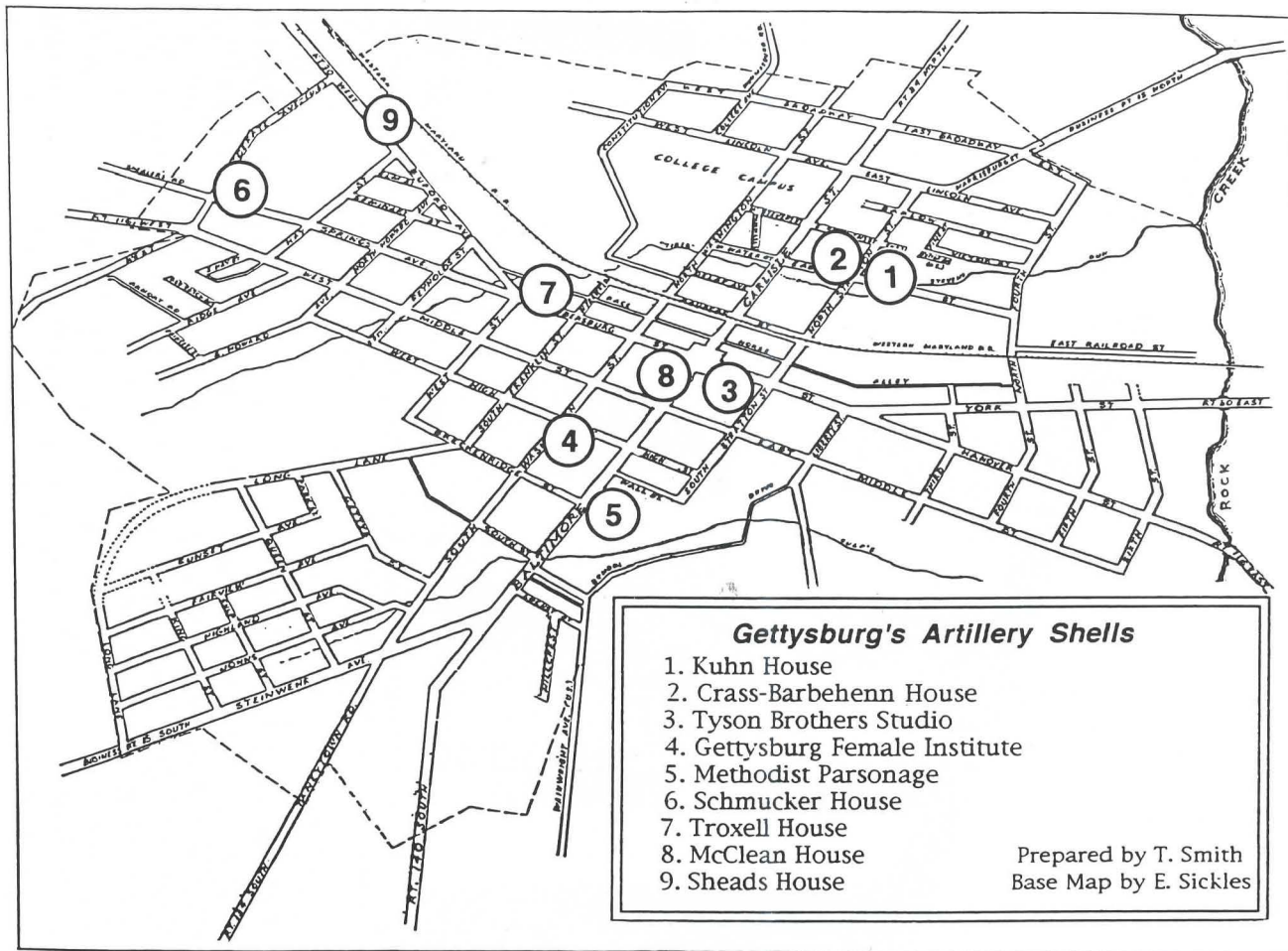
documented? There certainly is—the “I’m sorry, we didn’t know” excuse is a very popular one among developers. There has also been at least one recent attempt by a Gettysburg property owner to “create history” by cementing a Civil War artillery shell into the side of his house. The purpose of this article is to set the record straight, make a list of those battle-damaged buildings, and hopefully, to give some new information concerning what we know about their origins. It is also hoped that providing this information will help bring to light other evidence concerning the buildings we know nothing about.

The Presentation

By this author’s count, today in the borough of Gettysburg there are at least fourteen buildings which still have visible battle damage, meaning exterior injury. (This is my count; the true number may be much higher.) This enumeration does not include buildings that still show internal damage, such as a bullet hole in the mantle of a fireplace. It does not include buildings that probably have hard-to-detect battle damage (like the stone wall on the western side of the Thompson house along Buford Avenue). And it does not include buildings outside of the borough, such as the Josiah Benner farm in Straban township (which has an artillery shell in it), or the Joseph Sherfy farm in Cumberland township (the west side of which is perforated with bullet holes). Of the fourteen buildings, five show evidence of having been struck by bullets or cannon fire. The other nine have artillery shells embedded in their walls. For the purposes of this study we will focus on these nine structures—where are they? and what do we know about them?

Each building is identified by name, usually the name of the owner at the time of the battle. The current address is given, and the location of each is shown on a map of town. I have also tried to document the inhabitants of the structure at the time of the battle, and in some cases, where available, provide a brief biography of the owner. If a description of the building’s role in the battle could be found, it has been included, as well as any information concerning the artillery shell in it. It should be pointed out that the proper identifications of each of the nine shells was made by Dean S. Thomas, author of the book *Cannons: An Introduction to Civil War Artillery* (Gettysburg, 1985) and an authority on the identification of Civil War projectiles.

Although it is intended that this study will be used as a guide—and the reader is encouraged to visit each of the homes—it should be noted that these structures serve today as private dwellings. Please observe the rights of the current property owners when visiting these sites.



The Kuhn House

(221 North Stratton Street; Built ca. 1859; 3"-Hotchkiss Projectile)



Fig. 1. The John Kuhn house from a 1971 photograph. The shell can be seen on the right (or south) side of the house. (ACHS).

This two-story building is situated on the east side of North Stratton Street directly across from the Crass-Barbehenn House. At time of the battle, it was part of a five-acre tract owned by John Kuhn, a German immigrant from Hesse-Darmstadt. The Kuhn Family included John (52), his wife Mary A. (52), and his children, Peter (20), Adam (18), John (11), Mary (10), and Samuel (8). Also living with the family were George T. Little (18) and John Weigle (14). John Kuhn is best known for operating a large brick-yard along the northern edge of his property.¹

On July 1, 1863, this brickyard was the site of the stand of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 11th Army Corps under the command of Colonel Charles Coaster. About 3 P.M., soldiers from North Carolina and Louisiana overwhelmed and captured a large number of men from the 134th, 154th New York, and 27th Pennsylvania directly on Kuhn's property. Because of its involvement in the "brickyard fight," the losses of the 154th New York rank as the highest percentage of any Northern regiment in the battle.²

In 1908, a veteran of the 154th wrote of a trip to Gettysburg in which he visited the Kuhn House and noticed a cannonball stuck in the building.³ It is uncertain if he was referring to the three-inch Hotchkiss shell that now protrudes from the south side of the house, but like many of the other shells in town, it has been embedded in the wall as long as anyone can remember.

The Crass-Barbehenn House

(218 North Stratton Street; Built ca. 1861; 3"-Reed Projectile)



Fig. 2. Crass-Barbehenn house from a 1971 photograph. The shell is embedded on the right (or north) side of the house. (ACHS).

This two-story brick dwelling is situated on the west side of North Stratton Street. As with the Kuhn House situated across the street, little is known about its occupants. Records suggest that this structure was built sometime around 1861 by a German immigrant named George Crass (or Krass). In 1864 ownership of the house was transferred to another immigrant named Henry Peter Barbehenn.⁴ The best current evidence indicates that both families lived in the dwelling at the time of the battle. In 1863 the Crass family consisted of George (31), his wife Catherine (31), and their children Margaret (15), Elizabeth (6), and Joanna (3). The Barbehenn family consisted of Henry (36) and his wife Mary Ann Bortner (30), whom he had married just a year earlier.⁵ During the afternoon of July 1, 1863, the area around this home was the scene of heavy fighting, being located near the brickyard fight previously mentioned. Certainly, some of the pockmarks on the north wall of this house were caused by Confederate bullets fired at the retreating Union soldiers of the 11th Corps.

A letter written to the Adams County Historical Society in 1971 by the Civil War Round Table House Marking Committee explains the 3-inch Reed shell now embedded in the north side of the structure between its second-story windows. Harland Stuart, chairman of the committee, wrote that in 1966 the owners of this building, Martha and her sister Edna Barbehenn, grandchildren of Henry and Mary Ann Barbehenn, related the following information concerning their house during the battle:

Two ladies had their babies in the upper room where the shells came through, and had removed the infants approximately ten minutes before the shells came through. There are two shell holes in the hallway wall upstairs where the shells came through. One shell lodged and remained in the outside wall, height of the second floor, and still remains there.⁶

Mr. Stuart added that bullet holes in an inner partition were also carefully preserved. At some point, he visited the house and personally examined the "shell holes in the partition":

They have been left exposed to view and covered with transparent plastic in the hall, but the side of the partition in the room has been repaired. The shells evidently came from Benner's hill area and passed through an open doorway on the south side of the house. The inner wall of the outer brick wall shows evidence of repair. I am of the opinion that the shell in the wall which exploded is a fragment which was recovered and placed in the wall during repairs.⁷

If in fact this shell was picked up off the field and cemented into the building afterwards, it seems more likely that this shell might have struck the building from the direction of Colonel Hilary P. Jones's Battalion which was posted on a ridge just east of the Harrisburg Road near the present location of the Lutheran Home and not from one of the Confederate batteries posted on Benner's Hill.

The Tyson Brothers' Studio (9 York Street; 3"-Hotchkiss Projectile)

In 1863 this building, along with the one adjacent to it on the southeast quadrant of the square, was owned by David Wills, a prominent lawyer and influential member of Gettysburg's Republican party.⁸ In 1861 Charles J. and Isaac G. Tyson (better known as the Tyson Brothers) moved their photographic studio into part of the building and transformed the structure into the "Excelsior Sky-light Gallery." During the years preceding the battle, the Tysons established a thriving business, and their advertisements can be found throughout the local newspapers.⁹ On April 30, 1863, Charles Tyson (24) married Maria E. Griest, and shortly after moved into a house on Chambersburg Street, along with Charles's brother, Isaac.¹⁰ During the battle, Charles and his wife fled town with all the valuables they could carry and headed south towards Littlestown, Pennsylvania. On their return to Gettysburg a few days later, and after Charles had made sure his house had not been destroyed by Confederate forces during the battle, he made a "hurried visit to the photograph gallery." Noble Preston, of the 10th New York Cavalry, who accompanied Tyson on his visit, recalled that the door to the gallery "was found locked." Apparently, no one had entered it during the battle. There was, however, one visible scar left by the fierce struggle: "in the front wall of the building a three inch rifle shell was half buried."¹¹ In a letter written on January 16, 1884, Tyson described the damage incurred on his place of business during the battle:

[Upon our return] . . . we found the gallery undisturbed. The wife of lawyer [David] Wills claimed to have prevented the men from going into the gallery by telling them it was dangerous. They, however, entered the cellar and emptied a barrel of ninety-five percent alcohol. I had a gross of eight ounce bottles there also and they were seen carrying these bottles out filled with alcohol. The shell has never been removed—it is still there just as it was, ready to blow somebody up perhaps, sometime or other. A minie ball passed through the back window, which was raised, passing through both panes of glass,

cutting a round hole through the first pane, without cracking the glass. The next pane the hole was much larger and the glass cracked. The ball then passed through an inch pine partition and lodged on its side on the opposite side of the room, half embedded in another partition.¹²



Fig. 3. A close-up of the Hotchkiss shell located in the **Tyson Brothers' Studio**.
(Photo by author.)

According to this account, it would seem that the shell we see today embedded under one of the building's second-story windows is an actual relic of the battle. From the position of the shell and the angle at which it protrudes from the wall, it is likely that it came from the area of Oak Hill, where the Eternal Light Peace Memorial stands today. This hill was used as a Confederate artillery position throughout the battle. It is fortunate for historians that the Tysons' studio was not severely damaged during the Confederate occupation of town, for within a month following the battle, Charles and Isaac would begin to record the views of the town and surrounding fields that are today an invaluable resource to historians.

The Gettysburg Female Institute
(66-68 West High Street; Built 1813-1814; 3"-Reed Projectile)



Fig. 4. The Gettysburg Female Institute. In this William H. Tipton view taken in 1882, the shell is barely visible between the middle upper story windows. (ACHS.)

This building, situated at the southeast corner of Washington and High Streets, has long been a Gettysburg landmark. During its distinguished history, the structure served as the first home for both the Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary (1826-1832) and the Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College (1832-1837). "For the next nineteen years thereafter, the property was used for school purposes under various names and titles."¹³ In 1856 the Reverend David Eyster moved into the building, and with the help of his wife, established the Gettysburg Female institute. During the next few years, the school "attained great popularity and usefulness."¹⁴ In 1861, Reverend Eyster died at 59 years of age, leaving his widow Rebecca Reynolds Eyster to take over the duties as principal.

Rebecca was described as a "lady of culture and administrative ability," and during the Civil War many of the young ladies from the better families in town were students of Mrs. Eyster's finishing school.¹⁵

Elizabeth McClean, who was fifteen years old at the time of the battle, recalled that she and the other girls at the "Young Ladies' Seminary," just pretended to study during those days at the "Old Academy" building. Their minds were really on the boys in the Union Army, "... for they were our cousins and friends, brothers of many in the school."¹⁶ Tillie Pierce, another student, and also fifteen at the time, described her memories of the institute years later in her narrative of the battle:

With pleasant recollections I bring to mind the Young Ladies' Seminary on the corner of High and Washington Streets. Here I received instruction; Here in the bright and happy flush of young woman hood, I was graduated and given my diploma. Within the same walls had been placed some of the wounded and dying heroes of the struggle; and as we passed from room to room we would speak in subdued tones of the solemn scenes which imagination and report placed before our minds as having transpired when the conflict was over.¹⁷

Of course, during the battle, the girls would not have been expected to attend classes, but Rebecca (51) and her two sons, William Reynolds (22), and George Slagle Eyster (14), would have been in the building. William Eyster was a graduate of Gettysburg College and at the time of the battle was employed as a teacher, probably at his mother's school.¹⁸

There are no accounts to verify the origins of the shell protruding from the front of the building's second floor. However, a photograph taken in 1882 by William H. Tipton does show battle damage on the building where the shell is now embedded. Even under magnification, it is hard to distinguish if the shell appears in the view, but the battle damage surrounding it makes a convincing argument that it was there at the time. Today, thanks to the efforts of the present owners, the structure appears very much the way it did at the time of the battle (with minor changes to the front entranceway). The owners state that shell has remained untouched ever since their relatives first purchased the property in 1932. It appears that the projectile is a Reed shell and would have come from a 10-pounder Parrott rifle somewhere within the Confederate lines. At present, the story surrounding this shell is unknown, but it is hoped that someday more documentation will be uncovered. Several people who attended the institute were prolific writers, including Rebecca's sons, William and George Eyster, who both taught there.

The Methodist Parsonage

(304 Baltimore Street; Built ca. 1840; 12-pounder Cannonball [Shell or Case])



Fig. 5. The Methodist Parsonage before its renovation. In this photograph taken by Henry Stewart sometime in the late 1880s, the shell is visible just to the right of the second story windows. (*Gettysburg Bicentennial Album.*)

In 1857 this house was purchased by the Gettysburg Methodist Church to be used as its parsonage. At the time of the battle, it was occupied by the Reverend George Berkstresser (also spelled Bergstresser) and his family. In 1863 Rev. Berkstresser was fifty-five years old, and had presided as Gettysburg's Methodist minister for just a little over a year. His family consisted of his wife, Anna C. Horn Berkstresser (45), his three sons, Joseph (22), Watson (20), Quincy (18), and his two daughters, Laura (13), and Anna (10).¹⁹

Directly across the street from the parsonage on the southwest corner of Baltimore and Breckinridge Streets lived James and Margaret Pierce, influential members of the Methodist congregation in Gettysburg. One

of their children was young Matilda Pierce, just fifteen years old in 1863. In 1888 Tillie Pierce Alleman recorded her reminiscences of the battle and left with us an interesting account of the shell which is still embedded in the front of the old Methodist parsonage, just to the right of its second-story bay window. She wrote that

During the first day's battle, and after our men had retreated, a little girl was standing at the second story window of the house opposite ours. She had the shutters bowed, and was looking down into the street at the confusion below. Suddenly a shell struck the wall just beside the shutter, tearing out a large hole and scattering pieces of brick, mortar and plastering all around the room in which the little girl was standing. It entered and struck some place in the room, rebounded and fell out into the street. Another ball is now placed in the wall to mark the place where the first one struck. I am here reminded of the fact that many persons while walking or riding past this place, and having their attention called to this shell sticking in the wall, neatly encased in brick and mortar, think that it has been there just as it arrived on the first day of the battle. Shells were not quite so tidy in introducing themselves at that time. The little girl who had the narrow escape referred to, was Laura Bergstresser [13], a daughter of the then Methodist minister at Gettysburg. She is now deceased. So terrified was she at what had happened that she ran over to our house for safety. The soldiers in the house told her that it was a stray shot and might never happen again. Being assured that she was just as safe at her own home, she ran back to her parents. When this shell struck, a brother of the little girl, lay in a room close by, very low with Typhoid fever. Through the open doors he saw it enter and go out of the building.²⁰

In 1897 one of Rev. Berkstresser's sons recalled the family's experience during the Battle of Gettysburg:

The rebel sharpshooters occupied the roof of the parsonage during the battle, thus drawing the fire of the Union forces. Some years after, when balls of carpet rags that were hanging in the garret were unwound, many bullets were found. A shell struck the parsonage over the second-story window, throwing quite a quantity of brick and mortar into the room. My sister Laura was standing at the window. The shell rebounded into the street, and is now, I think, cemented in the wall. Father was, I think, the first one who discovered the retreat of the rebels. He captured two rebel soldiers who were sleeping in an adjoining house, their detachment having neglected to awaken them.²¹

Because Rev. Berkstresser was an itinerant preacher, and required to rotate every couple of years, he and his family left Gettysburg in 1864.

He died on November 3, 1896, in Dadeville, Alabama. During his sixty years as a Methodist minister, he served a number of appointments all over Pennsylvania. He was described as "a strong, forcible, and logical preacher, delighting to present the Gospel whose precious truths were incorporated into his own experience." One of his colleagues wrote that "he was as near without faults as men get to be."²²

It is not known how soon after the battle or war that the shell was encased in the bricks of the building, or even if the same type of shell was used when it was cemented in place. Tillie Pierce's account suggests that the shell had been there for some time before she wrote her reminiscences. Around the time her account was published (1888), local amateur photographer Henry Stewart recorded a view showing the cannonball embedded in the house. When renovations were made to the front of the structure about 1910, the shell was removed and placed in its present location, near the spot where it originally hit the building on July 1, 1863.²³ The projectile appears to be a Confederate explosive spherical ball from a 12-pounder Napoleon.

The Schmucker House

(West Confederate Avenue; Built 1833; 10-Pounder Parrott Shell)

This structure is located on the campus of the Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary. The "First Professor's House," as it was first named, was the second building erected on the grounds of the seminary (Old Dorm being completed in 1832) and was finished in October of 1833. Soon after its completion, the Reverend Doctor Samuel Simon Schmucker and his family moved into the dwelling. Originally, "it had nine large finished rooms, four of them on the first floor, four on the second floor and a smaller one over the main hallway entrance."²⁴ In 1833 Rev. Schmucker already had a large family, and during the next fifteen years his wife gave birth to seven more children. In the 1840s, "an addition was built to the north end of the house" to accommodate his large and growing family. During his life Rev. Schmucker would have three wives, and father thirteen children.²⁵

At the time Rev. Samuel Simon Schmucker moved into the house that now bears his name, "he was probably the best educated young man in the Lutheran Church in this country."²⁶ Schmucker was also a driving force in the establishment of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg and a "voluminous" writer. He kept up a large correspondence and during his life authored about fifty books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. In the years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Schmucker was an "outspoken

abolitionist. . . . he was among the earliest advocates of African colonization, helped to organize emancipation societies, wrote freely and fully against the institution of slavery, and labored earnestly for improvement among freedmen."²⁷ It has also been alleged that his home was used as a station along the "underground railway," and that by day he concealed the fugitives in his cellar until it was dark enough to send them safely on their way towards Canada. In 1956 Abdel Wentz, the resident of the Schmucker house at that time, wrote that "to this day in the dingy cellar of the house one can see the evidences of the provision that was made for slaves."²⁸

By the time of the battle, all of his children had married and/or moved away. The only residents of the home were Schmucker, then age 64, and his third wife, Esther M. (Wagner) Schmucker, age 48.²⁹ Because of his outspoken views on slavery, Schmucker considered himself a "marked man." When it was reported that the Southerners were approaching Gettysburg, he and his wife fled town. As it turned out, the ridge upon which his house sat was destined to become a

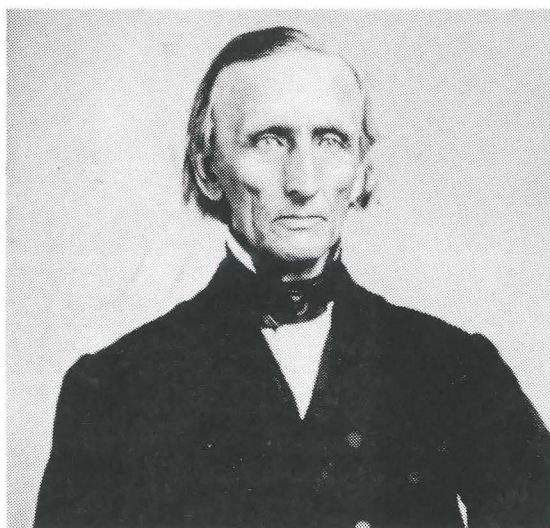


Fig. 6. The Reverend Samuel Simon Schmucker. (ACHS.)

great landmark in the story of the Battle of Gettysburg. During the afternoon of July 1, 1863, Seminary Ridge would be used as a Northern defensive position. It would be attacked and taken by force, and during the next two days would be used as a Southern artillery position. After the battle, Schmucker returned to find that his house had been rifled by the Confederates:

The injury done to the property of the Institution is considerable. The house I occupy was most damaged. The rebels, having driven the occupants out on the first day of the battle, took possession of it themselves and their batteries also planted in the immediate vicinity, it was unavoidably shattered by the Federal artillery from Cemetery Hill. Thirteen Cannon balls or shells pierced the walls and made

holes, several of which were from two to three feet in length and nearly as broad, window frames were shattered to pieces, sashes broken, and the greater part of the glass in the house destroyed. The fences around the yard and garden were nearly all leveled with the ground, as well as those around the entire Seminary lands.³⁰

The building also seems to have been used as a temporary field hospital, and it is said that for years after the war, bloodstains could still be seen on its hardwood floors. Much of the furniture in the house was destroyed and "an oil painting of Schmucker's father, the Rev. Dr. John George Schmucker was pierced and slit by a bayonet." Moreover, Schmucker wrote that the seminary's archives, kept in his study on the first floor, "were, like everything else in my house, broken open by the rebels, and the contents scattered promiscuously with my books, papers, letters, etc., over the floor. . . ." Many books were taken from their shelves and thrown around the house, some out the windows, and some trampled with mud.³¹

Shortly after the battle, an article appeared in area papers asking for donations from the public to help repair the damage done to the seminary complex. By 1864 the entire campus was renovated, and today little battle damage can be seen on any of the three seminary buildings that stood at the time.³² One shell, however, visible in the Schmucker house, recalls the fighting that raged there. Although the author was unable to determine exactly how it became embedded in the wall, it seems likely that it was mortared into the south side of the structure, presumably to mark the location of where a shell hit the building during the battle. If one looks closely at the brickwork around the shell, it seems there was once a window just to right of the spot that it is cemented into. But to the left of the shell, the bricks are original (some are even cracked), and seem to show signs of battle damage. According to his own account, Schmucker recalled that the building was struck by at least "thirteen cannon balls or shells" during the fighting. The author was unable to find any early photographs of the house showing its south side, but in talking to several long-time residents who were familiar with the shell, it seems to have been in the building as long as anyone can remember. The projectile itself is from a 10-pounder Parrott Rifle, and must have entered the building from the direction of Cemetery Hill, probably as a result of the counter battery fire that Schmucker refers to in his account.

The Troxell House (221 Chambersburg Street; Schenkl Shell)

At the time of the battle, the Troxell house was the home of fifty-four-year-old David Troxell. Listed as a carriage maker in the 1860 census, he was born on April 9, 1809, the son of John and Catherine Troxell. This house is located on the north side of Chambersburg Street, and is adjacent to a group of buildings known as the "Warren Block." The block consists of four two-and-a-half-story brick houses built by Thomas Warren around the year 1859 (presently, 211, 213, 215, and 217 Chambersburg Street).³³

As the fighting raged around these homes during the first three days of July 1863, shells from both sides flew back and forth over the town. David Troxell's cellar became something of a safe haven for the four families of the Warren Block. In a 1908 article, Elizabeth Gilbert, a resident of what is now 213 Chambersburg Street, described the experience:

During the battle on the second and third days the four families living in the Warren Row gathered in the cellar of Uncle Dave Troxel, making about twenty-two people taking shelter in that cellar. They stayed there until about ten o'clock in the evening of the second day and were there on the third day. They spent the time in listening to the firing and keeping up each other's courage.³⁴

From what we know about the families in the Warren Block from census records, Elizabeth Gilbert's account, and the family files located at the Adams County Historical Society, we can construct a probable list of "about twenty-two" who may have been in the cellar at the time of the battle. The Troxell house residents would include David (53), his mother Catherine (78), and Rebecca Keffer (57). The residents of the Warren Block were as follows: the Broadhead family (217 Chambersburg Street), including Joseph (33), his wife Sarah (31), their small child May (3), and Sallie Heckenluber (63), a nurse who was described as a "well known personage of those days." The Myers family (215 Chambersburg Street), according to Mrs. Gilbert, was made up of "George [51], his wife [Elizabeth, also 51], and children then at home, Miss Mary [15], Robert [21], George [25], and John [22]." Twenty-five year old George was married at the time, and at least three years prior to the battle, his wife, Jane (20), and son George (5), were also living with the Myers family. While it is possible they were in the basement, it is also possible that they were living elsewhere at the time. The Gilbert family (213

Chambersburg Street) consisted of Jacob (28), his wife Elizabeth (28), their two daughters, and Jacob's mother, Anna (51). As recorded by Mrs. Gilbert, the Davis family (211 Chambersburg Street), included "Owens Davis [34], an engineer on the Hanover Junction, Hanover and Gettysburg Railroad, his wife [Rachel, 27] and three or four children [George (8), Robert (5), and a small girl (3)]."³⁵

Sarah Broadhead recorded the events that occurred in the cellar of David Troxell's house in her 1863 diary. On the evening of July 2nd, she wrote a passage that actually mentions the shell which is still embedded in the front of the Troxell house:

About 4 o'clock PM. the storm burst again with terrific violence. It seemed as though heaven and earth were being rolled together. For better security we went to the house of a neighbor and occupied the cellar, by far the most comfortable part of the house. Whilst there a shell struck the house, but mercifully did not burst but remained embedded in the wall, one half protruding.³⁶

In her reminiscences of the battle, Elizabeth Gilbert also remembered the shell striking the house. She recalled that during the bombardment "Miss Sallie Heckenluber was very nervous. When the cold shell struck and entered the house no one mentioned the fact though she [Mrs. Gilbert] and a number of the men heard it enter [the] house while they were in [the] cellar. They were afraid it would excite the women and children to talk about it."³⁷ After the bombardment ended, the families tried to leave the cellar, but soon returned when the fighting on Culp's and Cemetery Hill became more intense. Sarah described the rest of the evening in her diary:

About 6 o'clock the cannonading lessened, and we thinking the fighting for the day was over, came out. Then the noise of the musketry was loud and constant, and made us feel quite as bad as the cannonading, though it seemed to me less terrible. Very soon the artillery joined in the din, and soon became as awful as ever, and we again retreated to our friend's underground apartment, and remained until the battle ceased, about 10 o'clock at night.³⁸

At approximately 1 P.M. on July 3, 1863, the cannons positioned along the ridges on both sides of town roared once again. This time it was the bombardment preceding "Pickett's Charge." Sarah Broadhead's account of the apprehension that she felt while huddled in the corner of David Troxell's cellar has been used again and again by historians to illustrate the civilians' reaction to the bombardment. It is probably one of the best

descriptions of the horror and terrible fear that must have gripped the people of Gettysburg during the battle:

Again, the battle began with unearthly fury. Nearly all the afternoon it seemed as if the heavens and earth were crashing together. The time that we sat in the cellar seemed long, listening to the terrific sound of the strife; more terrible never greeted human ears. We knew that with every explosion, and the scream of each shell, human beings were hurried through excruciating pain, into another world, and that many more were torn and mangled, and lying in torment worse than death, and no one able to extend relief. The thought made me very sad, and felt that if it was God's will, I would rather be taken away than to see the misery that would follow. Some thought this awful afternoon would never come to a close. We knew that the Rebels were putting forth all their might, and it was a dreadful thought that they might succeed.³⁹



Fig. 7. The Troxell house. Just to its right (or east) is the home of Sarah Broadhead and the rest of the Warren Block. (Photo by author.)

As can be seen by the modern photograph, the house has been changed considerably from its 1863 appearance. Although I have been unable to locate a photograph that clearly shows the front of the house before it was remodeled, I think it safe to assume the shell protruded from the original structure. At the time of the battle, the house was a two-story structure sitting back from the street. Sometime after 1912, a more elaborate façade was incorporated onto the front of the house. When this was done, the artillery shell was apparently moved from the older section to the front of the new addition.⁴⁰ In a letter dated 1945, a descendant of Sarah Broadhead stated that the shell in the Troxell House "is still to be seen lodged in the brick near the roof. This house she [Sarah Broadhead] refers to when seeking shelter in the cellar."⁴¹ Today, the rear of the projectile is sticking out of the building, and can be identified as a Schenkl Shell. As one reads stories such as those of Sarah Broadhead and Elizabeth Gilbert, it is amazing to consider that not one civilian casualty due to artillery fire was reported during the entire three days of battle.

The McClean House

(11 Baltimore Street; 20-Pounder Parrott Shell)

Of the nine buildings in this study, the McClean house has probably the best documentation concerning its artillery shell. It is, however, one of the least talked about of the battle damaged buildings in town. Today, it is the site of Zerfing's Hardware store and bears little resemblance to a Civil War structure. At the time of the battle, the house was owned by a fifty-nine-year-old attorney-at-law named Moses McClean. He was born in Adams county on June 17, 1804, the son of William and Sarah Maginley McClean. As a young man, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1825. One year later, he established a practice in his home town of Gettysburg, and during the next forty-five years was one of its most prominent citizens. As a leading Democrat in town, he was very active in local politics. Before his death in 1870, Moses McClean would serve Adams county in several elected positions, including county commissioner, state assemblyman, and United States congressman. He was described as "a man of vigorous intellect and dauntless courage in the pursuit of his convictions."⁴²

In 1832 Moses was married to Hannah Mary McConaughy (sister of lawyer David McConaughy), and in 1839 he purchased the property on Baltimore Street in which his family lived during the battle. In 1863 the



Fig. 8. A post war photograph of **Moses McClean** seated in front of his home (the current site of Zerfing's Hardware). (ACHS.)

McClellan household consisted of Moses (59), his wife Hannah (52), their three daughters, Maggie (26), Sallie (21), Elizabeth (15), two of their sons, Robert (18), Colin (13), and their maid. William McClellan (30), another of Moses's sons, had married in 1855 and was living with his wife Fannie (28), and two daughters, Hannah Mary (5), and Olivia (4), on West Middle Street.⁴³ It should be noted that at the time of the Civil War, Moses McClellan was also the owner of a farm situated about a mile northwest of town along the Mummasburg Road. This farm, occupied by a tenant, would be the scene of heavy fighting on July 1, 1863.⁴⁴

As stated previously, documentation concerning the McClellan family is substantial. Around the turn of the century, one of Moses's grandsons, William Archibald McClellan, became editor of the *Gettysburg Compiler*, and as it became more and more popular to publish accounts of the battle from the older townspeople, he solicited recollections from his father William, his uncle Robert, and his aunt Elizabeth. Today, copies of these accounts can be found at the Adams County Historical Society.⁴⁵

During the battle, the McClellan family suffered like many others in Gettysburg. They stared in disbelief on June 26 when Rebels entered town for the first time, and they peered out their windows as General Jubal Early wrote a requisition for supplies in front of their house. They were spectators to the arrival of General Buford's cavalry on June 30th, and of General Reynolds and his staff on July 1st. And they watched in horror on the afternoon of that day, when the Union Army was driven

back through the streets of Gettysburg. On the second and third days of the battle, the family stayed in their house and tried to protect their property against the looting of the Rebels. On the evening of the second day's fighting, William brought his family to his father's house where he thought they might be safer.⁴⁶ Although their property was not badly damaged during the battle, an event would occur on the morning of July 3, 1863, that would profoundly affect their views on the horrors of war. Robert McClean, eighteen years old at the time, described the battle in a letter to one of his cousins on July 17, 1863:

Occasionally a shell would come into town, one of which entered our garret through the side wall, did some slight damage but did not explode, and rolled down the steps, through the open door to the first landing, where my niece, little M. [Hannah Mary, age 5], had been but a few moments before. Ma narrowly escaped injury from the same missile, as she had been on the garret only a few minutes before.⁴⁷

In 1908 Elizabeth McClean (fifteen years old in 1863) wrote her account of the battle. Very detailed in content, it is one of the best civilian accounts of the battle ever set down. She also described the events that transpired on that fateful morning:

[On] . . . Friday [July 3rd], my mother said she would take the feather bed to the garret where the others were neatly packed away. She went up to get the place ready for it and came down to get some one to help carry it up; while she was down there was a loud crash and a shell came tearing through a fifteen inch brick wall, striking a beam that supported the roof, split it in two, broke out a rung from the crib in which we had slept when children, and having spent its force rolled down the stairs to the first landing. The garret was filled with a cloud of brick dust and we thought it was on fire, but the shell did not explode.⁴⁸

In 1909 her brother Robert added that it was "a round shell [that] entered the gable of our house on the garret." His account, also published in the *Gettysburg Compiler*, describes the path of the shell after it entered the house:

I was lying on the floor of the room directly below. The racket caused may be imagined, the impact on the wall, the crashing of the brick on the garret floor, and of the sundered timber, the rolling along of the shell till it reached the open door, and then the thumping down the first flight of stairs, step by step, till it reached the landing where our

oldest little niece had been but a few moments previous to that time. A broken piece of timber struck out by the shell on its course through the garret was driven through the side of a crib standing there, leaving an opening unrepaired to this day, as a memorial of the battle.⁴⁹

Soon after the incident, a Union soldier who had been across the street nursing his wounded captain came running into the house to see if everyone was all right. Elizabeth remembered that everyone was "afraid to touch the shell," and they asked the soldier to take it away, "but afterwards we asked him for it and still have it in our possession."⁵⁰ One of the most interesting items included in Elizabeth's account of the artillery shell is a comment that she made in passing near the end of the article: "The man who afterwards bought our house had another shell put in the wall where the first one came through."⁵¹

On September 30, 1870, Moses McClean died and was buried in the Evergreen Cemetery. His widow Hannah died in 1873, and in October 1877 the house was sold to a man named George E. Stock, who opened a cigar factory on the first floor of the building. According to Elizabeth's 1908 account, it was Stock who mortared the present shell into the building to mark the spot which was struck by a shell during the battle. Inaccurately, the shell he had embedded into the wall is 20-pounder Parrott shell from a rifled cannon, while Robert McClean's account mentions that it was "a round shell" that struck the wall. Today, the whereabouts of the original shell is unknown.⁵²

Over the years, the McClean house has been severely altered. A third story was added to the original two-and-a-half-story structure, and the brickwork on the front of the building has been totally renovated, but the shell, placed there sometime after 1877, still rests in the south side of the structure, bearing silent witness to an event that has long been forgotten.

The Sheads House

(331 Buford Avenue; Built in 1862; 10-Pounder Parrott Shell)

The 10-pounder Parrott shell today embedded in the Sheads house is probably the best-known of the shells in this study. For years it has been speculated that during the battle it entered the rear of the building, passed completely through it, and became lodged in its front wall, where it has remained ever since. But what do we really know about the story concerning this shell?

In 1859 Miss Caroline S. Sheads, at that time a teacher of music and French at Cottage Hall College in York, Pennsylvania, purchased from



Fig. 9. The 10-pound Parrott shell protruding from the south side of the **Sheads house**. (Photo by author.)

Edward McPherson three acres of ground at the base of Oak Ridge along the north side of the Chambersburg Pike.⁵³ In April of 1862, it was reported that her father Elias, a coachmaker by trade, was erecting a twelve-room Gothic style “brick cottage” on the property for his family to live in.⁵⁴ When it was completed, Carrie, who by this time had opened her own private school in Gettysburg, moved into the building and named it the Oak Ridge Seminary.⁵⁵ Designating it as a boarding-and-day school for young ladies, Carrie enrolled students from as far away as Baltimore, Maryland.

In 1863 the Sheads family consisted of Elias (55), his wife Mary C. McBride Sheads (52), and their seven children, Elizabeth Anna (30), Louisa M. (28), Carrie S. (23), David M. (23), Elias Jr. (21), Robert E. (19), and Jacob James (16). It is uncertain whether all of the Sheads children lived with Carrie and her parents or had other residences in town, but it is known that during the Civil War, all four of Elias’s sons served in the Union Army and were apparently away from home at the time of the battle.⁵⁶

On July 1, 1863, the Sheads house was caught in the middle of some of the heaviest fighting of the war. Carrie wrote that "early on Wednesday morning [July 1st] the signs of the approaching tempest were so numerous and unmistakable" that some of her students were prevented from attending the school.⁵⁷ "So suddenly and unexpectedly had war unfurled its gorgeous but bloody panorama" that the "cluster of girls" in her care, had no time to withdraw to a place of safety.⁵⁸ According to one source, "the sole students in the seminary" during the great battle were the two daughters of William Callow from Baltimore, "young ladies of fifteen and sixteen."⁵⁹ During the first day's battle, fighting raged for hours just a few hundred feet west and north of the house. "So near the line of battle, and situated on the turnpike, the buildings of Oakridge Seminary were soon used as a hospital; and, with that amazing suddenness which can happen only in a time of active and invasive warfare, Miss Sheads found herself converted from the principal of a young ladies seminary into the lady superintendent of an army hospital."⁶⁰ One soldier remembered that at least 72 wounded were carried into the house from the battlefield.⁶¹

Late in the afternoon, the Union First Army Corps made a desperate stand on the very ridge from which Carrie's school had taken its name. At 4:30 P.M. the lines crumbled, and Union troops were literally driven past the Sheads house in a "Vortex of fire."⁶² One soldier described it as "running the gauntlet in the strict sense of the word." The air was so thick with bullets that "it seemed almost impossible to breathe without inhaling them."⁶³ As Carrie and her family huddled in the safety of their basement, hundreds of Northern soldiers, cut off from town, were captured within feet of the Sheads home. Among the more famous of these was Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Wheelock of the 97th New York, taken prisoner in their very presence. In what must be one of Gettysburg's most famous "human interest stories," Elias Sheads is given credit for defusing a situation that may have saved the colonel's life, and his daughter Carrie for saving the colonel's sword from capture.⁶⁴ During the next few days, the Sheads house sat behind the Confederate lines, filled with wounded. In 1867 Frank Moore recounted Carrie's heroism in a book entitled *Women of the War*.

As the battle raged, Miss Sheads and her little flock continued unterrified in the midst of the awful cannonade, she soothing and cheering the girls, and they learning from her that noble calmness in danger which, under all circumstances, and in either sex, stamps the character with an air of true nobility, and indicates genuine heroism.

The seminary was hit in more than sixty places, and two shells passed entirely through it. At length Miss Sheads and her young ladies became accustomed, as it were, to the situation, and in intervals of the uproar would walk out in the grounds, and watch the magnificent yet fearful sight, that the slopes of Cemetery Hill presented. All devoted themselves to the great number of wounded with whom their halls and large rooms were crowded.⁶⁵

Asa Sleath Hardman of Company F, 3rd Indiana Cavalry, also wrote of the Sheads family and their experiences during the battle. Taken prisoner during the retreat on the first day's battle, he was allowed to remain at the house to tend to the wounded. During the second day's battle, he remembered a shell fired by a Northern battery:

[It] was not so well aimed, and falling short, bounded with terrible force against the foundation very close to the window of the basement room, in which seven women who belonged to the house had sought refuge. If a shell should burst in that room, only a miracle could save those trembling, fainting women from death. With the help of some students, we moved the heaviest stones we could handle, and barricaded their windows to make the hiding place secure against accident. During the preceding night, Lee's men had planted a battery in the rear of this seminary building on the crest of the ridge. When firing opened at noon the next day, the shells from our battery searching for the Rebel battery were uncomfortably thick, and any projectile falling a little short would be very likely to strike the house. Several did crash through it and caused the wildest alarm, lest by bursting in the garret they would set fire to the house.⁶⁶

Along with these recollections that describe the shelling of the house during the battle, the author was fortunate to uncover an account that may shed some light on the 10-pounder Parrott shell protruding from its front wall. On November 18, 1863, a correspondent of the *New York Herald* who was in town for the dedication of the National Cemetery, visited the Sheads house while on a battlefield tour and recorded the following:

The Ladies' schoolhouse of Miss Carrie Shead [sic] presents a memento of the fight in a large aperture made near the roof. This lady and her pupils busied themselves during the fight in attending some sixty wounded Union soldiers. The two Misses Callow, of Baltimore, are spoken of as earnest and gentle ministers in this good work.⁶⁷

It seems that when the brickwork was repaired, the shell we see today, was embedded into the wall. In an 1867 view of the house taken by the Tyson Brothers, one can barely distinguish a black object just to the left of the attic window.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, the trials of the Sheads family would not end with the battle. Tragically, as a result of their Civil War service, all four of Elias's sons would die. Elias Jr., a member of Co. F, 87th Pennsylvania, was killed on July 9, 1864, at the Battle of Monocacy.⁶⁹ The youngest son Jacob, whom Elias forbade to enlist in the army, ran away and joined Co. B, 21st Pennsylvania Cavalry. He contracted mumps and died at a hospital in City Point, Virginia, on October 25, 1864.⁷⁰ Robert, a member of Co. A, 1st Pennsylvania Reserves, was seriously wounded in the neck at the Battle of White Oak Swamp on June 13, 1864, and for the rest of his life "never spoke a loud word." Making himself understood chiefly by motions, he lingered until October 31, 1868.⁷¹ David, also a member of Co. F, 87th Pennsylvania, lived the longest. Contracting tuberculosis during his service, he was discharged, and died ten years later on June 8, 1874.⁷²

A romance also blossomed out of this story, however. Asa Hardman of the 3rd Indiana returned and on February 28, 1866, married Louisa Sheads, but shortly after, on April 1, 1866, she died.⁷³ On February 17, 1870, Elias's wife Mary also died. It was said that Louisa and her mother were, over the years, literally "worn out with hard work, anxiety and sorrow."⁷⁴ For the rest of his life, Mr. Elias Sheads was remembered "as a lonely, broken hearted old man." As a result of his family's service and losses, Elias was awarded a pension in 1886, and his daughters Carrie and Elizabeth were given clerkships in Washington, D.C.⁷⁵

Unfortunately, when pointing out the shell to visitors to the battlefield, the story of this family's sacrifice is seldom mentioned. Today, with the exception of the dormers added to its roof, the house looks very much as it did in 1863. On December 8, 1976, the Sheads house was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.⁷⁶

Other Battle Damage

The five buildings in Gettysburg that still show signs of battle damage other than artillery shells are all on the southern end of town. This makes perfect sense, since that area was the scene of a constant sharpshooters' battle on July 2 and 3, 1863. The Harvey Sweney house (better known



Fig. 10. The south side of the **Jacob Stock house** (407 South Washington Street) showing battle damage caused by Union soldiers on Cemetery Hill during the battle. (Photo by author.)

as the Farnsworth house), the McClellan house (today the Jennie Wade House Museum), the Henry Garlach house, and John Winebrenner's tannery (also known as Twin Oaks), all on Baltimore Street, all have bullet holes in them. The Jacob Stock house on South Washington Street also has visible battle damage on its southern wall. There is some evidence, however, that these marks were the result of Northern artillery fire (case shot or canister) directed toward Confed-erate sharpshooters at an attic window.

* * * *

In preparing this article, the author fully realizes that it does not present a complete list of the damaged buildings in town. Rather, what the author has provided is a base of information on which others may build. It is my hope that many readers will identify evidence of battle damage that, at the time of this article, we are as of yet unaware of. At present, the historical society is compiling a thorough archives of civilian-related accounts of the battle, as well as of the Gettysburg campaign. The story of battle damage still evident in the town, and in all of Adams County, is a very important part of this story. If anyone has accounts, diaries, photographs or other information he or she would like to share with us, please write or pay a visit to the Adams County Historical Society.

Notes

1. Elwood Christ, Pennsylvania Historical Resource Survey (cited hereafter as PHRS), 221 North Stratton Street, Gettysburg Historic Building Survey Committee (cited hereafter as GHBS) (1988; copy at the Adams County Historical Society, hereafter cited as ACHS); 1860 United States Census, Gettysburg, Adams County, Pennsylvania, p. 209; Kuhn Family File, ACHS; obituary of John Kuhn, *Gettysburg Compiler* (February 28, 1899).
2. For more information concerning the "Brickyard Fight," see Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment* (London and Toronto, 1981), pp. 65-81.
3. Alex Bird, "At Gettysburg," *Ellicottville Post* (September 16, 1908), cited in Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey, "The Hardtack Regiment in the Brickyard Fight," *Gettysburg Magazine*, No. 8 (January, 1993), p. 20.
4. Christ, PHRS, 218 North Stratton Street, GHBS Committee (1988; copy in ACHS).
5. 1860 Census, Hamiltonban Township, p. 266; Tombstone Inscriptions, Evergreen Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, ACHS. In the 1860 census George Crass was living near Fairfield. I believe he moved to Gettysburg, and this is the same family.
6. Letter in Barbehenn Family File, ACHS.
7. *Ibid.*
8. William Long, *Gettysburg Lot Owners* (unpublished manuscript in the 105-File, ACHS), Lots #112, #113.
9. Tyson Brothers' Photographic Gallery File, ACHS; advertisement in *Gettysburg Compiler* (July 28, 1862). For a biography of Charles Tyson, see the *1886 History of Adams County Pennsylvania* (Warner, Beers and Co., Chicago, 1886), pp. 478-479. See also William A. Frassanito, *Early Photography at Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, 1995).
10. Tyson Family File, ACHS.
11. Noble Preston, *Philadelphia Weekly Times* (March 29, 1884; copy in Civilian Account Files, ACHS).
12. *Ibid.*
13. William A. Frassanito, *The Gettysburg Bicentennial Album* (Gettysburg, 1987), pp. 21-22; Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, 1992), pp. 154-160; *1886 History*, p. 124.
14. *1886 History of Adams County*, p. 124.
15. *Ibid.*; "Memorial of the Late Rev. D. Eyster," *The Lutheran Observer* (January 10, 1862); Eyster Family File ACHS.
16. Elizabeth McClean, "The Rebels Are Coming!" *Gettysburg Compiler* (July 8, 1908).
17. Tillie Pierce Alleman, *At Gettysburg or What a Girl Saw and Heard of the Battle* (New York, 1889), p. 14.
18. Eyster Family File, ACHS; 1860 Census, Gettysburg, p. 175.
19. "Methodism in Adams County," *Gettysburg Compiler* (February 19, 1880); 1860 United States Census, Shrewsbury Township, York County, Pennsylvania, p. 731. In 1862 and 1863, R. Watson Bergstresser was enrolled in Gettysburg College but did not graduate.
20. Alleman, pp. 96-98. See also the Pierce Family File, ACHS.
21. C. T. Dunning, "Rev. George Berkstresser," *Minutes of the Central Pennsylvania Conference, 29th Session* (Clearfield, PA, 1897), pp. 93-94.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Frassanito, *Bicentennial Album*, pp. 11, 55.
24. Abdel Ross Wentz, "A Biography of the Schmucker House," *Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin*, 36 (1956), 10-15.
25. *Ibid.* See also Abdel Ross Wentz, *Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary* (Harrisburg, 1965), vol. 1.
26. Wentz, "Biography of the Schmucker House," p. 10.
27. *Ibid.*; Bloom, *History of Adams County*, p. 159; Schmucker Family File, ACHS. For a biography of Rev. Schmucker see, *1886 History*, p. 371, and obituary of Rev. Schmucker, *Star and Sentinel* (July 30, 1873).

28. Wentz, "Biography of the Schmucker House," p. 11. It must be pointed out that although Wentz firmly believed that the Schmucker House was used as a station on the Underground Railroad, there is no solid evidence to back up this claim.

29. 1860 Census, Gettysburg, p. 210; Schmucker Family File, ACHS.

30. Wentz, "A Biography of the Schmucker House," p. 12; Wentz, *Gettysburg Seminary*, p. 212.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. 1860 Census, Gettysburg, p. 186; Troxell Family File and Warren Family File, ACHS.

34. Sarah M. Broadhead, *The Diary of a Lady, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania* (ca. 1864; copy in Civilian Accounts Files, ACHS).

35. Mrs. Gilbert's Story, Gettysburg *Compiler* (September 6, 1905); 1860 Census, Gettysburg, pp. 158, 186; Troxell Family File, Broadhead Family File, Gilbert Family File, Myers Family File, ACHS.

36. Broadhead, *Diary*.

37. Gilbert, *Compiler*.

38. Broadhead, *Diary*.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Calvin Gilbert, *Gettysburg Compiler* (April 9, 1927); *Fire Insurance Maps of Gettysburg*, Sanborn Map Company (New York, June, 1912), p. 8, and (July 1924), p. 9 (copies of these can be found on microfilm at the ACHS). On the 1912 map, the house is still shown set back off the street, but on the 1924 map the house is represented as it now appears. The building, therefore, was remodeled sometime between 1912 and 1924. There are actually at least two distant views that show the Troxell house as it appeared before the addition. One is the "Birdseye view of Gettysburg," a map published in 1888 by Fowler and Downs of Boston Massachusetts (a copy of this map hangs at the ACHS). The other is a view taken from Seminary Ridge by the Tyson brothers in August, 1863, a blowup of which can be seen in William Frassanito, *Early Photography at Gettysburg*, p. 75.

41. Broadhead Family File, ACHS.

42. 1886 *History*, pp. 101, 362; Bloom,

History of Adams County, p. 108; McClean Papers, ACHS; McClean Family File, ACHS; obituary of Moses McClean, *Gettysburg Compiler* (October 7, 1870).

43. McClean Family File, ACHS; Long, Lot #5; 1860 Census, Gettysburg, p. 178.

44. McClean Farm File, Gettysburg National Military Park.

45. McClean Family File, ACHS. (William Archibald McClean became editor of the *Gettysburg Compiler* in 1902).

46. William McClean, "The Days of Terror in 1863," *Gettysburg Compiler* (June 1, 1908).

47. Robert McClean, "A Boy in Gettysburg—1863," *Gettysburg Compiler* (June 30, 1909).

48. Elizabeth McClean, "The Rebels Are Coming," *Gettysburg Compiler* (July 8, 1908).

49. Robert McClean, *Compiler*.

50. Elizabeth McClean, *Compiler*.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Obituary of Moses McClean, *Gettysburg Compiler* (October 7, 1870); McClean Family File, ACHS; Long, #5; Robert McClean, *Compiler*; Elizabeth McClean, *Compiler*. A photograph of George Stock's Cigar Store appears in Cary A. Moore, *A Glimpse into Adams County, 1860-1914: A Photographic Record* (Gettysburg, 1977). In 1908 Elizabeth McClean stated that the family was still in possession of the original shell.

53. Sheads Family File, ACHS; *Adams Sentinel* (July 18, 1859).

54. *Adams Sentinel* (April 9, 1862).

55. The advertisements for her school appear in the local papers as early as 1861 (see for example, *Adams Sentinel*, August 28, 1861).

56. Census, Gettysburg, p. 207, Sheads Family File, ACHS; Tombstone Inscriptions, Evergreen Cemetery, ACHS. Carrie's age was established through the 1860 Census. At that time she taught in York, Pennsylvania (see York County Census, York Borough, p. 1053).

57. "Scenes of the Battle of Gettysburg," *National Republican* (November 28, 1863). This is a reprint of part of a letter written

by Carrie Sheads. The author has never seen the letter in its entirety.

58. Frank Moore, *Women of the War* (Hartford, 1867), p. 239.

59. *Adams Sentinel* (December 1, 1863). Mr. William Callow is listed in Woods' 1868 Baltimore city directory as the president of the Bankers and Merchants Telegraph Company, located on West Baltimore St. Even after an extensive search of the 1850 and 1860 Baltimore city census records, I was still unable to identify the girls' names.

60. Frank Moore, p. 239.

61. Asa Sleath Hardman, "As a Union Prisoner Saw the Battle of Gettysburg," *Civil War Times Illustrated* (July, 1962), p. 49 (the date this manuscript was written is unknown). Another early account put the number at "some sixty wounded" (see New York *Herald* article on the dedication of the National Cemetery, November 20, 1863).

62. Hardman, p. 48; Frank Moore, p. 240. The "vortex of fire" quotation appears in both accounts. This, along with other similarities, suggests that Asa Hardman referred to Moore's account before he wrote his own.

63. Wilber Judd, "Herkimer County Journal" (July 25, 1863). Judd was a member of the 97th New York Regiment.

64. Frank Moore, pp. 240-43. An altered version of the story is told by General John C. Robinson in "The First Corps: Its Important Services at the Battle of Gettysburg," *National Tribune* (April 14, 1887).

65. Frank Moore, p. 243. See also: Lavina C. Wierick, "When The Rebels Came," *Gettysburg Compiler* (June 26, 1907), and "Gen. Lee's Headquarters," *Gettysburg Compiler* (August 3, 1910).

66. Hardman, pp. 48-49; Pension Records of Asa Hardman, National Archives (cited hereafter as NA), Washington, D.C. Hardman mentioned seven women in the house. Four of them would have been members of the Sheads family; two were the Callow sisters; and the last is unknown, possibly a neighbor.

67. New York *Herald* (November 20, 1863).

68. See William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time* (New York, 1975), pp. 66-67. For the dating of the photo, see Frassanito, *Early Photography at Gettysburg*, pp. 29-36.

69. The Battle of Monocacy," *Adams Sentinel* (July 19, 1864).

70. Sheads Family File, ACHS; Tombstone Inscriptions, Evergreen Cemetery; Pension Records of Elias Sheads, NA. The Funerals of both Elias and Jacob took place on the same day in Gettysburg's Evergreen Cemetery ("Out of the Past, 100 Years Ago," *Gettysburg Times*, November 23, 1964).

71. Pension Records, NA; Sheads Family File, ACHS; Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures* (Boston and New York, 1915), pp. 181-182.

72. Sheads Family File, ACHS; Pension Records, NA.

73. *Ibid.* They were married by a Rev. Chester in Washington, D.C. Oral tradition tells us that Louisa was working in a hospital at the time of her death which was caused by chloroform overdose.

74. Death of Miss Sheads," "Fifteen Years Ago" column, *Gettysburg Times* (April 6, 1929). Elizabeth A. Sheads died on March 5, 1914.

75. *Ibid.* Today, no direct descendants of the Elias Sheads family survive. Robert was the only one of Elias and Mary's offspring to marry and have children. He married Sally E. Knouse and had two girls before his death. Caroline Louisa died in infancy, and Mary E. Sheads, born in 1865, never married and lived until 1934, when she was mysteriously murdered in her Washington, D.C., apartment. Because of these facts, no papers or photographs from this family are known to exist (Sheds Family File, ACHS).

76. Sheads Family File, ACHS. For more information concerning the house itself, see Elizabeth A. Sheffer, "The Sheads House," *Gettysburg Times* (January 23-24, 1988), and Christ, PHRS, 331 Buford Avenue, GHBSC (1988; copy at ACHS).