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## **Abstract**

In the fall of 1899, Colonel John Nicholson reported on the recent changes being made to the Gettysburg National Military park. The park held a dedication ceremony that July for a new equestrian statue to General John Reynolds erected northwest of town. It was a shiny goldenbrown, polished-bronze statue sculpted by Henry Kirke Bush-Brown (his second equestrian statue at Gettysburg in three years). The horse and rider, balancing on two legs stood on a large pedestal near the new avenue in his name. Reynolds Avenue and adjoining Wadsworth, Doubleday, and Robinson Avenues were new to the battlefield as well. These were exciting times. The first-day's battlegrounds were being made accessible to visitors and veterans. In fact, the entire battlefield was being paved, marked, and restored by the Gettysburg National Park Commission (GNPC).

Colonel John Nicholson (USA), Major William Robbins (CSA), and Major Charles Richardson (USA) comprised the GNPC. Each a veteran of the battle, they had been appointed by the War Department to restore the field at Gettysburg. Former Confederate veteran Robbins was specifically appointed to oversee the placement of new markers detailing the Army of Northern Virginia's role in the battle. Ever since the War Department took over care of the grounds six years prior because the local Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA) could no longer afford the upkeep, signs for both Union and Confederate troop placements were ordered. Confederate markings were just one of several radical changes to the park's landscape design in 1899. [*excerpt*]

## **Keywords**

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Battle of Gettysburg, Civil War, Centennial, Tourism, Battlefield, National Park Service, NPS, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, Gettysburg National Military Park

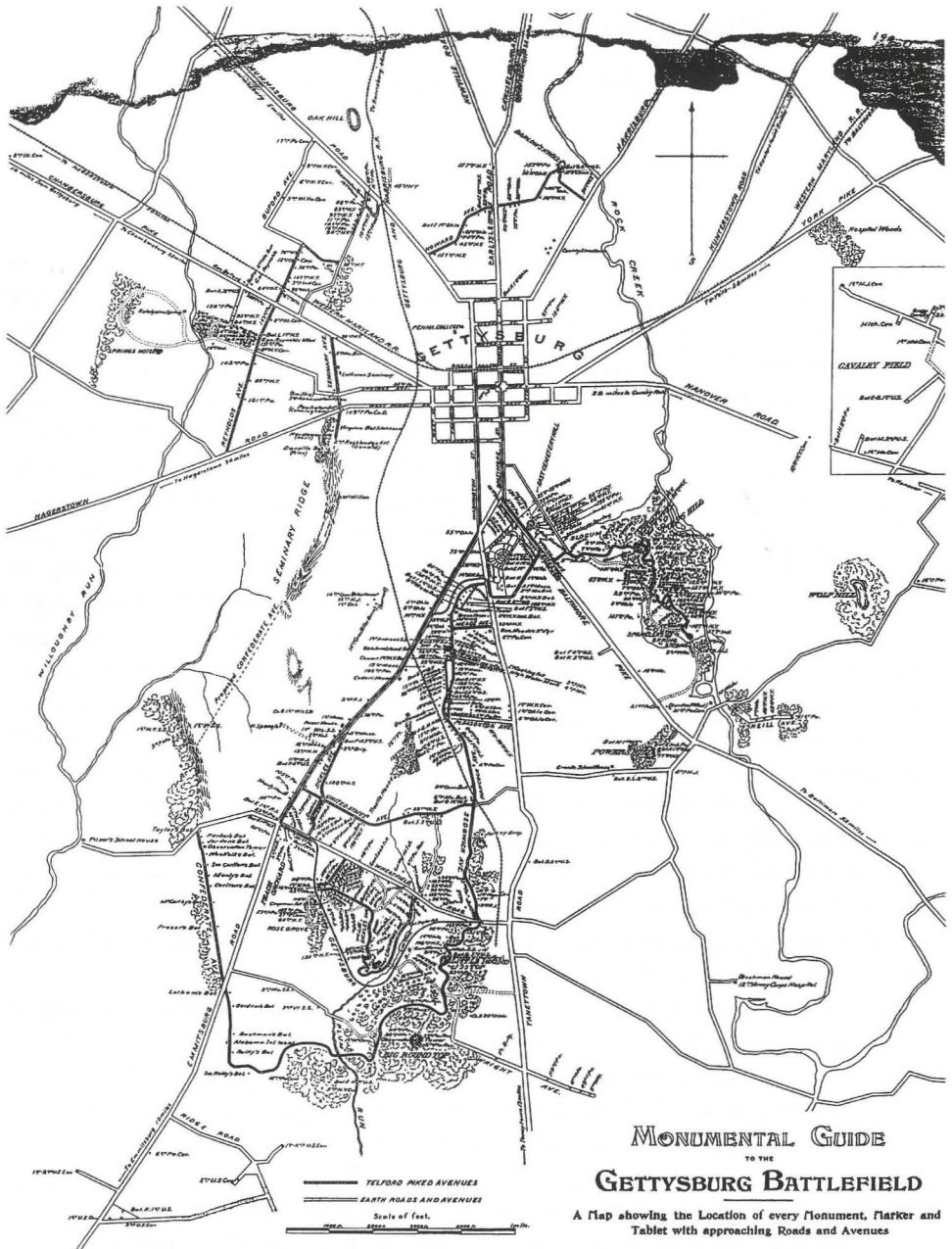
# The Gettysburg Battlefield, One Century Ago

by  
Benjamin Y. Dixon

*Visitors to Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP) see and learn from a battlefield that has been designed to teach them about the 1863 battle and constructed to preserve and enshrine the landscape upon which that battle occurred. This process has been long in the making. The park was not established overnight. Furthermore, while the design and construction of the park were intended to create a lasting tribute, there has been little permanence about this landscape. The park has undergone several facelifts. A close look at maps, photographs, documents, and visitor accounts of the Gettysburg battlefield from various decades since 1863 reveal that numerous structures, scenery, monuments, tours and programs changed significantly as new interpretations or management emerged. In fact, the park has been purged of many original design elements: towers, paths, fences, ornaments, fields, orchards, and more. These changes often were imperceptible to visitors, but they have had profound impacts on visitors' experiences and interpretations. Scholars are aware of this, but few have commented on the evolution and changing nature of Gettysburg's battlefield landscape, and to a lesser degree, that of other National Park Service (NPS) battlefields. For this reason it is useful to look back on the Gettysburg battlefield at different cross-sections in time and examine closely the park's landscape design.*

*This essay examines the design of the Gettysburg National Military Park landscape in 1899, the ideas manifested in it, and the principal persons and groups responsible for its creation. A map of the park dated 1899, on file at the Adams County Historical Society (ACHS) in Gettysburg, served as the impetus for this study (see figure 1).<sup>1</sup> It shows a landscape design significantly different from the park today, in terms of roads, towers, property, and other features. More importantly, I found the map useful in organizing both my research and my discussion of the Gettysburg landscape visitors encountered one century ago.*

*The map illustrates well the areas preserved and the structures and monuments used to educate visitors and enshrine the field in 1899. At first I paid close attention to some of the key elements in this landscape design: the important sites, structures, roads, and monuments. I then*



**Figure 1. Monument Guide to the Gettysburg Battlefield, 1899.** *This map shows the roads, markers, monuments, and trails of the Gettysburg National Military Park. The park's property covered 1,158 acres in 1899 and mostly included the grounds south of town occupied by Union forces during the battle (ACHS, S. Hammond, 1899).*



*consulted numerous park maps, photos, and reports dating from the 1890s.<sup>2</sup> In addition, I turned to various works on Gettysburg monuments and to writings on the battlefield's contemporary image and meaning.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, I looked at several sources on turn-of-the-century landscape architecture to explore why certain sites and structures were highlighted to visitors and why roads and monuments were placed as they were at Gettysburg.<sup>4</sup>*

*As I examined the 1899 park in detail, and the persons or groups responsible, it became evident that three common ideals went into the making of Gettysburg's battlefield: (1) preservation, (2) education, and (3) enshrinement. For example, property was bought, and fences, walls, trees, and cannon were restored to preserve the original battlefield appearance; roads, towers, tablets, and markers were located primarily to educate visitors about the 1863 battle; and monuments, ornaments, iron fencing, and cemetery landscaping were placed to enshrine the battle and field. I also became aware of five themes commonly celebrated at Gettysburg: (1) battle, (2) heroics, (3) triumph, (4) death, and (5) peace. These themes are most evident in the monuments, tablets, and markers; however, I found even the placement of roads and towers and the selective restoration of fences and property, for example, helped to celebrate battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace in various degrees.<sup>5</sup>*

*These ideals and themes hold true for most battlefield parks. Preservation, education, and enshrinement are the principles that govern the design of these landscapes, and their designs commonly display battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace. Naturally, how the landscape (in terms of roads, monuments, etc.) is designed to preserve, educate, and enshrine changes from park to park and from era to era. Similarly, how battle, heroes, triumph, death, and peace are celebrated by the landscape and in what proportion they are emphasized change from park to park and from era to era. But these ideals and themes still endure and are basic to most battlefield parks.*

*The significance of this understanding is that any study of a battlefield landscape involves considering three components—(1) the principles of battlefield landscape design (preservation, education, and enshrinement); (2) the landscape features (roads, monuments, etc.); and (3) the war-and-peace themes displayed by that landscape (battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace)—in the following ways: How were preservation, education, and enshrinement incorporated in the landscape? And how did this affect the display of battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace to the public? It appeared that this was all that was necessary for*

*studying a given battlefield at a given time to understand how it came to be created. A battlefield landscape is the product of preservation, education, and enshrinement, and of ideas, values, and memories concerning battle, heroics, triumph, death and peace that it promoted to the public. This, in itself, was not a simple concept to explore. Researching how the three principles of design influenced the Gettysburg battlefield and how the five war-and-peace themes were displayed at Gettysburg in 1899 proved a complex task in its own right, and I soon realized that drawing the boundaries of inquiry along these lines was problematic.*

*Through closer research, it became clear that the distinct battlefield of 1899 was part of an iterative relationship between the physical landscape and the ideas surrounding it. The iterative process is twofold. First, the way preservation, education, and enshrinement were designed into the park not only shaped the display of battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace, but were also informed by these war-and-peace themes as well. Second, the process is ongoing. How the conceptions of war and peace are displayed influence how continued efforts of preservation, education, and enshrinement are incorporated into the landscape. This twofold concept is most fascinating: the battlefield both promotes ideas, values, and memories concerning battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace, and is a product of them. The promotion and influence of these war-and-peace themes operate on the battlefield landscape simultaneously and perpetuate the impermanence of that landscape by shaping the ongoing efforts to preserve, mark, and enshrine that landscape.<sup>6</sup>*

*After I completed my research, the main issue I faced involved constructing a narrative that (1) could illustrate the cumulative extent of various landscape features throughout the park (for readers who wanted to grasp just how much of the field was covered in roads, or in monuments, or in towers); (2) describe the cumulative effect of the landscape at each site within the park (for readers who wanted a sense of the visitors' experience); and (3) discuss the creation of these features and places in the park in a fairly chronological manner. To meet these requirements, I decided to organize my discussion around a carriage-tour of the field with four basic components. On one level, the carriage-tour attempts to impart a sense of visitors' experiences as they encountered the park's landscape design one site at a time. Key monuments, towers, or other features are discussed in terms of the persons or groups responsible for them and the ideas manifested in them. Second, within this tour, I attempt to discuss the extent to which monuments, towers, or other features covered the park at points in the tour when visitors were likely aware of the quantity*



*of their presence on the field. Third, issues and conflicts surrounding the design of the field are discussed in a chronological order as best as possible. Fourth, I try at the end of the tour to provide the reader with a sense of how the GNMP landscape of 1899 was a product of memories, ideas, and values concerning battle, heroics, triumph, death, and peace, and in turn promoted these memories which would shape later efforts to preserve, mark, and enshrine that landscape thereby perpetuating its permanence. The following narrative is a work in progress.*

## **The Gettysburg Battlefield circa 1899**

In the fall of 1899, Colonel John Nicholson reported on the recent changes being made to the Gettysburg National Military park. The park held a dedication ceremony that July for a new equestrian statue to General John Reynolds erected northwest of town. It was a shiny golden-brown, polished-bronze statue sculpted by Henry Kirke Bush-Brown (his second equestrian statue at Gettysburg in three years). The horse and rider, balancing on two legs stood on a large pedestal near the new avenue in his name. Reynolds Avenue and adjoining Wadsworth, Doubleday, and Robinson Avenues were new to the battlefield as well. These were exciting times. The first-day's battlegrounds were being made accessible to visitors and veterans. In fact, the entire battlefield was being paved, marked, and restored by the Gettysburg National Park Commission (GNPC).<sup>7</sup>

Colonel John Nicholson (USA), Major William Robbins (CSA), and Major Charles Richardson (USA) comprised the GNPC. Each a veteran of the battle, they had been appointed by the War Department to restore the field at Gettysburg. Former Confederate veteran Robbins was specifically appointed to oversee the placement of new markers detailing the Army of Northern Virginia's role in the battle. Ever since the War Department took over care of the grounds six years prior because the local Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA) could no longer afford the upkeep, signs for both Union and Confederate troop placements were ordered. Confederate markings were just one of several radical changes to the park's landscape design in 1899.<sup>8</sup>

Nicholson was chairman of the commission and responsible for giving the War Department an annual report on recent activities carried out at the park. For the past six years he had reported in detail the new property, avenues, monuments, markers, tablets, trees, and towers added to the park under his direction. Despite the new work being done north-

west of town, most of these changes were being carried out south of town where virtually the entire park at that time was laid out over the former grounds of the Union defensive “fish-hook.” It was these park grounds that attracted most visitors, and it is here we shall explore the park’s design more thoroughly. As we explore each site, readers may follow along on the 1899 map (see *figure 21*). \* The journey begins with Culp’s Hill in the east and follows the main park avenues to Devil’s Den at the southern end of the park.

## The Hills and the Spring

The wet fall of 1899 made the dirt roads radiating out from town muddy and nearly impassable. The few who slogged their way out Baltimore Pike to visit the park expressed relief as they turned their carriages onto the new telford road named Slocum Avenue. Not muddy, the telford-style road consisted of four layers of stone, from football-size rocks on the bottom to a fine top layer crushed by a fourteen-ton steam roller, and with a little clay mixed in for binding. There were thirteen miles of new telford roads throughout the park, running from Spangler’s Spring to Confederate Avenue. The roads followed the Union defense lines of the second- and third-day’s battle.<sup>9</sup>

Visitors often traveled to Spangler’s Spring. The spring itself had a tidy appearance (see *figure 1*). A black tablet with big, white letters reading “Spangler’s Spring” stood in front of a small, cement half-dome rising up to waist-height with an iron rail and steps that led down two feet to the water hole. The original spring had two stone outlets, but one had been removed and the other memorialized by the GNPC. A famous spot, local guides told visitors it was here that Confederate and Union soldiers displayed honor and camaraderie by forming brief truces to gather water together during the first and second nights of fighting.<sup>10</sup>

Leaving the spring, visitors traveled the road up Culp’s Hill where stood a 60-foot iron and steel tower that offered a view of the immediate region (see *figure 3*). Cemetery Hill to the west and the town to the northwest were easily seen from the top. The all-season tower had a roof to protect visitors from sun and rain. Five such towers rose above the field. Emmor Cope, the commission’s engineer, had them erected just three years prior. The War Department ordered the towers built to permit military study by visiting army officers and West Point cadets.<sup>11</sup>

\*For all subsequent figures, please refer to illustrations at the end of the essay.



Riding west down Slocum Avenue from Culp's Hill, visitors passed a few earthworks and cannon, but little else. There were few trees between the tower and Baltimore Pike at this time.<sup>12</sup> Turning right onto muddy Baltimore Pike, riders headed for the entrance to the Soldier's National Cemetery up ahead several hundred feet. Running along the right side of the street was a high iron fence and in between the iron bars passersby could catch glimpses of the Union General John Hancock atop his horse, whose one front leg raised above the high pedestal base as if horse and rider were trotting among the troops in the midst of battle (see *figure 4*). This beautiful, golden-brown, bronze equestrian statue crowning East Cemetery Hill was the first equestrian statue at Gettysburg, having been placed just four years earlier to replace the wooden tower that had made the hill a popular site-seeing spot during the 1880s.<sup>13</sup> East Cemetery Hill was now sacred ground, commemorated by a statue and cordoned off by an iron fence. Visitors could pass through a narrow-gated entrance and follow a path past the statue, but not to it. Post-and-wire fencing surrounded the statue's immediate ground.

Hancock's statue was not the only monument on East Cemetery Hill, however, just the grandest. But standing only several yards to the right of Hancock was the impressively high monument to the 4th Ohio Infantry regiment that had been placed in 1887. (see *figure 5*). Standing over 30 feet high, with a life-size statue modeled in the regiment's uniform at the top of its shaft, the 4th Ohio monument appeared like a column of solid marble and granite towering over the field. The monument, however, was hollow, made of an experimental white bronze by the Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The GBMA had allowed its placement but was ultimately suspicious of its durability and ruled shortly thereafter that no further monuments would be made of anything but real bronze, granite, or marble. While the battlefield remained a sacred, hands-off museum, only a few uninhibited visitors, mostly children, ever touched the monument and learned of its hollow nature.<sup>14</sup>

On the opposite side of the street ran another iron fence, 5 1/2 feet high, marking the east side of the Soldier's National Cemetery. It was impossible to see the cemetery grounds because of the pines lining the cemetery's perimeter, but visitors could easily see a U.S. flag flying atop a 107-foot high staff that rose from behind the pines and denoted the cemetery grounds. The flag was flown high to signify the cemetery's importance as a major national site.<sup>15</sup> Crossing over from Hancock's gates, the cemetery's entrance lay a bit farther up the street (to the right of the flag), and its imposing iron gates hinted at the solemn presence within.

## **“The Great Central Point of Interest”: The Soldiers’ National Cemetery**

The cemetery was maintained by an Army superintendent separate from the War Department’s GNPC. In 1899, that person was Calvin Hamilton. Like the park commission members, he too was a veteran of Gettysburg. The cemetery he oversaw was the centerpiece of the park. It consisted of 17 acres atop Cemetery Hill designed by William Saunders beginning in 1864 (see *figure 6*).<sup>16</sup> No other site on the battlegrounds was more elaborately configured.

From Baltimore Street, visitors passed through an entrance designed to celebrate the “fallen warrior.”<sup>17</sup> Draped urns and federal eagles flanked either side of the gates. Inverted half pikes and spontoons formed the gate bars, and a laurel wreath around a six-pointed star marked the center of each gate. Immediately past the gates stood a bronze statue of General John Reynolds atop of a classical base, surrounded by flowers and plants and situated on an triangular island, formed where the cemetery carriage-drive split. The cemetery drive was 21 feet wide and skirted the entire perimeter in one continuous loop, beginning and ending at Reynolds’ statue.<sup>18</sup> If one followed the right branch of the loop beyond the statue, the layout of the cemetery soon came into view.

Evergreen trees and an arborvitae hedge rimmed much of the cemetery’s perimeter, and scattered clusters of deciduous and evergreen mix dotted the grounds. Within the carriage-drive loop lay the graves arranged in a semicircle around the Soldier’s National Monument. Behind the monument ran a line of Norway maple trees and the back stretch of the carriage-drive loop. In front of the monument lay the graves where only Union dead from Gettysburg were buried. Approximately 3,549 were interred at this time, and grouped according to state and purposely arranged in a semicircle to maintain equality in their relative placement to the central monument in their honor (see *figure 7*).<sup>19</sup> In fall, when the maples peaked in color, the cemetery looked like a great amphitheater with its terraced rows of graves like seats on the slope leading up to the Soldiers’ National Monument that stood at center stage in the midst of the maples’ peak brilliance.

Where the carriage-drive loop passed in front of the monument and graves, visitors could enter a gravel semicircle, 13 feet wide, that rimmed the outer perimeter of the graves. From here they could take one of three smaller gravel roads, each 10 feet in width, radiating out from the Soldiers’ National Monument (today there is only one road).<sup>20</sup> Each of these



roads led visitors from the outer semicircle through the graves on their way to the central monument. Within the semicircle were two corridors of graves, an outer and an inner. Both of these grave corridors were rimmed by two more gravel semicircles so that visitors could pass amidst each state's graves. The gravestones were arranged in rows of granite situated 9 inches above ground with their inscriptions painted in black. The graves in front were flat and flush with the ground surface. They were originally "mounded in typical Victorian burial fashion," until being leveled in 1879.<sup>21</sup>

Approaching the Soldiers' National Monument, visitors passed through an arborvitae hedge that enclosed a small circular green where the monument stood at the center. The purpose of the hedge and green was to separate the monument from the graves for solitude and reflection. Within this circular green were several benches and a circular gravel path immediately surrounding the monument where the radial roads terminated. Pairs of conifers flanked each radial road at its junction with the circular gravel path. As visitors passed between the conifers and entered the inner gravel circle, they were stopped by an iron fence that rimmed the inside of the circle. Within stood the magnificent marble monument designed by George Keller and completed in 1869. It was impressive. Sixty feet high and decorated with five statues from sculptor Randolph Rogers, its neoclassical design alluded to the greatness of the Greek and Roman democracies to which the U.S. compared itself. The Goddess of Liberty stood mounted atop the shaft, and around the base sat allegorical statues to War, History, Peace, and Plenty. War took the form of a resting soldier who related his story to History who listens and records the achievements and names of the honored dead. Peace is the fruit of war and Plenty sits with a lap full of goods to signify the abundance that a nation at peace can reacquire.<sup>22</sup> The significance of the monument's placement was that it supposedly stood where Lincoln had given his address to dedicate the new cemetery in 1863.<sup>23</sup>

The Soldiers' National Monument faced northwest. Visitors who stood on the gravel circle or the green in front of the monument could see over the hedge and take in an impressive 180-degree view of the cemetery. Immediately noticeable were distinct plots of small, individual marble headstones inscribed with numbers that flanked the rows of granite headstones at both ends of the semicircle. The Union dead buried in these plots were unknown. Looking around revealed other notable features to the pattern. Starting at the far left, southwest beyond the unknown graves, stood mixes of evergreen and deciduous trees and the

outer hedge and evergreens that lined the cemetery's carriage-drive and perimeter wall. Turning slightly right to the west one could see in the foreground a memorial urn, about five feet high, among Minnesota's graverows. The 1st Minnesota Volunteers placed it in 1867, making it the first regimental monument at Gettysburg. Its placement in the cemetery was not unusual. Cinerary urns specifically honored the dead and were popular cemetery decorations in the late nineteenth century. Like the Soldiers' National Monument, it too was classical in design.<sup>24</sup>

Behind the 1st Minnesota urn lay Ohio's graverows, and in the background lay a gap in the trees and hedge making the cemetery's stone wall visible. This gap revealed a view of the battlefield beyond, westward all the way to Seminary Ridge. Turning right and to the north, the view continued, uninterrupted except for a few scattered pines along the carriage-drive. Looking north over New York's graverows, the small town of Gettysburg (pop. 3,500) was visible as well.<sup>25</sup> Above the center of the north stone wall, visitors could see down Baltimore Street all the way to the clock tower that topped the Adams County Courthouse. At this point the view ceased. Turning any further right toward the northeast, the cemetery wall and the town of Gettysburg disappeared from view behind hedge and pines lining the remainder of the cemetery's northern perimeter. This large opening in the pines and hedge—from the center of the cemetery's west stone wall bordering the Taneytown Road to the center of the cemetery's north stone wall facing Gettysburg—was not original to the cemetery. William Saunders had planted evergreens and hedge around the entire perimeter. Prior to 1890, Saunders' plantings had enclosed the entire cemetery to isolate it from the town and field and "provide seclusion, retirement and privacy" appropriate for a cemetery.<sup>26</sup> But by 1892 Superintendent Hamilton had removed much of the north and west perimeter plantings at the recommendation of the army's D. Rhodes who felt it more important for the cemetery to have a view of the battlegrounds on which the dead had fought. Also, Saunders originally left the grave plots devoid of trees, but Rhodes ordered scattered plantings of pines throughout the grave plots to give the cemetery a park-like appearance and beautify the grave grounds within the cemetery.<sup>27</sup> In 1899, these pines were still small enough that they did not enter the view.

As one continued scanning the cemetery grounds around to the right, the back of Reynolds' statue appeared as if centered within the Baltimore Street entrance gates. To the far right, just beyond Maine's graves, stood the New York State Monument (see *figure 8*). Placed just six years



earlier in the green between the graves and the back carriage-drive loop that ran behind it from the Reynolds' statue, it was nearly as prominent as the Soldiers' National Monument. Almost 60 feet high and made of granite, its striking form consisted of a tomb-like base and a tall Corinthian column on top of which stood a weeping female goddess holding a wreath of flowers in her right hand to place on the state's dead.<sup>28</sup> Adding to its prominence in the cemetery were four paths that led from various points on the carriage-drive loop up to a 12 foot wide gravel walk surrounding its base. Superintendent Hamilton added the paths so visitors could approach the monument easily.<sup>29</sup> The New York State Monument intentionally stood out because the state had more dead buried at Gettysburg than any other. The New York grave plot was the largest in the cemetery, and the monument faced overlooking its rows of headstones. From the Soldiers' National Monument, the New York State Monument appeared especially grand because the 107-foot flagstaff and perimeter pines served as its backdrop.

The view I have described from the Soldiers' National Monument in 1889 is not complete. Scanning back over the cemetery, several other features could be seen dotting the grounds. A dozen terracotta vases with flowers and vines as well as numerous flower beds lay scattered throughout the cemetery, for example. Spaced along the carriage-drive loop were 17 iron tablets, each with a four-line stanza from Theodore O'Hara poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead." And 50 benches provided visitors with ample opportunity for contemplation and reverence.<sup>30</sup>

Four patterns were evident in the cemetery. First, the cemetery paid tribute only to Union soldiers who had died at Gettysburg. Second, the monuments and decorations were entirely funerary, from the laurel wreaths on the iron entrance gates to the neoclassical monuments and the Reynolds' statue. There were no heroics honored on these grounds, only solemn tribute for the supreme sacrifice paid by Union soldiers. Third, the cemetery grounds were the first monumented at Gettysburg, beginning with the 1st Minnesota Urn in 1867, followed by the Soldiers' National Monument in 1869, and then the Reynolds' statue in 1872. Not until 1879 did the Veterans' Association of the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry become the first regiment to place a monument outside of the cemetery. The reason lay in the fact that the cemetery had merited greater attention well before the remainder of the battlefield, namely Lincoln's dedication in 1863, federal designation as a national site in 1864, and careful design and maintenance by Saunders, Rhodes and specifically-appointed superintendents. Fourth, these were the most carefully land-

scaped grounds, and they stood apart from the rest of the park. The reason for this was two-fold. The cemetery had been designed and managed separately from the rest of the park, and its designers were undoubtedly familiar with the landscaping principles for gardens and parks promoted by Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted. William Saunders, for example, was superintendent of gardens and grounds for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and D. Rhodes was the gardener for Arlington National Cemetery. For all of these patterns, the cemetery had historically been the “great central point of interest” for visitors to Gettysburg.<sup>31</sup>

Leaving the Soldiers’ National Monument, visitors could take the carriage-drive immediately behind the Norway maples that lined the back of the monument. Passing through the maples, they could turn right onto the drive and head west toward the cemetery’s back entrance. Following the backs of the Norway maples the road headed past the rows of unknown dead that could be seen between the trunks. An arbor-vitae hedge bordered the Evergreen Cemetery on the left. The road left the maples, and hedge as it passed by the last row of unknown graves and curved slightly to the left past clusters of evergreens and deciduous trees and then to the right to the cemetery’s back entrance. On approaching the back entrance, the road passed between a speakers’ platform, or rostrum, on the right and a gazebo on the left, known as the Summerhouse. The rostrum had been erected in 1879 as a platform for speakers on Remembrance Day and other patriotic anniversaries celebrated in the cemetery.<sup>32</sup>

The back entrance, with its heavy iron gates, fronted the Taneytown Road. Added in 1891, it gave the cemetery a second entrance after nearly thirty years. Its addition was most significant because it represented a turning point in how visitors were exploring the battlefield grounds. Prior to 1890, relatively few visitors explored the battlefield west of the cemetery. Culp’s Hill and the Cemetery were the principal points of interest, and Baltimore Street was the main thoroughfare tourists followed to and from town to reach these sites. But with the battle’s twenty-fifth anniversary held in 1888, more veterans’ groups placed monuments in the fields west of the cemetery and these grounds then received greater attention in the press. This made the Taneytown Road a major route for visitors to access these battlefield grounds and necessitated a new entrance to the cemetery to accommodate those following the new thoroughfare. Although the cemetery remained the park’s centerpiece in 1899, developing focal points on the battlefield west of the cemetery were beginning to rival the cemetery’s popularity and its grandeur.



## Monument Avenue

For twenty years after the battle, the cemetery and adjacent Culp's Hill area received great attention, while the third-day battle area—the scene of Pickett's Charge, the Angle and the Copse of Trees—remained obscure to most visitors. Beginning in the mid-1880s, this began to change, and by 1899 an estimated “36,000 tourists passed over Hancock Avenue in a single month.”<sup>33</sup>

Hancock Avenue began on the west side of the Taneytown Road right across from the Soldiers' National Cemetery's back entrance (see *figure 9*). Visitors crossing the Taneytown Road from the Cemetery passed over a frequently-muddy dirt road and trolley tracks before reaching the nice telford avenue flanked by ornamented iron gateposts. From the gateposts the avenue led straight ahead, west toward a grove of trees, past a stone wall on the left that had recently been reconstructed by the GNPC. Many of the stone walls on the battlefield had either remained in ruins or deteriorated after the battle until the GNPC set about repairing and reconstructing them four years earlier. The avenue soon entered a cluster of big oak trees called Ziegler's Grove which anchored the north end of Cemetery Ridge. The grove was smaller than it had been in 1863 because locals cut some of the trees for farm needs in the years immediately after the battle and because tourists had repeatedly damaged others by cutting off branches to make souvenir canes.<sup>34</sup> This prompted the GNPC to plant fresh trees in Ziegler's Grove, and it planted at various other sites in the park as well to restore other forests and groves that had also endured clearing and cane-cutting after the battle.<sup>35</sup>

As visitors passed through Ziegler's Grove, Hancock Avenue curved southward and on the left at the end of the curve stood Ziegler's Grove Tower amidst freshly planted trees where the grove had originally reached (see *figure 10*). Built just three years earlier, this was the final of the five observation towers constructed at the park by the Variety Iron Works of Cleveland, Ohio, under the supervision of the GNPC engineer, Emmor Cope. The tower stood 75 feet high and provided visitors with a superb view of the mile-wide fields between the tower and Seminary Ridge that Pickett's Division charged across on the third-day's battle. From the top, looking west across those fields, observers could see a railroad line traversing the middle of the fields in front of them from right to left. The Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road laid the tracks in 1884.<sup>36</sup> Scanning from right to left, observers from the tower's deck could see that the tracks cut across the entire length of view. To the right

and north the tracks led out from town southward through the middle of the fields in front of Seminary Ridge. At right-center of view, halfway between the Emmitsburg Road and Seminary Ridge, observers could see the tracks bending slightly inward toward Cemetery Ridge and coming closer into view. At due-center, the tracks were clearly visible 500 yards away, passing just beyond the Emmitsburg Road. At left-center the tracks cut across the Emmitsburg Road and followed the length of Cemetery Ridge south toward Little Round Top. Looking due-left and south, observers saw the tracks traverse the southern end of Hancock Avenue, turn due-south, and disappear from view in the forests behind Little Round Top. There the tracks terminated at the eastern base of Little Round Top where Round Top Park was situated. Round Top Park consisted of a dance pavilion, kitchen, picnic tables and wells. Visitors frequently rode the rail spur to view the field and enjoy a picnic at Round Top Park before heading back to town.<sup>37</sup>

Looking south from the top of the tower, the most remarkable view was not the tracks nor the Round Tops nor the observation tower topping Big Round Top: rather, it was the half-mile stretch of Hancock Avenue, running south from the base of the tower, lined with approximately 60 monuments that most impressed visitors. This was Monument Avenue (see *figure 11*). No other half-mile of park road was so venerated. In 1899, there were about 360 monuments throughout the park and, aside from Hancock Avenue, the remaining 300 were comparatively well spread along the park's thirteen or so miles of remaining avenues and paths.<sup>38</sup>

The monuments along Hancock had been placed after the mid-1880s by state memorial commissions from northern states, namely Delaware, New York, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. The commissions consisted of three to seven men, usually veterans, organized by their state governments to oversee the design, construction, and placement of an appropriate monument (or monuments) to honor their state's regiment (or regiments) that fought at Gettysburg. Each commission received money from their state, selected an architect or sculptor, and came to Gettysburg to choose the monument's site (and bought land if necessary for its placing). The monuments were placed as close as possible to where the regiment had fought; however, their final placement was determined in conjunction with the local GBMA that oversaw the decoration of the field at that time prior to the GNPC. Usually, the GBMA aided the state memorial commissions in locating the exact place of fighting where the monument should stand, but there were instances of disagreement, notably at the Angle.<sup>39</sup>



Coming down from the tower, visitors could follow Hancock Avenue south through the parade of monuments that lined either side. The first significant monument visitors encountered was the Meade equestrian statue standing on the left just past the intersection with Meade Avenue (see *figure 12*). The statue had been placed three years earlier in 1896, a year after Hancock's equestrian statue on Cemetery Hill. Two cannon marking the 11th New York Independent Battery stood in front of Meade's statue, flanking a small monument. The guns and their iron carriages were new to the field, having been placed by the GNPC at about the same time as Meade's statue. These were not the only cannon on the field in 1899, however. The GNPC had recently erected 207 guns on iron carriages to mark battery positions around the park and replace the few old guns and their rotting wooden carriages previously erected by the GBMA. The original guns and wooden carriages were not the correct type used in the battle, and in some cases, even in the war.<sup>40</sup>

The Meade equestrian statue stood golden-brown, its bronze shiny, but its striking quality was that it appeared to follow a common pattern with the equestrian statues to Reynolds and Hancock. Henry Kirke Bush-Brown sculpted Meade atop a horse with all four legs firmly planted on a pedestal. Later perceptive visitors or guides suspected that the placement of the horse's legs represented the rider's fate in battle. This suspicion grew into a tradition passed on to visitors for generations: that all four legs on the pedestal supposedly meant the rider survived unscathed; three legs meant that the rider had been wounded in battle; and two legs on the pedestal meant the rider had been killed. This pattern fit the Meade, Reynolds and Hancock statues, but the "tradition" was unintended. When later asked if the legs signified the general's well-being during the course of battle, Bush-Brown claimed that such symbolism was purely coincidental.<sup>41</sup>

The Meade equestrian statue had two other unique qualities. First, it stood on a small grassy mound surrounded by a fence which prevented visitors from walking up and standing next to or touching the monument. The mound purposely heightened the statue's prominence on the field, and the fence made it sacred. Second, the Meade statue was one of the few monuments to a commanding officer along Hancock Avenue. Most of the avenue's monuments paid tribute to regiments, and several featured sculptures of common soldiers in active battle, commemorating their heroics and triumph in the battle of Gettysburg. A good example of this stood at the Angle.

The Angle lay just beyond Meade's statue on the opposite side (see *figure 13*). Visitors could turn right onto a half-circle called Webb Avenue that went out to the recently reconstructed stone wall where Pickett's Division had spearheaded its attack on the third-day's battle. Coming around the loop visitors passed by a monument to the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry that stood close to the stone wall. Designed by J. Reed, a private in the regiment, the monument features a common soldier in the regiment's Zouave uniform charging toward the wall, commemorating the regiment's repulse of Pickett's men who made it over the stone wall on the afternoon of the third day's battle. This monument was dedicated in 1891 following a three-year court battle between the GBMA and the veterans of the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry.<sup>42</sup> In 1888, soon after the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle, the GBMA had ruled that further monuments, including the 72nd Pennsylvania, were not to be placed at the Angle. The Angle was a popular spot for guides, visitors, and returning veterans after 1888, and the GBMA wanted to avoid a clutter of monuments there. Although veterans of the 72nd managed to place their monument, the Angle remained free of further monumentation in 1899. The GNPC, like the GBMA, prevented further monumentation at the Angle because it felt clutter would detract from the appearance of the Angle and the nearby Copse of Trees and that it would distract visitors from the High Water Mark Memorial (see *figure 14*).

The Copse of Trees and High Water Mark Memorial were the intended centerpieces of Hancock Avenue. Standing immediately south of the Angle, the Copse of Trees consisted of 20 or 30 oak and hickory trees surrounded by an iron fence to prevent tourists from cutting branches for souvenir canes.<sup>43</sup> The commission and battlefield guides celebrated this spot as the "High Water Mark" of the Confederacy. Here several Confederates had temporarily breached the Union defense lines on the third-day's battle before being captured. Lee's army never again penetrated the Union defense lines at Gettysburg and his deepest invasion of the North halted there.

John Bachelder and other Union veterans of the GBMA wanted Gettysburg to symbolize the "High Tide of the Confederacy," and with the help of a member of Pickett's staff, Bachelder identified the Copse of Trees as the "High Water Mark" where the tide had crested and Union forces had turned it back. The purpose had a dual role: first, to recognize the strength of the Confederacy and help bring southerners north in an effort to reconcile our still divided nation, and second, to secure further national perceptions of Gettysburg as the most important battle of the



war. Inadvertently, this helped reconcile northern sentiments as well. By recognizing the Confederates' strength, the Union veterans appeared all the more powerful for defeating such a tremendous foe.

The effort began shortly before the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle in 1888 when the GBMA requested Bachelder to design a memorial commemorating the High Water Mark. His monument was completed in 1892 and placed on the east edge of the Copse of Trees fronting Hancock Avenue.<sup>44</sup> It consisted of a pyramidal base, on top of which stood a large, bronze open book propped up by two pyramids of cannonballs and flanked by cannon and cannonball pyramids on either side. The design commemorated both the Confederate forces who participated in Pickett's charge and the Union forces who repulsed it on 3 July 1863. Visitors to the monument could read the names of the participating Confederate and Union units inscribed on the bronze pages of the open book. In addition, northern states paid for the monument. This signified major changes from the pro-Union spirit that had dominated the design of the field. The monument simultaneously recognized both sides and promoted Gettysburg as both the pinnacle Union victory and the Confederacy's zenith. It also represented a stronger affirmation of peace: that reconciliation efforts between the two sides had progressed beyond a cessation of war to the point of mutual recognition. The monument was the first of its kind.<sup>45</sup>

In actuality, however, the reconciliation effort behind Bachelder's monument was predominantly one-sided. Although some Confederate veterans returning to the field in 1888 (for the twenty-fifth anniversary) and in the years thereafter supported the idea and northern states contributed funds for the monument because southern states were poor and strapped for funds, southerners and their state governments by and large did not want anything to do with Gettysburg. Even in 1899, most southerners did not recognize Gettysburg as the high tide of the Confederacy and likewise ignored the field. Most southern veterans at the turn of the century viewed Gettysburg as an embarrassing defeat and the place where the Confederacy bled to death, so it was difficult for many of them to see the field more positively as the Confederacy's high tide. Not until Lee's popularity peaked in the years ahead would southern sentiments begin to turn. Similarly, many Union veterans did not feel Confederate forces deserved any recognition at Gettysburg. The monument was thus a precedent-setter for both sides.<sup>46</sup>

Visitors continuing south down Hancock Avenue could see on either side pipe-rail fencing standing 4 1/2 feet high. The GNPC had begun plac-

ing pipe-rail fencing four years earlier to line the property edges of the park. The fencing along Hancock Avenue was only two years old, and both sides stood 100 feet apart with the avenue and monuments in between. Park property along Cemetery Ridge consisted of a 100-foot wide strip in 1899.<sup>47</sup> The GNPC owned the avenue and about 40 feet of grass on either side. With few exceptions, this corridor was sufficient for accurately placing most monuments and markers identifying Union regimental positions in the line of battle on the second and third days. Outside of this fenced corridor lay private property, mostly farms owned by families since the battle. Visitors could not venture outside into their fields unless they or their guide obtained permission from the owners. Few did venture, but occasionally zealous guides worked out a fee arrangement with farm owners in exchange for gaining permission to take visitors over certain privately-owned parts of the battlefield.<sup>48</sup>

As visitors continued southward down Hancock and passed the intersection with Pleasonton Avenue, they neared the end of the remarkably continuous line of monuments. One of the final monuments standing on the right was a dramatic tribute to the 1st Minnesota Infantry (see *figure 15*). Built in 1893, visitors saw a bronze statue of a soldier in the regiment's uniform elevated by a 20-foot granite-block pedestal, commemorating the regiment's valor on 2 July 1863. Jacob Fjelde sculptured the bronze soldier running with bayoneted rifle in hand to symbolize the heroics of the regiment's soldiers. On the evening of the second-day's battle, the 1st Minnesota ran forward to a position shortly in front of the monument and repulsed a Confederate advance that nearly took Cemetery Ridge. In the course of the repulse, the regiment sustained 82% casualties (or 215 of the regiment's 262 men), a level unequalled before or since. The veterans of the 1st Minnesota had earlier placed the very first monument at Gettysburg, the memorial urn, in the Soldiers' National Cemetery to honor their soldiers lost in this engagement and buried in the cemetery.<sup>49</sup>

The 1st Minnesota memorial appropriately ended the line of monuments along Hancock Avenue. Like many of the other monuments, it commemorated the heroics and triumph of Union forces on the second and third day of battle and honored the entire regiment's veterans, not just the dead or its commanders. Continuing southward to the end of Hancock Avenue, visitors crossed over the tracks of the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road before coming to the intersection with United States Avenue. The GNPC had constructed United States Avenue four years earlier, at the same time as Hancock Avenue, to lead visitors out to



the Union lines formed by General Daniel Sickles on the second day of battle. Visitors looking west down the telford road could see new pipe-rail fencing lining its sides (see *figure 16*). The GNP owned only the avenue in 1899 and some property at its western terminus, but straight ahead Sedgwick Avenue led visitors to the park's most recently accessible and controversial sites: the two Round Tops and Devil's Den.<sup>50</sup>

## The Road to the Round Tops

Visitors to the southern portion of the park in 1899 were among the first to enjoy comparatively easy access to Little and Big Round Top. Two years earlier, the GNPC constructed a telford road from Hancock Avenue south over Little Round Top to Big Round Top.<sup>51</sup> They named the northern half that led to the base of Little Round Top "Sedgwick Avenue" and the southern stretch over Little Round Top "Sykes Avenue," after the commanders of the Union corps that lined these respective stretches of battlefield. Prior to this, few visiting families and groups ventured up the Round Tops' slopes in carriages. While the previous avenues over Culp's Hill and Cemetery Ridge had also been telfordized recently, they overlaid well-worn carriage paths established by the GBMA.<sup>52</sup> The slopes of both Round Tops were rugged, and the original paths were cruder and difficult, so earlier visitors had to ride horse or hike their way to the tops of the hills. Of course the Round Tops were not ignored prior to the construction of Sedgwick and Sykes Avenues. A wooden observation tower had crowned Big Round Top during the 1880s, like the one on Cemetery Hill that same decade.<sup>53</sup> It received visitors, but not nearly in the same quantity as the iron-and-steel tower by Commissioner Cope that now stood prominently protruding from Big Round Top's forested canopy.

In the fall of 1899, Sedgwick Avenue led visitors south to the Round Tops past a Union defensive-stone wall on the right reconstructed by the GNPC earlier in the year.<sup>54</sup> Wherever stone wall did not exist, pipe-rail fencing lined the park's property-corridor in the grass on either side. Visitors passed by occasional ornamentation in the form of individual cannonball shells mounted on six-inch cubic stone pedestals that lined the edge of the avenue. These same mounted-cannonball ornaments appeared along Baltimore Street in front of the iron fencing lining East Cemetery Hill, and along Slocum and Hancock Avenues, and were easily overlooked amidst the monuments. But along Sedgwick there were few monuments, and these were virtually the only ornaments visitors saw. The cannonballs were simply decorative.

Sedgwick ended at the intersection with Wheatfield Road, and there the pipe-rail fencing stopped as well. Visitors continuing onto Sykes Avenue crossed over trolley tracks that terminated at the immediate left of the intersection. The Gettysburg Electric Railway placed the tracks in 1893.<sup>55</sup> Looking left a few yards farther, the end of the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road line crossed the Wheatfield Road and terminated just beyond view. Both the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road and the Gettysburg Electric Railway stopped here to drop off passengers wishing to visit Little Round Top or eat at Round Top Park that was situated around to the left amidst the woods on the back side of Little Round Top.

Sykes Avenue meandered up to the right, through forested slope, to the top of Little Round Top's western face. The avenue was not lined with fencing because the park owned a large parcel of land south of Wheatfield Road that included the Rose Woods, the Wheatfield, Devil's Den, and the Round Tops.<sup>56</sup> Beautiful stone retaining walls lined the outside of the avenue on its right to allow the road to venture gently up the right side of Little Round Top's northern slope. The GNPC hired laborers to construct the retaining walls out of granite that matched the fieldstone of the stone walls being reconstructed around the park. In the same fashion as preventing clutter at the Angle, the granite retaining walls demonstrated the extent of the commissioners' meticulous attention to detail throughout the park. No small task, it deserves recognition.

Supervising Sykes's construction and many other projects around the park kept the GNP commissioners extremely busy. The War Department funded them annually to pay for and design the reconstruction and improvement of the battlefield for veterans and visitors.<sup>57</sup> They purchased property, condemned private lands through court action if necessary, and oversaw the placement of monuments and markers and ornaments, the construction of towers and avenues and fencing, and the restoration of stone walls and key farmsteads, forests and fields. Drawing up design plans and directing the many improvements around the battlefield occupied the commissioners full-time, and they frequently contracted out to local laborers to rebuild or construct the battlefield and its structures according to their specifications. One of the two northern commissioners, either Nicholson or Richardson, designed Sykes Avenue, for example, and Emmor Cope, their engineer, assigned contracts and saw to it that the construction and restoration work was properly carried out. This is how the commissioners operated. Nicholson, Richardson, or



Robbins designed and planned the field's reconstruction and improvements, and Emmor Cope implemented their plans and directed most of the actual construction and restoration. The improvements, like Sykes Avenue, gave the battlefield a park-like appearance and visitors new access to key terrain, features, and views of the field. And the restoration work carried out by the commissioners gave visitors new visible access to the field's wartime appearance: visitors could now see the field much as it had been in 1863.

At the crest of Little Round Top, Sykes Avenue turned right and west out of the woods to the hilltop's bare and heavily bouldered western summit, where it formed a loop. At the bend in the loop stood the 155th Pennsylvania Infantry Monument placed at the summit in 1886. (see *figure 17*). The monument consisted of a granite statue to Samuel Hill, a private in the regiment, standing on a granite pedestal.<sup>58</sup> From this vantage point visitors could see west cross the Valley of Death and southwest to a mammoth outcropping of huge boulders, popularized as Devil's Den by John Bachelder, from which Confederate sharpshooters attacked Little Round Top on 2 July 1863.<sup>59</sup> They could also see the Gettysburg Electric Railway trolley track traversing the Valley of Death from left to right, detracting from the valley's wartime appearance. The track ran out from the narrows between Devil's Den and the foot of Big Round Top, cut across the entire Valley of Death in front of Little Round Top, and as visitors scanned right they could see the track curve around to the north foot of Little Round Top where it terminated, just out of view, at the junction of Wheatfield, Sedgwick, and Sykes Avenues. The GNPC attempted to condemn the railway beginning in 1894, but court proceedings still continued in 1899, and the railway remained in operation.<sup>60</sup>

As visitors continued around the Sykes Avenue overlook and followed the loop back toward the woods, they passed a big boulder, on top of which stood a 9-foot bronze statue of Gouverneur K. Warren, the savior of Little Round Top. His likeness still stands today and is positioned looking west in the direction where Warren first spotted oncoming Confederates on 2 July 1863, moments before he called Union troops to the hill in time to defend it. The Veterans' Association of the 5th New York Infantry placed the monument there in 1888. Sculptured by Karl Gerhardt, the statute's significance lay in the fact that it had been anchored to the ground on an existing boulder. This was the first statue on any Civil War battlefield erected without a pedestal, and Gettysburg visitors could view it standing on the same common ground with them.<sup>61</sup>



In front of Warren's statue and to the left running the length of Little Round Top's crest were restored breastworks the Union forces had built defending the hill. The GNPC reconstructed the breastworks with fieldstone from Little Round Top and was still rebuilding a few unfinished portions on the hill in 1899. The breastworks lay in ruins prior to the commissioners' work because rock-and-relic-takers, souvenir-hunters, and the cumulative effect of visitor wear-and-tear had destroyed these works in the thirty years following the battle. This and other acts of vandalism and degradation were major reasons the War Department assumed maintenance of the battlefield from the GBMA four years earlier. The GBMA found itself unable to prevent rock-taking from stone walls and cane-cutting from key forests on the field, and for that reason it specifically solicited the War Department to care for the grounds.<sup>62</sup>

Sykes Avenue curved right, around behind Warren's boulder, and followed the crest of Little Round Top with the woods to the left and the breastworks and bouldered-west face to the right. The road entered a second overlook loop near a one-room, stone Romanesque castle placed by the veterans of the 44th and 12th New York Regiments six years earlier (see *figure 18*). General Daniel Butterfield, one of the regiment's commanders, designed the castle monument with one chamber and an adjacent cylindrical tower. Butterfield proportioned the castle's geometric dimensions to symbolize the 44th and 12th regiments: the tower stands 44 feet high and the chamber is 12 feet square. Tourists could enter the castle chamber through a low, heavy archway, turn left, and climb an interior winding staircase to the roof, from where they could look out over the turreted wall at the huge boulders comprising Devil's Den. The castle's architecture was significant because it demonstrated the influence of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture through its heavy proportions, coarse stone, turrets, and low hanging archway.<sup>63</sup>

At the 44th and 12th New York Monument, the avenue looped out a second time for a closer view of Devil's Den before heading down the south slope of Little Round Top to its intersection with Warren Avenue, a dirt path that led south to Devil's Den. Passing Warren Avenue, Sykes continued ahead several hundred yards to the north base of Big Round Top where it curved to the right. Just after the curve, on the left lay a trail to the top of Big Round Top. (see *figure 19*). Sykes Avenue did not go to the top; instead, it continued past the trail on a gentle leftward curve around the north and west slope of Big Round Top. The trail's entrance appeared as a flight of six steps ornamented at the base on either side by mounted cannonballs. The GNPC installed the trail to follow the Union

left flank and defensive stone wall up Big Round Top, terracing the trail so that visitors could walk up a flight of six steps, continue on a paved straightaway for several yards to the next flight of six steps, and so forth. At the top stood Big Round Top Tower, 60 feet high atop the summit. Because of the tower's extreme elevation, it was subject to high winds and had its roof blown off three years earlier in a severe storm shortly after its construction.<sup>64</sup> This did not deter tourists, however, from taking the stairs to the observation deck. Occasional visitors claimed that the high point of their visit to Gettysburg involved climbing to the top of Big Round Top tower where they could obtain the grandest view from the highest hill, overlooking the Valley of Death, Little Round Top, and seeing up the valley between Seminary and Cemetery Ridges all the way to Gettysburg's courthouse tower and the national flag waving on the horizon above the Soldier's National Cemetery.<sup>65</sup>

### **Confederate Avenue and the Devil's Den ("the Devil's Playground")**

Carriage riders following Sykes Avenue west around Big Round Top in 1899 were not aware of any change in the telford road, but at a point on the hill's western slope they entered Confederate Avenue. The GNPC had constructed Confederate Avenue four years earlier, two years before building Sykes Avenue, but it designed Sykes to merge with Confederate Avenue. Unremarkable, Confederate Avenue appeared as a continuation of Sykes, meandering west away from the base of Big Round Top, until it left the woods completely and entered a clearing. On the left at a curve in the road stood cannon and a tablet marking the position of Reilly's Alabama battery. The GNPC designed Confederate Avenue to loop visitors around easily to the grounds occupied by southern forces.<sup>66</sup>

From Reilly's battery Confederate Avenue curved right and directed visitors north across the Emmitsburg Road to follow the Confederate battle line along Warfield Ridge, the southern stretch of Seminary Ridge. Here Longstreet had positioned his division during the second- and third-day battle. The avenue ran behind Longstreet's battle lines. Visitors traveling the avenue saw to their right a reconstructed parallel stone wall in the grass several feet from the road (see *figure 20*). The occasional mounted cannonball ornamented the roadside, and pipe-rail fencing lined the avenue on the left. Along the avenue, visitors passed by several cannon and pyramids of cannonballs or canister marking the positions of other Confederate batteries. The cannon stood in the grass on the avenue's right edge pointing over the stone wall east toward the Round Tops and



Cemetery Ridge. Also on the right, near each cannon, iron tablets detailed the Army of Northern Virginia's commands, positions, and activities of 2-3 July 1863. There were other descriptive markers as well. At the end of the avenue, just before the intersection with Wheatfield Road, stood another iron-and-steel observation tower placed by Commissioner Cope. Visitors who climbed to the deck of the 75-foot tower could read plaques fitted to the deck's outside railing that described the position and activities of Lee's army. The plaque on the deck's north face, for instance, informed viewers that Seminary Ridge in front of them was where the main battle line of the Confederate army had concentrated.<sup>67</sup>

The GNPC had considered marking and monumenting the Confederate army's role at Gettysburg a major goal since the time it had been first appointed. In 1895, chairman Nicholson reported:

The position and evolution of the various commands of the Union Army were mostly determined and marked by the memorial Association [GBMA]. But those of the Confederate Army remained for the commission to ascertain and locate. Much attention has been given to this. Surviving Confederate officers and soldiers have been invited to visit the field; also the authorities of the Southern States have been requested to send commissioners representing Confederate commands to point out positions.<sup>68</sup>

Two years later, Emmor Cope mapped "the positions of every command of both armies" so that tablets and markers could be placed on the field.<sup>69</sup> As of 1899, 91 iron tablets marking Union and Confederate troop placements had been placed, 65 in the last year. In addition, iron markers on granite pedestals designated Confederate division and brigade positions within the park, and iron markers for Confederate regimental positions were to be placed soon. Commissioner William Robbins, a former Confederate veteran, wrote the descriptions on these tablets and oversaw their placement. The War Department demanded a former Confederate veteran sit on the GNPC to conduct these tasks. But despite this work, a balance had yet to be achieved on the field and the commissioners' efforts along Confederate Avenue generated much controversy, even among southerners and Confederate veterans.<sup>70</sup>

Monuments of any kind to the Confederate Army were virtually absent on the battlefield.<sup>71</sup> Several reasons account for this. First, economics and how southerners felt about Gettysburg go a long way to understanding the lack of Confederate monuments. The GNPC actively invited Confederate veterans from all southern states and solicited south-



ern state governments to send veterans or representatives to aid in the marking and monumentation of the field, but relatively few southerners ever appeared. As I mentioned earlier, southern states were poor and strapped for funds, and southerners and their state governments by and large did not want anything to do with Gettysburg. Although every year since 1893 some former Confederate commanders and small groups of Confederate veterans did return to Gettysburg at the commission's request, they were too few to raise funds for memorials, and they lacked financial support from their states that northern veterans' associations received.<sup>72</sup>

A second contributing factor regarding the lack of Confederate monuments concerned the GNPC rule for placing markers and tablets and monuments. According to the rule, markers and monuments to corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments were to be placed where these forces had formed in battle line or occupied ground. Since Union soldiers fought a defensive battle, marking where their units stood simultaneously identified where they fought. The Confederate army main battle line formed along Seminary Ridge, and because they were never able to occupy Cemetery Ridge, the GNPC did not allow Confederate markers or allow monuments on the fields where Pickett's charge had taken place or at the stone wall where some Confederates had heroically breached the Union line, albeit temporarily. This slighted many Confederate veterans.<sup>73</sup>

Another point of controversy concerned the lack of available property for the placement of Confederate monuments, as well as markers and tablets. In 1899, grounds occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia along Seminary Ridge remained in private hands. Confederate Avenue ended at the intersection with Wheatfield Road, far short of its intended destination because five property owners refused to sell right-of-ways through their lands along Seminary Ridge to GNPC. In 1895, the GNPC planned to construct Confederate Avenue the entire length of Seminary Ridge and offered to purchase right-of-ways at fair market prices, but the owners stubbornly refused, speculating that the offers would eventually go up or that they would receive better offers elsewhere. Later that year, the GNPC filed condemnation proceedings against the five property owners, but court proceedings were still continuing in 1899 despite one property owner's agreeing to settle with the GNPC earlier in the year.<sup>74</sup>

This incident raises questions about the design behind the placement of the park's five observation towers. Were it not for the Seminary Ridge property dispute, I suggest Emmor Cope might have placed Con-

federate Avenue's 75-foot observation tower farther north near the center of Seminary Ridge, due-west of the Angle. Consider several rationales. First, the center of the Confederate army's main battle line had stood near the middle of Seminary Ridge, opposite the Angle. Second, this would have been more in keeping with the axes formed by the other four towers Cope placed at cardinal compass points around the park. Looking at the towers on the 1899 map (see *figure 21*), for example, one can see the Ziegler's Grove tower at center, the Oak Ridge and Big Round Top towers situated at the north and south ends of the park, and the Culp's Hill tower positioned nearly due-east. The Confederate Avenue tower appears to be out of line with the western end of the horizontal axis suggested by Culp's Hill and Ziegler's Grove towers. In addition, we must remember that the tower at Ziegler's Grove was not among the four original towers planned for construction in 1895. Placing towers at the four cardinal compass points is an excellent way to cover the entire field without necessitating a central tower, and the towers at Oak Ridge, Culp's Hill, and Big Round Top fit this pattern. The inability to place Confederate Avenue's tower at center-west on Seminary Ridge may have contributed to Cope's decision to add the tower at Ziegler's Grove the following year. Certainly, the importance of the Union's center also contributed to Cope's placement of the Ziegler's Grove tower. Still, we must consider that the new tower afforded a view of Pickett's Charge and Seminary Ridge, which the Confederate Avenue tower could not, thereby serving in place of the Confederate Avenue tower which may have otherwise provided that view were it not for the property dispute. Finally, further evidence for this notion that Cope placed the towers according to compass points is evident in the towers' designs: Cope included circular, iron compass maps on the towers' observation decks to inform visitors of key battle sites within the quadrant of the field visible from each tower.<sup>75</sup>

Whether or not the Seminary Ridge property dispute affected the placement of towers around the field, it did limit the extent of markings, monuments, and visitor access to Confederate battle positions. Confederate Avenue remained two-thirds short and, aside from the High Water Mark Memorial at the Angle, this portion of the park offered visitors in 1899 the only physical markings and tablet descriptions of the Confederate Army at Gettysburg. Controversy, however, did not stop here.

Visitors leaving Confederate Avenue could follow the Wheatfield Road east to the park's new Sickles and Crawford Avenues constructed the previous year. The avenues formed a loop to Devil's Den and passed by nearly thirty markers and memorials to Union troops. Upon reach-



ing Devil's Den, carriage drivers and horse riders could tie their steeds to a hitching rail across from the den's massive boulders. The hitching rail signified a shift in the battlefield's importance. The GNPC placed the rail at the den two years earlier to accommodate the rising number of visitors to the rocks. Visitors to the park had steadily increased since the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in 1888. Roughly 200,000 tourists traveled to Gettysburg annually at the turn of the century, up from 50,000 reported in 1884.<sup>76</sup> Prior to the 1890s, the field served chiefly as a place of remembrance for Union veterans. Sightseers were few, and most had been either locals or Union veterans and their relatives.<sup>77</sup> In contrast, tourism began to flourish in the 1890s. Tour books and circulars advertised Gettysburg as a summer resort, and the GNPC proclaimed it the best-marked battlefield in the U.S.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the placement of markers and monuments made Gettysburg an initial attraction over other battlefields to military strategists, politicians, historians, and wealthy traveling enthusiasts by 1899, and northerners especially recognized Gettysburg as one of the premier spots in the U.S. to visit.<sup>79</sup> Greater numbers of veterans made pilgrimages and held reunions at Gettysburg; important visiting politicians and generals from other countries were escorted there; and the field's fame further attracted others simply intent on recreation.<sup>80</sup> The GNPC, in turn, had placed hitching rails at Culp's Hill, too, and had built catchment basins at various spots to keep up with the manure left on the field by visitors' horses.

Facing Devil's Den from the hitching rail, visitors saw an impressive collection of mammoth boulders (see *figure 22*). Once again, individual cannonballs mounted on stone pedestals stood out on the grass in front. Iron chains linked the mounted cannonballs to form an ornamental fence at the base of the rocks as if showcasing the site. The GNPC's frequent use of cannonballs as ornament around the battlefield, and as armament in the form of cannonball pyramids at battery positions, added considerably to the battlefield's deeply moving appearance, especially at the den. The cannonball-and-chain fence framed a path through which visitors could enter this awe-inspiring wonder. As visitors approached the huge rocks, they saw hundreds of chiseled patches covering the boulders where the commission had removed name engravings and the occasional advertisement left by tourists and locals over the years.<sup>81</sup>

Devil's Den may have been the most frequented spot in the park, but it was so for reasons different from those accounting for the popularity of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and the Angle among visitors and veterans. Unlike these key spots, the den attracted attention both as a



natural phenomenon and as a controversial recreation spot of the field. Visitors frequently had their picture taken among the rocks by William Tipton, who ran a photo studio, dance hall and refreshment stand across from the den at the foot of Big Round Top (see *figure 23*). Tipton's Park, he called it, and it made for a popular spot. The Gettysburg Electric Railway tracks passed right by the park and dropped off thousands of tourists annually via one of seven trolleys, all named for Union generals (see *figure 24*). The railway and Tipton's park had generated much debate following construction six years earlier. Veterans and visitors claimed the railway and park desecrated the field, and the controversy made national press. The outcry against the electric railway and fun-park as sacrilegious gained support early on, and the GNPC fired to condemn the park and railway in 1894. Court proceedings continued in 1899, with the railway and fun-park remaining in operation for visitors who wished to visit the playground at Devil's Den.<sup>82</sup>

### **Coda: The 1899 Battlefield in Retrospect**

The Gettysburg National Military Park in 1899 exhibited several patterns. The park concentrated on the Union-held lines of the second-and-third-day's battle. Only the section of Confederate Avenue south of the Wheat-Field Road was marked with Confederate tablets. Confederate main lines and the first-day's engagements were on privately-owned lands, minimally marked and still in ruins. The nation was still divided, and nowhere was this more evident than on the fields at Gettysburg, where lands occupied by Confederate forces remained privately owned and bare of markings, and where Confederate ruins had yet to be restored.

The park exhibited the qualities of a museum. Fencing was frequent in the form of post-and-wire, pipe-rail, iron, and decorative cannonballs with chains. The GNPC's practice of cordoning off equestrian statues and key grounds gave the effect that much of the park was on display and intangible. This discouraged visitors from walking the fields, standing next to or touching monuments, or crouching behind reconstructed stone walls to relive the battle. The field was not designed as a place for tourists to reenact the experience, but for visitors to pay great reverence by humbly passing through intangible, sacred ground.

In 1899, the park was very new: new roads, fencing, monuments, ornaments, markers, tablets, cannon, and caretakers. Nearly all the monuments were less than a decade old, having proliferated around or

after the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1888, and the remaining design features of the park were less than four years old, having been placed by recently appointed GNP commissioners under the park's new ownership, the War Department. These changes contributed to the park's new popularity and encouraged increasing numbers of tourists to visit new key spots: the Angle, Round Tops, and Devil's Den. The new popularity of these sites rivaled that of the park's original centerpieces; the Soldiers' National Cemetery and Culp's Hill. The recently built telford roads especially account for the new popularity of the Angle, Round Tops, and Devil's Den. Roads were fundamental to increasing visitation because they gave access to these new sites. Even with cannon, monuments, markers, and ornaments highlighting these spots, they would have been considerably less visited were it not for roads. Consider, for example, the importance of Sykes Avenue in allowing visitors easy access to Little Round Top, and the close proximity of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and Culp's Hill to town roads which facilitated the original popularity of these sites. Finally, even the way visitors entered the park was new. Whereas Baltimore Street provided the original main thoroughfare to the park, by the turn of the century the Emmitsburg and Taneytown Roads served equally as major thoroughfares to the battlefield.

There were several distinct patterns to the monuments and ornaments decorating the park in 1899. Neoclassical monuments were popular, for example, and dominated the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Greek and Roman columns, goddesses and allegorical statutes, and vases and urns decorated the cemetery's monuments, grounds, and gates. They paid tribute almost exclusively to the dead. In contrast, heroic and triumphant monuments placed by state memorial commissions and regimental veteran's associations decorated the field. They frequently featured statutes of common soldiers and honored the bravery, service, and sacrifice of an entire state's or regiment's force, not just its dead.

The pattern most apparent to visitors in 1899 was that the monuments were mostly Union, and they concentrated at the Angle where the final major engagement of the battle had taken place. Confederate monuments were virtually absent, and monuments to peace and reconciliation between the two sides were rare. Although the GNPC had taken great steps to remedy this disparity by 1899, its work remained too recent and unfinished to produce a significant effect in curbing the problem of pro-Union sentiment and southern resentment still manifested in the field and its memorials.



Finally, cannonballs overwhelmingly ornamented the park in 1899. Individual mounted cannonballs lined avenues, marked entrances, and served as fence posts to decorate and venerate the field. Cannonballs in the form of pyramid piles usually marked batteries but also decorated memorials as well. To visitors at Gettysburg, the sheer frequency of these ornaments greatly added to the monumental effect of the battlefield.

Park controversies in 1899 exhibited two patterns. They frequently reflected the crisis of representation on the field and the commercial and vandalistic threats to the park's integrity. The underrepresentation of Confederate forces, for example, disturbed southerners and the War Department greatly. The High Water Mark memorial at the Angle and the short stretch of Confederate Avenue offered visitors and military students in 1899 the only physical markings and tablet descriptions of the Confederate army at Gettysburg. In addition, the placement of markers and monuments generated debate among both Union and Confederate veterans concerning the representation of their acts in battle. Confederate veterans were offended by the GNP rule of placement because they felt it disregarded the heroics of their forces. Union veterans, such as the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry, found the commissioners' attempts to keep the Angle from being cluttered inconsiderate of their heroics as well. Concerning commercialism and vandalism, the commissioners' agenda included efforts to condemn property and control field damage. Round Top Park, Tipton's Park, and the Seminary Ridge property speculators demonstrated how commercial ventures in 1899 undermined their attempts to secure and preserve the battlefield for later generations. And cane-cutting and rock-taking by souvenir hunters threatened the breastworks, stone walls, and forests of the field and led to patrol guards and fencing.

In considering the 1899 park, it is worthwhile to compare it briefly with the park today. Several 1899 features are missing from the current park landscape. Zeigler's Grove and Round Top towers are gone, the former removed to make way for the Cyclorama visitors' center in 1962 and the latter dismantled in 1968 due to underuse by visitors and its being a haven for turkey vultures. The pipe-rail fencing, cannonball ornaments, and hitching rails have also been removed. Most of the main roads still remain, but a few of the small roads visible on the 1899 map are no longer extant, namely, Meade Avenue and several of the gravel roads in the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Hancock Avenue in 1899 had two loops at the Angle on either side of the Copse of Trees, but only the one loop north of the copse remains today. And adjustments have been



made to Sykes and Confederate Avenues through the Round Tops, removing portions of these roads from visitors' use. Visitors to Little Round Top today, for example, cannot drive out to the hill's western face where two loops previously afforded earlier riders views of the Valley of Death from 155th Pennsylvania Infantry Monument and from in front of the 44th and 12th New York Castle. The railroad and trolley tracks are gone from the field, as are Round Top and Tipton's parks they once serviced. The popularity of Culp's Hill and the Soldiers' National Cemetery has declined in comparison with the rest of the field. And visitors to the cemetery today no longer trip over the nine-inch headstones because they were reset flush with the ground by the National Park Service in the 1930s.

Still, much remains from 1899. The battlefield landscape today is filled with cultural relics left by past generations, the most obvious of which are the monuments, but there are also trees, roads, paths and towers that remind us of what the battlefield used to be. These remnants give insight to the battlefield's previous meanings, appearance, and use to others. The towers at Confederate Avenue, Oak Ridge, and Culp's Hill stand as reminders of the field's earlier use as a key training ground for military personnel. The many park roads still named for the Union and its commanding generals—Hancock, Howard, Wadsworth, Doubleday, Reynolds, Sedgwick, Sickles, Slocum, and United States—and the overwhelming number of graves to Union dead in the national cemetery preserve the battlefield's early longtime meaning to northerners as a place to celebrate Union victory and sacrifice and to dishonor or disregard their Confederate brethren. Also, the monuments with controversial histories remind us that issues about inappropriate or underrepresentation are not new. Current debate at GNMP concerns the lack of representation of black involvement and slavery issues in the battle.

Several new features of the park today stand in contrast with the 1899 field. For one, the park is considerably larger. In 1899, for example, the GNMP consisted of 1,158 acres, or less than one-fourth of the current park's acreage.<sup>83</sup> In addition, the sites, grounds, and monuments may now be experienced more intimately. Visitors to the battlefield are encouraged to walk across its fields, stand next to its monuments, and climb amongst its rocks and walls. Perhaps the greatest change is the current level of reconciliation exhibited at Gettysburg. Numerous monuments from southern states decorate the field, and the park and its licensed battlefield guides actively direct visitors to tour Confederate Avenue first. Confederate remains recently found on the battlefield have

been reinterred in the Soldiers' National Cemetery. And last July, the placement of a new equestrian statue honoring Confederate General James Longstreet at Gettysburg served as the centerpiece to the field's 135th anniversary celebration that drew nearly 100,000 spectators. These efforts display the message that Confederate valor is as equally sacred, valid, and worthy of honor as Union valor at Gettysburg. The Confederate soldier is presented by the current park's landscape and guides as equally courageous and American as his Union counterpart. Most importantly and interestingly, this degree of reconciliation manifested in today's battlefield has its foundation in the 1899 landscape. Although much of the 1899 park was the product of anti-Confederate sentiments, its landscape ironically promoted mutual recognition and reconciliation through the GBMA's High Water Memorial and the GNPC's markings of Confederate battle lines.

In retrospect, the disparities and connections between the current park's design and the park in 1899 reveal how much the battlefield has been tinkered with. I purposely use the word "tinkered" because most of the changes made to the landscape have been small though continual, built on early traditions evident in 1899, rather than sweeping and sudden. These changes, of course, have much merit. The present battlefield preserves over 5,000 acres and enshrines the battle, death, heroics, triumphs, and peace of both sides the better to educate nearly 2,000,000 visitors who come annually to learn about the battle of Gettysburg. But despite the present park's design as an improved and lasting tribute, it too is impermanent. The ideas, values, and memories currently celebrated by the field will continue to raise new debates over how preservation, education, and enshrinement should best be carried out, and these debates will lead the park in new directions of change.

The overriding dynamic pattern exhibited by Gettysburg in 1899 is twofold. First, Gettysburg reveals that battlefield landscape designs are the product of ideas, values, and memories. Secondly, it also dramatizes that such sites in turn become the promoters of the same and of new ideas, values, and memories. The relationship between park designs and public memories is thus paradoxical: it guarantees, indeed *perpetuates*, the field's *impermanence*. People construct battlefield parks as they think or perceive these fields ought to be. Others look at the battlefield landscape and react to it, decide what is and is not appropriate, whether or not it is suitable or meets their needs, perceptions, and interpretations. And where the landscape is unsatisfactory or incomplete, persons or groups may push for and orchestrate changes to suit their attitudes,



values, beliefs and perceptions. This process is ongoing. Battlefields are continually being revised, sparking new reactions, and being revised again. They are the medium of text that some author and others read, only to be revised and reread over and over again.

The Gettysburg battlefield at any given moment is a cumulative expression of Americans' values, memories, and attitudes since 1863, and a force in formulating them. Like us, the battlefield is influenced by people, and it influences people, and changes with each generation. In that sense, it is a living spirit and reminds us that as we travel to Gettysburg and other national battlegrounds today, our experiences unique to these places are also unique to our time.

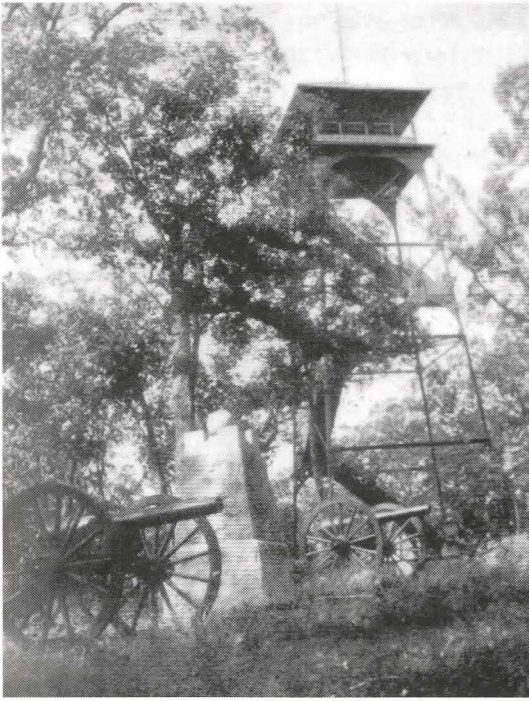
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## ILLUSTRATIONS

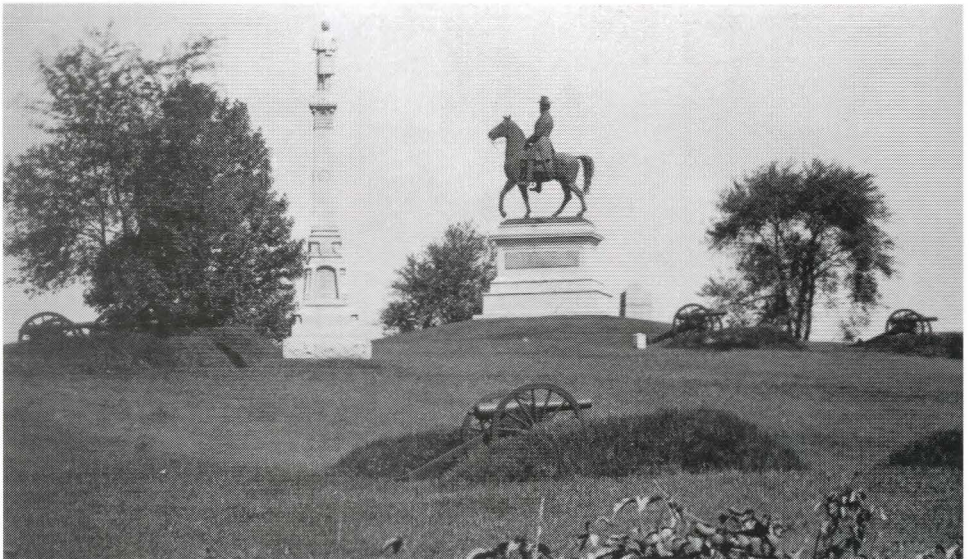


**Figure 2. Spangler's Spring, 1900.** *Originally, there were two stone outlets for the spring here. After 1895, the War Department ordered the GNMP to tidy up the field and Spangler's Spring received a makeover. The cement half-dome, steps, and rail are entirely new (GNPC, Annual Reports).*

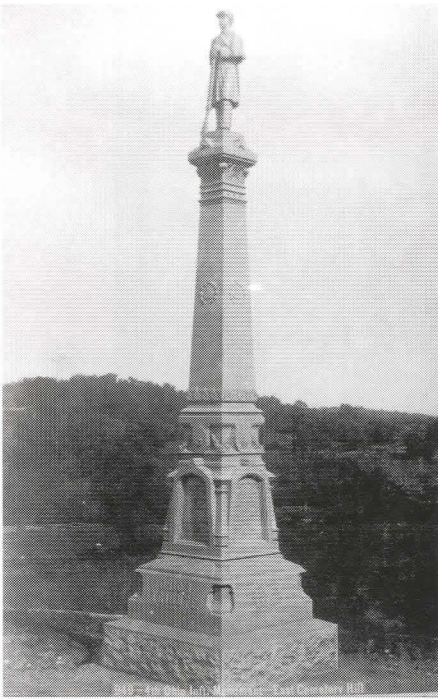




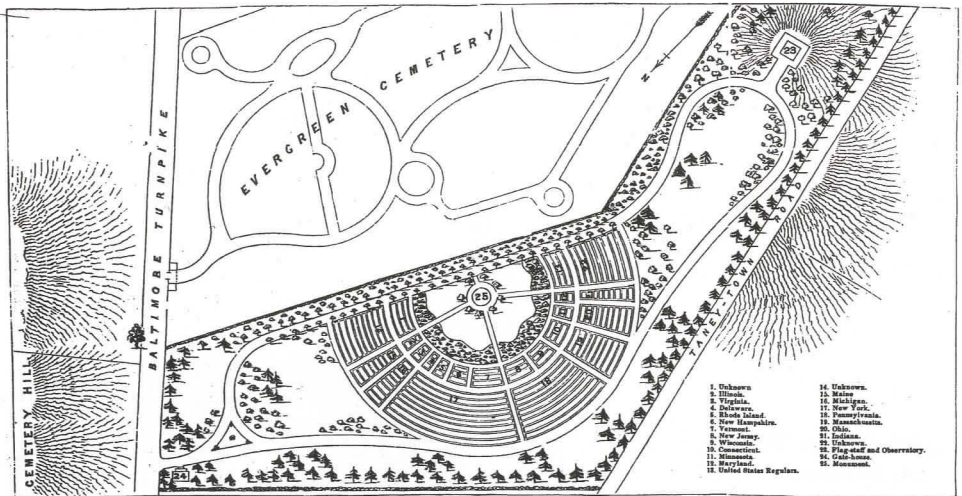
**Figure 3. Culp's Hill Observation Tower, 1895.** *This tower erected by GNMP Commissioner Emmor Cope stood 60 feet high. Four other towers were placed around the park in 1895-96. The War Department ordered the towers constructed for the purpose of military study (GNPC, Annual Reports).*



**Figure 4. Equestrian Statue to Union General John Hancock, East Cemetery Hill, c. 1900.** *Hancock's statue was the first equestrian statue erected at Gettysburg, in 1895. The horse carries Hancock in trotting motion with one leg raised from the pedestal (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1900).*

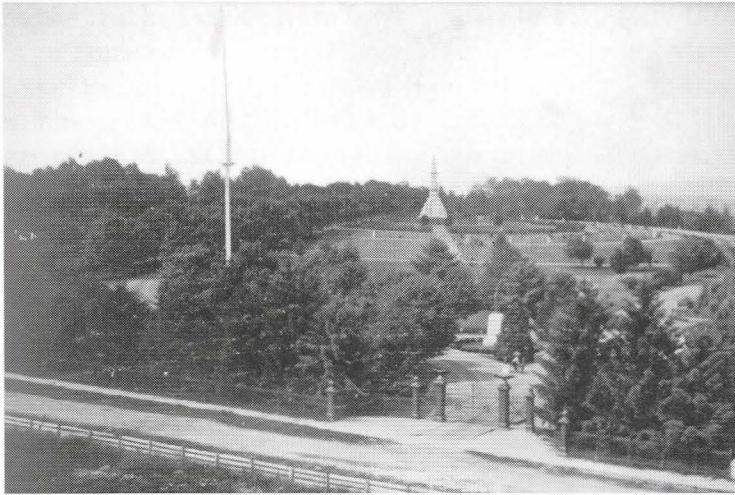


**Figure 5. The 4th Ohio Monument on East Cemetery Hill, c. 1887.** *This hollow monument on East Cemetery Hill was the only one at Gettysburg ever made of an experimental white bronze that gave it the appearance of being made of stone. Visitors 100 years ago found this to be one of the most impressive regimental monuments. Unfortunately, the statue and shaft began to droop after the turn of the century and was eventually removed. Only the base remains today (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1887).*

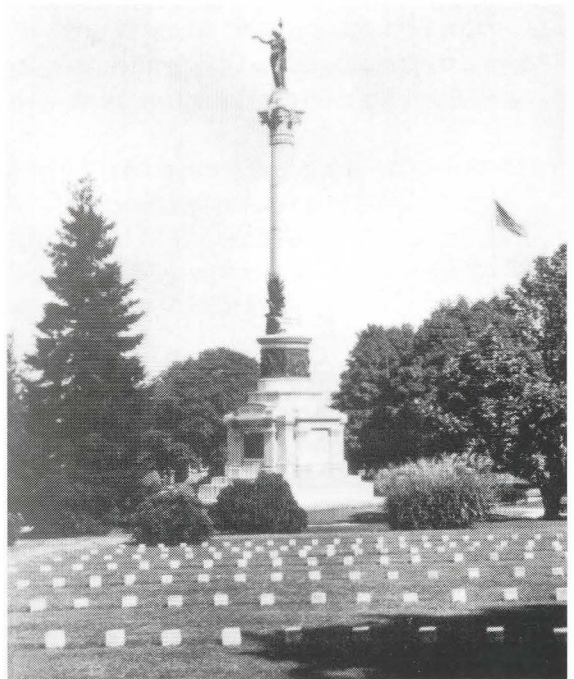


**Figure 6. Soldiers' National Cemetery Plan, c. 1864.** *William Saunders designed the national cemetery at Gettysburg to be isolated from town. His 1864 plan called for evergreen trees and hedge to line the entire perimeter, deciduous trees to dot the interior grounds, and Norway maples to serve as backdrop to the semicircle of graves on its south side. The cemetery had only one entrance until 1891 (NPS, Soldiers' National Cemetery Commission Report).*





**Figure 7. The Soldiers' National Cemetery, c. 1890.** *The national cemetery at Gettysburg was the nation's first, and it was intended for interment of Union Soldiers only. The photo shows how this once barren hill was being transformed into a beautifully landscaped shrine by 1895. Note the 107-foot flagpole, which could be seen from all points of the battlefield. A century ago, the Soldier's National Cemetery was designed to be the centerpiece to the park and it was the most visited spot on the field (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1893).*



**Figure 8. New York State Monument, Soldiers' National Cemetery, c. 1900.** *New York placed this 60 foot high classical monument in the national cemetery in 1893. Gravel paths were constructed to lead visitors to the monument and its prominence rivaled the Soldiers' National Monument (ACHS).*



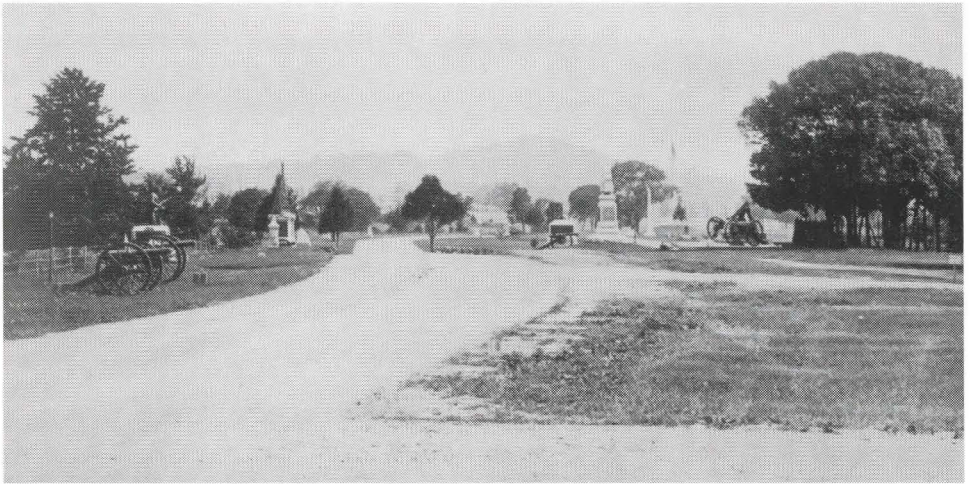


**Figure 9. Entrance to Hancock Avenue, 1896.** *Hancock Avenue was first surveyed and created in 1882, and named in 1887. Its popularity both inspired and benefitted from the back entrance of the Soldiers' National Cemetery added in 1891, giving cemetery visitors easier access to the remainder of the battlefield. Note the stone wall along the left side of the avenue. Used by Union soldiers during the battle, the GNPC reconstructed this and other stone walls around the park which had deteriorated since 1863. The standing oaks in the background are Ziegler's Grove (GNPC, Annual Reports).*

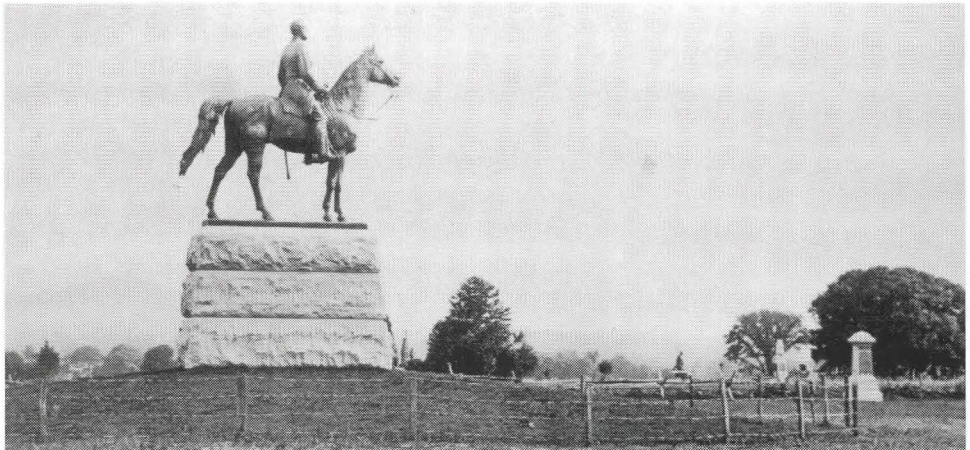


**Figure 10. Ziegler's Grove Observation Tower, 1897.** *GNP Engineer Emmor Cope constructed this fifth tower at the center of the battlefield in 1896. The park removed it in 1961 to make room for the present Cyclorama building. The original four towers were placed at points on the perimeter of the park in 1895. Note the freshly planted trees. The GNPC hoped to restore Ziegler's Grove and other forests on the field damaged and denuded by souvenir-cane hunters and local farmers (GNPC, Annual Reports).*



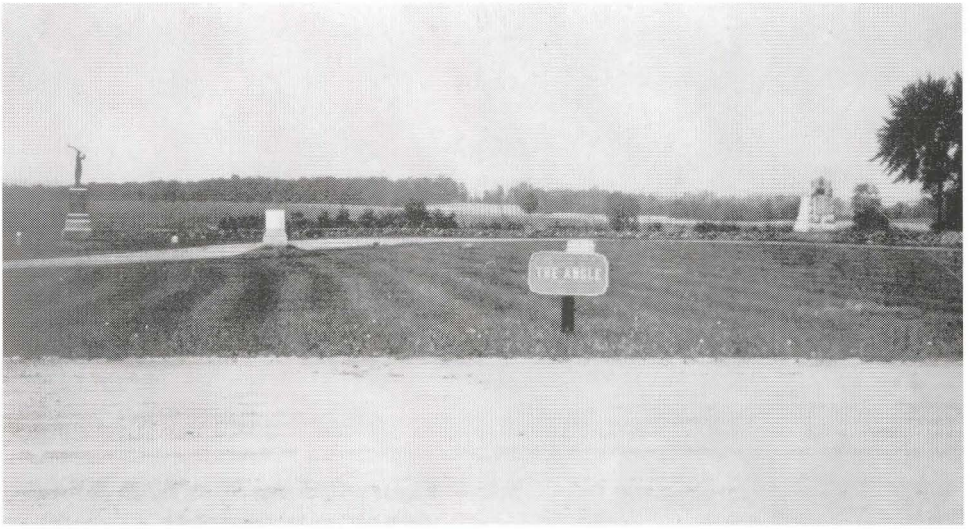


**Figure 11. Hancock Avenue, c. 1895.** *This Tipton photograph of Hancock Avenue looking south from Webb Avenue entrance shows over a dozen new monuments visible. Note the post and wire avenue fencing along the left edge of the photograph, the neatly pruned trees along the avenue, and the iron fence around the Copse of Trees on the right. The shine and wealth of the monuments, the care of the grounds, and the fencing added to the sacredness of the park and humbled visitors as they passed through this apparent outdoor museum (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1895).*



**Figure 12. Equestrian Statue to Union Commanding General George Meade, Hancock Avenue, c. 1896.** *Meade's equestrian statue, dedicated in 1896, was the second erected at Gettysburg, the year after Hancock's equestrian statue. Note that visitors cannot approach the statue because it is surrounded by post-and-wire fencing. Also note that all four feet of Meade's horse are firmly planted on the pedestal. The tradition of four legs on the pedestal signifying the rider survived battle unscathed, three legs signifying the rider was wounded, and two legs signifying the rider's death was not intended by the early sculptors of the equestrian statues at Gettysburg (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1896).*





**Figure 13. The Angle, 1900.** *The GNMP identified key battleground with iron tablets such as the one pictured here. Visitors to the Angle, where Pickett's Charge was turned back, could loop out to a recently reconstructed stone wall and pass by the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry monument at left background. The veterans of the 72nd had placed this monument in 1891 after a three-year court battle with the GBMA which wanted to prevent monuments from cluttering the key ground here (GNPC, Annual Reports).*



**Figure 14. Posing at the High Water Mark Memorial, Hancock Avenue, 1899.** *The High Water Mark Memorial, behind these visitors, lists Confederate and Union forces engaged during Pickett's Charge. The monument was placed in 1892 to acknowledge Confederate forces and to promote Gettysburg to southerners as the Confederacy's high tide. Its placement popularized the Copse of Trees as the objective of Pickett's Charge (ACHS, Tipton, 1899).*



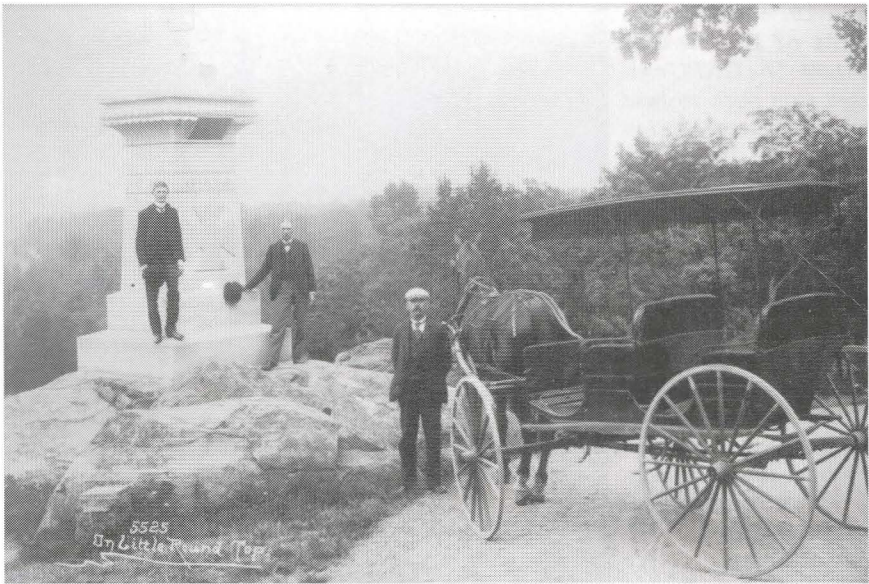


**Figure 15. First Minnesota Infantry monument, Hancock Avenue, c. 1893.** *Erected in 1893, the monument commemorates the heroic action of the First Minnesota soldiers on 2 July 1863. Note that the monument statue depicts the regiment's soldiers rather than its commander (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1893).*

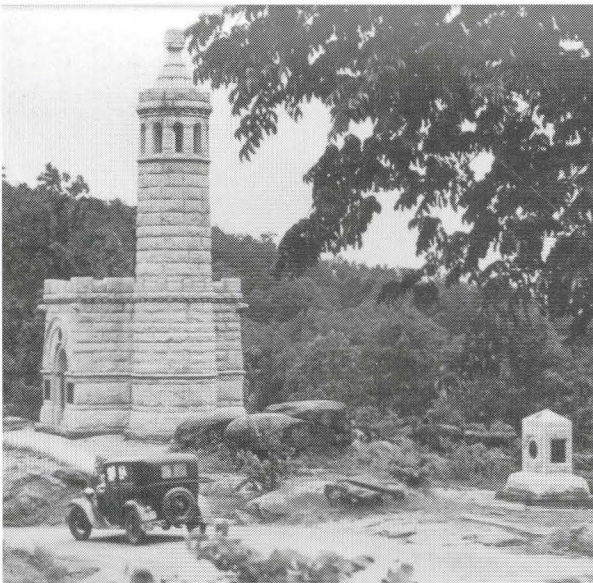


**Figure 16. Pipe-Rail Fencing along United States Avenue, 1896.** *The GNPC fenced the park's property beginning in 1895. Visitors were not allowed to traipse across the fields of battle as they can today. Most fields were still privately owned by local farmers (GNPC, Annual Reports).*





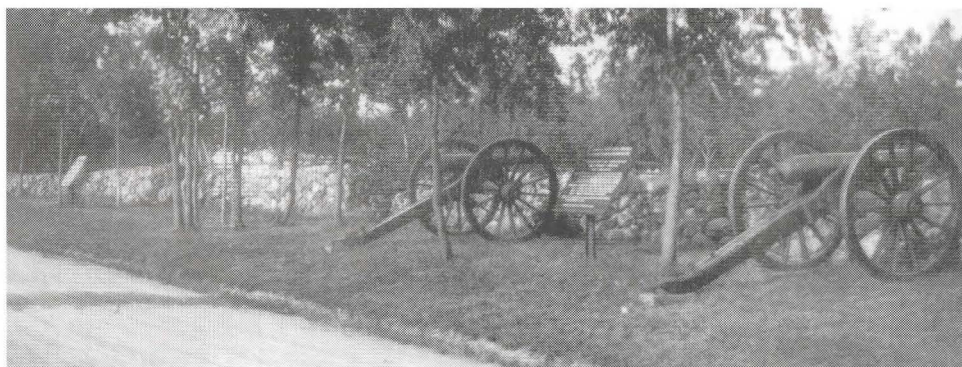
**Figure 17. The North Loop of Sykes Avenue, Little Round Top, c. 1900.** After the GNPC constructed Sykes Avenue in 1897, visitors and veterans could easily travel to the 155th PA Monument, pictured here, and view the Valley of Death from their carriage or vehicle. The NPS removed this loop in 1936 (ACHS, Williams, c. 1900).



**Figure 18. The South Loop of Sykes Avenue, Little Round Top, c. 1930.** This was the southern of two loop overlooks atop Little Round Top constructed in 1897. It took visitors to the castle monument placed by the 44th and 12th New York Infantry veterans and afforded visitors an excellent view of Devil's Den and the Valley of Death from their carriage or vehicle. The GNPC constructed new telford roads, bridges, and retaining walls throughout the park to give visitors easy access to all key battlefield sites. Park road construction began in 1894 and heightened the popularity of the Round Tops, Seminary Ridge, and other rough terrain spots in the park considerably (ACHS).

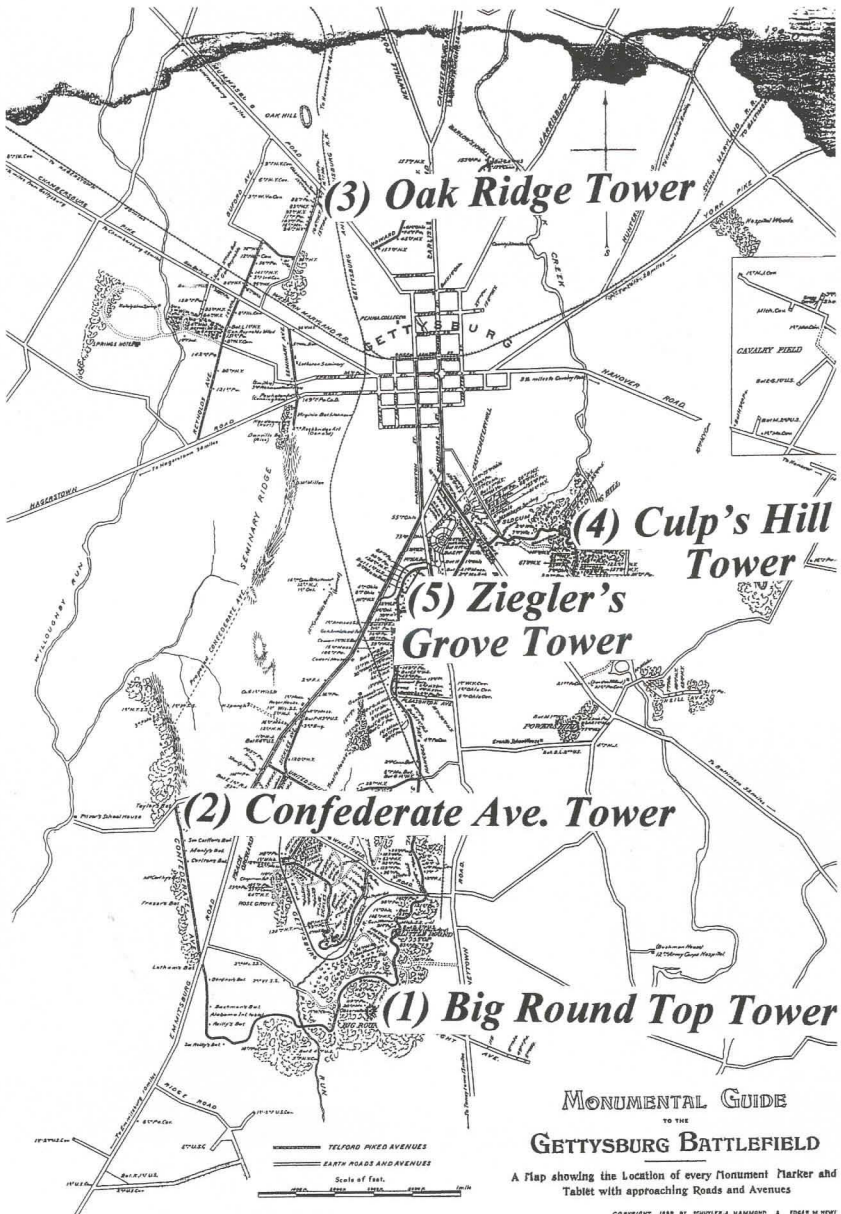


**Figure 19. Path to the Summit of Big Round Top, 1899.** *The GNPC constructed this path to lead visitors along the Union defense works lining the north slope of Big Round Top. The trail went all the way to the summit where stood a 60 foot observation tower. Note the oversized cannon balls on stone pedestals flanking the trail's entrance. The GNPC placed hundreds of these ornaments around the park. They were to line the roads, mark entrances and decorate the battlefield (GNPC, Annual Reports).*

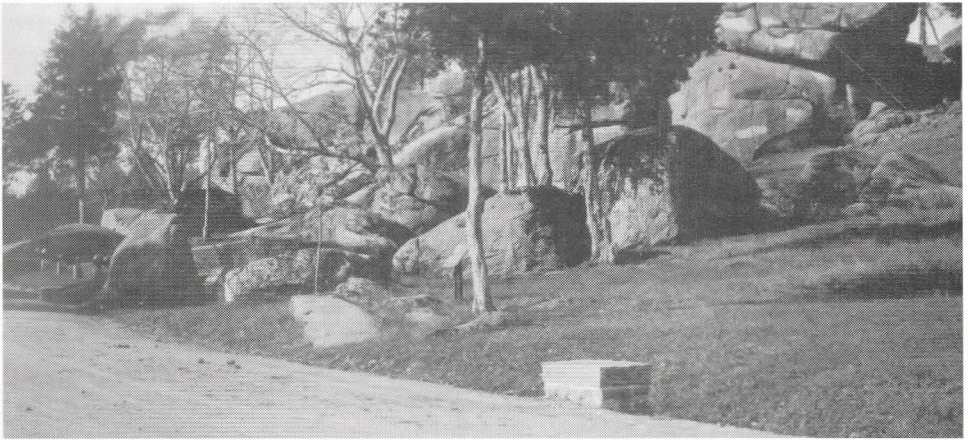


**Figure 20. Confederate Avenue, 1900.** *GNP Commissioner William Robbins, a Confederate veteran, oversaw the construction of Confederate Avenue and the restoration of the Confederate battle line beginning in 1895. Note the cannon and iron tablets marking Confederate forces along this avenue. These were virtually the only structures to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia on the field in 1900. No southern state erected a monument on the field until 1917 (Virginia). Robbins authored the iron tablets, which marked Confederate positions and described Confederate activities during the battle. The tablets were placed at the request of the War Department, not because of mass public sentiment, and were the first significant forms to promote the Confederate role at Gettysburg to the public. By 1899, Union and Confederate iron tablets throughout the park numbered 91 (GNPC, Annual Reports).*

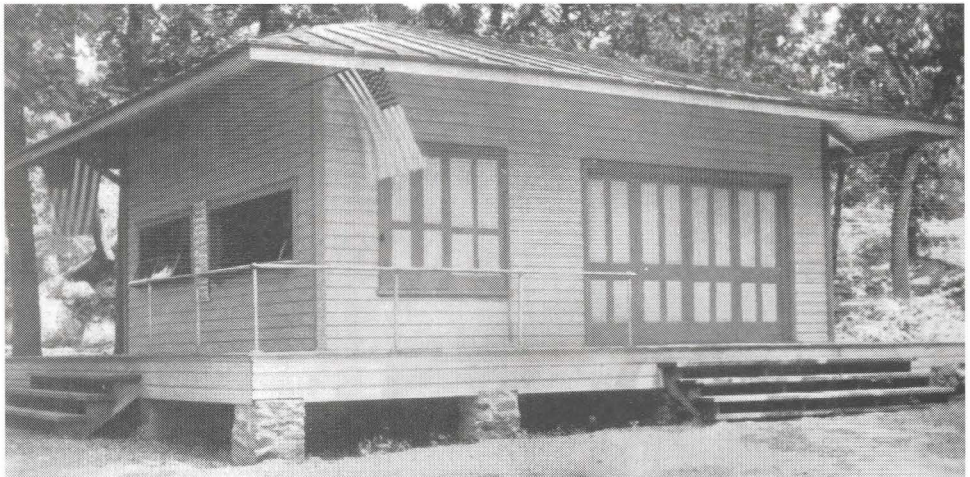




**Figure 21. The War Department Observation Towers, 1899.** Towers one, two, three, and four were constructed in 1895. A property dispute may have prevented tower four from being placed farther north nearer the center of the ridge, which in turn may have prompted Commissioner Cope's decision to construct tower five the following year to afford visitors and military students a view of the fields where Pickett's men charged. Today, only towers two and four remain intact (ACHS, S. Hammond, 1899).

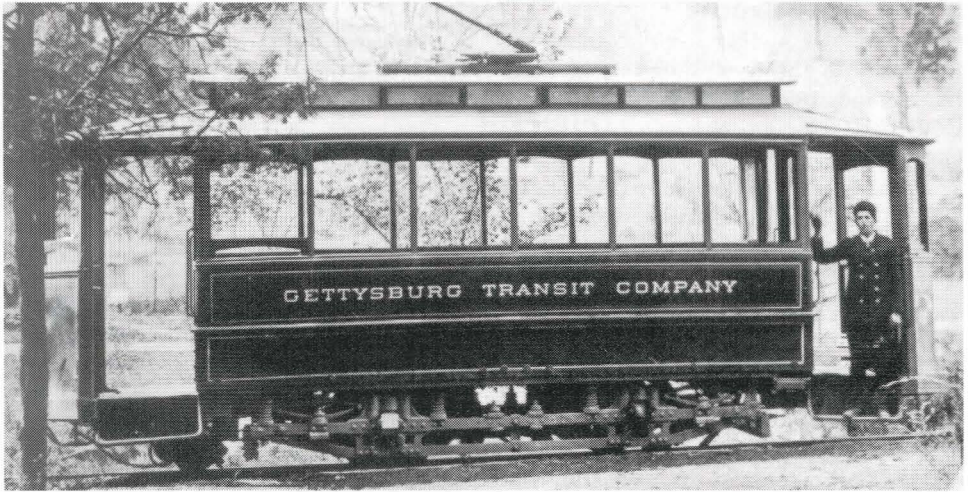


**Figure 22. Devil's Den, c. 1898.** *The ornamental cannonball-and-chain fence, pictured at left, added to the impressiveness and sacredness of the den by showcasing the site. Gettysburg's popularity had risen steadily after the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the battle and the GNPC erected this ornamental fencing along with hitching rails at Devil's Den as well as hitching rails at Culp's Hill to accommodate visitors. Such decorations and accommodations suggested these sites were among the most popular in the park outside of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Also note the chisel patches on the large boulders pictured at right. The den's popularity attracted visitors who carved their names into the rocks, but the GNPC removed the engravings in 1895 (ACHS, Tipton, c. 1898).*



**Figure 23. Restaurant Stand at Tipton's Park, Devil's Den, 1903.** *Local photographer William Tipton purchased this stand across from Devil's Den and built a dance house and photo studio nearby to create Tipton's Park in 1893. The Gettysburg Electric Railway brought thousands of visitors to the den and Tipton's Park to get their picture taken and have fun until the GNPC condemned Tipton's property in 1903. The trolleys continued to operate through here until 1916, but the buildings were removed (GNPC Annual Reports).*





**Figure 24. A Battlefield Trolley Car, c. 1900.** *Seven electric-powered trolley cars took tourists around to various parts of the Gettysburg Battlefield between 1893 and 1916. The trolley cars were all named for Union generals at Gettysburg—Meade, Reynolds, Hancock, Sickles, Sykes, Howard, and Slocum. This early trolley car was photographed near Devil's Den where trolleys frequently took passengers to picnic and have fun among the rocks and at Tipton's Park. The GNPC condemned the railway in 1917 and removed the tracks the following year which were sent to France for the war effort (NPS).*

## Notes

1. Schuyler A. Hammond, "Monumental Guide to the Gettysburg Battlefield" (Hammond, 1899), Map on file at Adams County Historical Society (ACHS) in Gettysburg, PA.

2. Turn-of-the-century maps and photos of Gettysburg National Military Park landscape are abundant at the ACHS and GNMP in Gettysburg. I found the 1899 map and the GNMP photos reprinted in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893-1904* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1905) essential to my research. The 1899 map remained quintessential for placing the randomly-taken photos of the park into context. In addition, a detailed reading of the reports that accompanied the photos proved a must for understanding the park's administration and landscape circa 1899; however, these records were not complete. I found Reed Engle's "Cultural Landscape Report: The Soldiers National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" (1994 manuscript on file at the Gettysburg National Military Park Library) and Harlan Unrau's *Administrative History: Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1991) to be indispensable supplements.

3. Monuments at Gettysburg have merited the most attention. Two of the finest works are Wayne Craven's *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (Eastern Acorn Press, 1982) and Fred Hawthorne's *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments as Told by Battlefield Guides* (the Association of Licensed Battlefield Guides, 1988). Another exceptional work that places the monuments at Gettysburg into the larger context of Civil War memorial decoration is Michael Panhorst's dissertation "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1988). These three

sources provided thorough detail on the architects, sculptors, and ideas behind most Gettysburg monuments.

For works on the popular image and meaning of Gettysburg leading up to 1899, I found four sources stood out. Amy Kinsel's dissertation "From These Honored Dead: Gettysburg in American Culture, 1863-1938" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1992) and John Patterson's "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground: Gettysburg as Historic Site" in *History Museums in the United States*, ed. Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989): 128-157, provided good coverage of popular interpretations of Gettysburg and how the battlefield was influenced by and influential of these interpretations. Because southern sentiments toward Gettysburg proved a key element to the park's administrative goals in 1899, I turned to Thomas Connelly's *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) and William Piston's *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant: James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987).

4. Although popular contemporary landscaping notions, theory, and ideals certainly influenced the Gettysburg National Military Park's design, there is little documentation. *The Avery Index* of landscape and architecture sources provided few pieces on Gettysburg. I then examined various landscape and architecture journals including *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects*, *The Architectural Record*, *American Architect and Building News*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *Landscape*, *Landscape Journal*, and *Landscape Architecture*, and found a few articles on the Gettysburg National Military Park, but none that pertained to the park's design at the turn of the twentieth century. Books on the nine-



teenth-century park landscaping ideals, on influential designers such as Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, and on influential events such as the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, are of some use for understanding general park designs at the turn-of-the-century. Still, these few sources aside, the best evidence on the battlefield's conceptual origins is limited to reports and documents by the battlefield's immediate designers: the War Department and its GNMPC, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA), and numerous veterans' associations who placed monuments at Gettysburg.

5. My themes of battlefield landscape design and display are based on several readings, notably Kenneth Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997; Edward Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Kinsel, "Gettysburg in American Culture"; Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture."

6. Few scholarly works address the underlying notion that landscape is both a reflection of perceptions and a force in their formulation. Notable exceptions include Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 5-6; Patrick McGreevy, *Imagining Niagara* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Siman Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1995); Richard Schein, "The Place of Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, 87 (1997), 660-680.

7. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 51-54.

8. Unrau, *Administrative History*, 70-74. The original GNMPC formed in 1893 did not include William Robbins and Charles Richardson. Robbins replaced the original Confederate veteran on the commission, William H. Forney, after Forney's death in 1894. In 1895, Richardson replaced the late

Commissioner John Bachelder, who died in December 1894.

9. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 21, 59.

10. William Frassanito, *Gettysburg: Then and Now, Touring the Battlefield with Old Photos, 1863-1889* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1996), 39.

11. Ary Lamme, *America's Historic Landscapes: Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 154.

12. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: Then and Now*, 42.

13. William Frassanito, *The Gettysburg Then and Now Companion* (Gettysburg, PA.: Thomas Publications, 1997), 48.

14. GBMA, *Minutes Book of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association* (copy transcribed by Kathleen R. Georg, on file at Gettysburg National Military Park Library), 147-8, 166-7.

15. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 169.

16. A detailed paper on the beginnings of the Soldiers' National Cemetery is Kathleen R. Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise': The Origins of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association" (1982), Manuscript on file at the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

17. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 13.

18. *Ibid.*, 118.

19. Unrau, *Administrative History*, 16.

20. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 118.

21. *Ibid.*, 45.

22. John Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What to See and How to See It* (New York: Lee, Shephard and Dillingham, 1873), 115-117.

23. The National Park Service at Gettysburg now recognizes that Lincoln did not speak where the Soldiers' National Monument stands. See Frederick Tilberg, "Location of Lincoln's Platform," *Pennsyl-*

*vania History*, 40 (1973), 179-191.

24. Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture," 159.

25. Robert Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, PA.: Adams County Historical Society, 1992), 458.

26. William Saunders, "Landscape Gardening," in Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1869 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1870).

27. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 97-99.

28. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments*, 134.

29. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 191.

30. *Ibid.*, 149-157.

31. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What to See*, 110.

32. Engle, "Soldiers' National Cemetery," 155, 193.

33. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 52.

34. Unknown diarist, 12-16 July 1889, diary on file at Gettysburg National Military Park Library, File 11-50: Early Visitation.

35. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 30.

36. Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 135.

37. Gary Adelman and Timothy Smith, *Devil's Den: A History and Guide* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1997), 78-79.

38. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 30.

39. Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture," 63-80.

40. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 52.

41. Craven, *Sculptures at Gettysburg*, 52.

42. John P. Nicholson, ed., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg: Ceremonies at the Dedication of Monuments* (Harrisburg, Pa.: William Stanley Ray, 1914), 1:416-417.

43. Unknown diarist, 12-16 July 1889.

44. John Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: Then and Now* (New York: G. W. Dillingham,

1899), 388.

45. Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 129-131.

46. Connelly, *The Marble Man*, 123-140; Amy Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial: A Cultural Legacy," in *The Gettysburg Nobody Knows*, ed. Gabor Boritt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 214-215; Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge: In History and Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

47. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 37.

48. Frederick Hawthorne, "A History of the Gettysburg Battlefield Guides" (1996), manuscript on file at the Gettysburg National Military Park Library. For an excellent account of early guiding at Gettysburg, see James Wensyel, "Tales of a Gettysburg Guide," *American Heritage*, 45.2 (1994), 104-113.

49. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments*, 81.

50. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 21.

51. *Ibid.*, 37.

52. See Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: Then and Now*, for discussions on the paths and other work done by the GBMA.

53. For photos of the wooden observation towers atop Big Round Top and East Cemetery Hill, see William H. Tipton Photograph Collection, ACHS, Gettysburg, PA.

54. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 54 (see photo "Stone Wall Rebuilt along Sedgwick Avenue" accompanying report).

55. For the best discussion on the Gettysburg Electric Railway at the park, see Adelman and Smith, *Devil's Den*, 83-91.

56. W. Dandy, "Map Showing Sites For Proposed Monuments or Tablets, Marking Positions of Regular Troops, U.S. Army, and Exhibiting Lines of Proposed Avenues and Roads Thereto, on the Battle-field of Gettysburg, PA." (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1890), map on file at ACHS, Gettysburg, PA.

57. The GNPC requested \$100,000 from the War Department for its annual budget



in 1899. See GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 54.

58. Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Men and Monuments*, 57.

59. Adelman and Smith, *Devil's Den*, 7.

60. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 15. See also Unrau, *Administrative History*, 75.

61. Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture," 251-5.

62. Discussions of early park vandalism are brief and scattered. See Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: Then and Now*.

63. Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture," 172-173.

64. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 34. See photos accompanying 1896 annual report that document the damage on the field created by a storm on 30 September 1896.

65. Timothy H. Smith, licensed battlefield guide, interview by author, GNMP, 24 June 1997.

66. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 21.

67. The descriptive plaques on the deck of the Confederate Avenue observation tower are still there today.

68. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 23.

69. *Ibid.*, 38-39.

70. Unrau, *Administrative History*, 70-74; Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 131.

71. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 52.

72. Panhorst, "Monuments and Memorial Sculpture," 41-80.

73. David G. Martin, *Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg* (Highstown, N.J.: Longstreet Press, 1986), 12-15. See also Unrau, *Administrative History*, 95; Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 130-131.

74. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 29, 51-52.

75. Compass maps are still found on the

decks of the Confederate Avenue and Culp's Hill observation towers at Gettysburg.

76. Wensyel, "Tales of a Gettysburg Guide," 107.

77. Patterson, "From Battle Ground To Pleasure Ground," 129-135.

78. For a discussion on Gettysburg tourbooks and circulars in the 1890s, see Julian Ralph, "Gettysburg Battle-field," *Harper's Weekly*, 36 (1892): 686. For the GNMP's claim of Gettysburg as best marked battlefield, see GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 54.

79. John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

80. Veteran pilgrimages attracted much press. See for example, L. P. Paris, O. O. Howard, Henry Slocum, and Abner Doubleday, "Gettysburg Thirty Years; the Reunion of 1890," *North American Review*, 152 (1891), 129-147.

81. An excellent discussion on the tradition of name engraving at Devil's Den is found in Adelman and Smith, *Devil's Den*, 97-102.

82. For discussion on Tipton's Park, see Adelman and Smith, *Devil's Den*, 86-90. For an example of public outcry against the Gettysburg Electric Railway and Tipton's Park, see John Reed Scott, "The Gettysburg Desecration," *Harper's Weekly* 37 (1893): 620-22. For coverage of the GNPC's case to condemn the railway and park, see two sources: GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 15, 52; Unrau, *Administrative History*, 75-6.

83. GNMPC, *Annual Reports*, 51-65.