




2010

Adams County History 2010

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Adams County History 2010

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ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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Cover Illustration: The bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor as it appeared in *The History of the Civil War in America* by John S. C. Abbott, 1867.

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ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



2010

Volume 16

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Statement of Purpose

The Adams County Historical Society is committed to the preservation of the social, political, and religious history of the county and to the promotion of the study of history. Expressing its commitment, the society maintains museum displays a valuable library of publications, and manuscript material which includes estate papers, deed books, land surveys, and newspapers. In addition, it publishes important historical studies and reprints of earlier studies on Adams County, a newsletter, and a journal.

The editorial board of *Adams County History* encourages and invites the submission of essays and notices reflecting the rich history of Adams County. Submission should be typed double spaced and available in a pc compatible word processing format. Contributors should include a hardcopy and electronic copy of their work on a CD-ROM. Generally, style should conform to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Contributors should retain copies of the typescript submitted. If return is desired, a self-addressed envelope with postage should be included.

Submissions and inquires should be addressed to:

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Editor's Note

A half century passes quickly! Fifty years ago the editor of this journal was an eleven year old caught up in Civil War Centennial fever. Begging my parents to take him to Gettysburg (they didn't), signing up as a charter subscriber of *Civil War Times Illustrated*, and reading all the Lincoln books I could get my hands infringed on time normally spent with schoolwork and sports. The Civil War Centennial was a big deal!

We expect the Sesquicentennial will be a pretty big deal also, especially here in Adams County, the mecca of Civil War commemoration. The next four years are going to be exciting times for Adams Countians and the Adams County Historical Society in particular, as the annual wave of tourists (including a new batch of eleven year old Civil War enthusiasts) will sweep into Gettysburg in larger numbers than ever. The Society's big plans for these years, culminating in the full renovation of Schmucker Hall, are aptly described in Brad Hoch and Gerald Christianson's essay for this number of *Adams County History*. As Hoch and Christianson describe it, the historic structure from whose cupola General John Buford famously observed the Confederates advance west towards Gettysburg will be transformed into a modern museum that complements the interpretation at the visitor center just outside of town. It seems easy to imagine that the new version of Schmucker Hall will become a must-stop for thousands of visitors to Gettysburg—and a wonderful enhancement to the Seminary campus.

Today tourists "invade" Gettysburg most seasons of the year. Back in 1861, with the firing on Fort Sumter and President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops to suppress the southern insurrection, Gettysburg residents were aware of another potential invasion, with the potential to cause havoc. As Tim Smith's detailed and patient recitation of the immediate aftermath Lincoln's call for troops shows, Gettysburg was overtaken by rumor and panic. Southern troops, plug-uglies from Baltimore and other bad characters seemed en route to Gettysburg, with no good intent.

As a consequence the able bodied community prepared to meet the potential danger and braced for the worst—which, of course, never came. It's a fascinating story, told with panache by drawing heavily on accounts in daily newspapers of the time and other pertinent primary sources.

Rounding out this issue of Adams County history are two non-Civil War related items. The first, a study of one street in Gettysburg during the year 1910, is part of a broader project to provide a historical "map" of Gettysburg in the 20th century, as part of the historical methods course at Gettysburg College. Drawing on Census Records, the Sanborn Fire Map, newspaper articles and other relevant sources Danielle Hiss and Megan Gray describe the people and activities relevant to a vibrant county seat at the end of the first full decade of the twentieth century. Pre-eminently a walking town, Gettysburg was a place where people lived "above the shop," walked to church and social activities, and where virtually all material needs could be accommodated within the borough's confines. The work Hiss and Gray did, like that of their peers, adds a new dimension to our understanding of Gettysburg a century ago. The project has continued, with the full support of the Society's staff, and you are likely to see more fruits of student work in these pages in the future.

We offer a follow-up to Larry Bolin's original exploration in these pages of one of those "inevitable" questions of history: did the great man stop in our community? In this case, the great man was George Washington, the year was 1794, and the issue was not so much whether Washington slept here as whether he stopped here. Larry Bolin has unearthed a new source, a memoir by Jacob Eyster, which suggests the first president did indeed pass through Adams County on his return to the national capital in Philadelphia after dealing with the Whiskey Rebels. Eyster's recollection cannot be called definitive. But it is fair to say in the context of Larry Bolin's ongoing research effort that a preponderance of evidence now favors the notion that the father of our country set foot in Adams County during his presidency.

Our final item is David Preston's thoughtful review of James P. Myers' new book on Thomas Bartram in the Pennsylvania backcountry. Adams County Readers will notice the local history connection. Enjoy!

Michael Birkner
2010

“The Last Full Measure of Devotion”:

The Battle of Gettysburg and the New Museum in Schmucker Hall

Bradley R. Hoch and Gerald Christianson

A Sense of Place

Schmucker Hall offers an unprecedented opportunity to interpret the role of religion in the Civil War and the American experiment in democracy. In particular it can give palpable expression to major themes in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address concerning the battle itself, the conflict as a time of testing, the sacrifices of those who fought here, and the hope these sacrifices bring to the young nation for a new birth of freedom.

Built in 1832 and named for an abolitionist and founder of Gettysburg Seminary, Samuel Simon Schmucker, it is the original structure on the oldest continuously-operating Lutheran seminary in the United States, and many say it is the most significant Civil War building in America still in private hands. Thus, Gettysburg Seminary has a place and it has a man to interpret significant aspects of the Civil War in ways that no other museum, including a government agency such as the National Park Service (NPS), can do.

Schmucker Hall testifies to the vast influence of religion in nineteenth-century American society – an influence that is hardly imaginable to citizens today. Yet, Schmucker Hall offers more than a survey of the nineteenth-century religious landscape. On a single day in July 1863, the building was engulfed in a cataclysm of mayhem and death. In one of the tragic ironies of American history, Schmucker Hall witnessed service to humankind in the midst of violence and unparalleled acts of kindness in an arena of monumental killing. Rather than hide from these ambiguities, the museum can engage and illuminate them. With its stature as the best-recognized symbol of the best-known battlefield in

America, Schmucker Hall speaks quietly and eloquently of recurring themes apparent throughout human history.

- As a witness to the decisive First Day's Battle that culminated in a desperate struggle on the seminary grounds, Schmucker Hall provides a sense of place that is all-important to visitors.
- It also gives a sense of place as a hospital where Union and Confederate doctors tended Union and Confederate soldiers. Although the NPS emphasizes the care of the wounded in its new Visitor Center, it cannot surround visitors with an actual hospital as it tells the stories of pain and suffering, tending and caring.

However, Schmucker Hall was not originally a hospital, nor a home, church, meeting house, or town hall. It was a theological seminary, dedicated to the study of the gospel of love where, since its founding in 1826, students and faculty had engaged in issues of peace, justice, and mercy. The contrast between a dormitory and hospital room did not escape Seminary graduate Rev. Franklin Schantz who returned to assist the wounded after the battle. "I visited the many sick and wounded in the building," Schantz wrote. "I read Scripture Lessons and prayed with many of the men. What different scenes from those of the two years I spent as a student in the building."

Religion, Slavery, and the Coming of Civil War

From a still wider perspective, Schmucker Hall reflects religious responses to three highly contentious issues in American society as it became embroiled in Civil War—slavery, war, and death. Strong religious convictions such as those expressed by Pastor Schantz penetrated deeply into the landscape of pre-Civil War America. Circuit riders and stump preachers on the frontier, and revivalists in towns and cities testified to vigor that is often overlooked or underestimated. Roughly forty percent of the total population was sympathetic to evangelical Christianity, making it the most significant subculture in American society. Many more people attended church each Sunday than voted in the 1860 presidential election. And the vast majority of American institutions of higher education –

including Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary – were owned by religious organizations.

The most controversial question of the day was as deep-seated in this religious landscape as it was divisive. Was slavery ordained by God as testified in the Bible (e.g. Genesis 17:13 and Colossians 3:22) and, if so, were those who opposed it heretics, even ungodly atheists? This view could only be strengthened when several abolitionists abandoned Christianity because of the insistence on a literal Biblical defense of slavery. On the other hand, was the institution an abomination, condemned by higher biblical principles of mercy and justice? The controversy became so heated that in 1844 it split three of America's largest denominations, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, into separate Northern and Southern churches and reverberated throughout the land, dividing families, communities, and friends.

- By raising the divisive consequences of slavery on American religion and culture, Schmucker Hall can help visitors understand the civil rights struggle from Reconstruction to Martin Luther King and Barak Obama. It can also clarify how the politics of exclusion are still with us today, as is the confusion created by quoting scriptures to support or oppose any political party, candidate, or policy.
- The slavery question can be addressed with considerable force from the viewpoint of President Schmucker, a man far more well-known than students of the Civil War commonly suppose. He was ahead of his time, even ahead of his church – an abolitionist who had written on the evils of slavery and even harbored slaves. It was no accident that his was the only private home in Gettysburg deliberately ransacked by Confederate forces. But ambiguity was woven into the American character. Even though Schmucker himself hid runaways in his barn, his wife's slaves remained under his authority for many years – as at least one of them refused his freedom.

The desire of religious people to aid those who sought to flee oppression in the face of legal and physical threats can be seen within the context of apocalyptic sentiments such as those expressed by a slave named Aunt Aggy. She had witnessed the beating given by her master to her daughter Caroline and recalled after the war, "I allers knowed it was a-comin.' I allers heerd de rumblin' o' de wheels. I allers 'spected to see white folks heaped up dead. An' de Lor,' He's kept His promise, an' 'venged His people, jes' as I knowed He would."

Religion, War, and Death

As the war progressed, American Christians had to rethink another issue: the command, "Thou shalt not kill." While Southerners might overcome the prohibition in the belief that they were on a crusade, fighting to maintain the Biblical defense of slavery, Northerners might assure themselves that they were defending the "last, best hope of earth" as declared by Abraham Lincoln.

Religion also contributed to resolving the disturbing anxiety over what meaning could be derived from the staggering losses in the Civil War by emphasizing the art of dying. The idea of a good death reaches back at least to the fifteenth century but as the long lists of the dead on both sides continued to roll in, the ritual of how to pray and how to die, especially with a firm faith, took on a new urgency. Wounded soldiers often attempted to follow these rituals when they wrote to offer comfort to their families. Nurses and volunteers did their part by providing evidence of a good death by writing letters to the grief-stricken back home and by eyewitness testimony to the relatives who came to search for their dead.

As the North began to grapple with the question of whether to punish the enemy or reconcile with fellow Americans, religion again played its part with the assertion that both North and South shared a common legacy: a "last full measure" of suffering and loss. After the war, a nation reunited by meaningful sacrifice became a significant factor in numerous celebrations of remembrance. Schmucker Hall contributed to this reconciliation during the fiftieth anniversary of the battle in 1913 when it was given a peace portico in recognition of its role.

Schmucker Hall and War

On July 1, 1863, these issues – slavery, war, death – came dramatically and violently to Gettysburg when Schmucker Hall became the epicenter of a heroic struggle for the future of the nation. From the cupola General John Buford of the Union cavalry scouted the advance of the Confederate army from the west. As the attack broke through late in the day, the Union army's last desperate line of defense was a breastwork in front of, and a row of cannon adjacent to, the building. General Abner Doubleday later said that the United States was saved that day by the determined Union defense around the seminary, providing precious time to set a new defensive line on Cemetery Ridge. Had Lee advanced unimpeded, he would have divided the Union corps and marched on Washington.

Doubleday remembered soldiers going into battle with the cry, "We have come to stay," and reflected that many fulfilled their pledge by being buried where they fell. While the battle swirled around Schmucker Hall, the building came to shelter Union and Confederate wounded alike. Errant artillery shells struck the building, endangering the wounded and the medical staff.

In the aftermath of battle, the scene must have been appalling. Union losses on Seminary Ridge were more than 5,700 men. Ellen Orbison Harris of the Philadelphia Ladies Aid Society witnessed the carnage. "The appearance of things here beggars all description," she wrote. "Our dead lie unburied, and our wounded neglected . . . thousands of them are still naked and starving. God pity us! Pity us!" From early July until the middle of September 1863, Schmucker Hall housed more than six hundred wounded Americans. At least seventy died.

Two months later, on the morning of November 19, President Abraham Lincoln set out by carriage from Gettysburg and traveled westward toward Seminary Ridge, probably with his now-famous speech in his pocket. He likely viewed the battlefield from near Schmucker Hall – from here he could see where a favorite, Union General John Reynolds, had died – before returning to the Wills

House and joining the parade to the National Cemetery where he delivered “a few appropriate remarks.”

As no one else in American history, President Lincoln gave voice to the hopes and the paradoxes evident in the young nation when he explored the tragedy of human conflict in his Gettysburg Address. Not only does the language of the address echo the cadences of the King James Bible, the profound convictions it articulated closely parallel the deepest religious themes and images that have come down to us from the Judeo-Christian scriptures: violence and peace, suffering and healing, forgiveness and reconciliation, remembrance and re-dedication to a new future.

Schmucker Hall as Museum

The visitor to Schmucker Hall – the seminary building turned hospital – also encounters these themes and images articulated in the Gettysburg Address:

- Led by the words of Lincoln, “Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure,” the visitor, upon entering, is invited to understand the battle and the building from a new and different perspective that probes for deeper meanings in the conflict and its aftermath.
- With the unparalleled vantage point of the fourth floor and cupola, one can cast a long view over the first day’s battlefield and grasp the brute force needed to resolve the conflict and hear the president summon us to acknowledge “those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.”
- In the third floor rooms adapted to healing Confederates and Federals alike, one can sense the sacrifice in suffering and death as the price of war and appreciate the president’s affirmation that “we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.”
- Finally, in three related areas on the second floor -- dormitory rooms where students studied theology, rooms recalling the Underground Railroad in Adams County, and the open area set aside for remembrance

and reconciliation – we hear Lincoln's plea "that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom . . ."

With the overall experience, the visitor to Schmucker Hall begins to count the cost of the conflict and appreciate its greatest gift – the renewal of hope for a just society. If, as is often said, the Union was forged in Philadelphia, it was preserved in Gettysburg. After "four score and seven years," the young republic found out who it was: a nation "of the people, by the people, for the people."

* * * * *

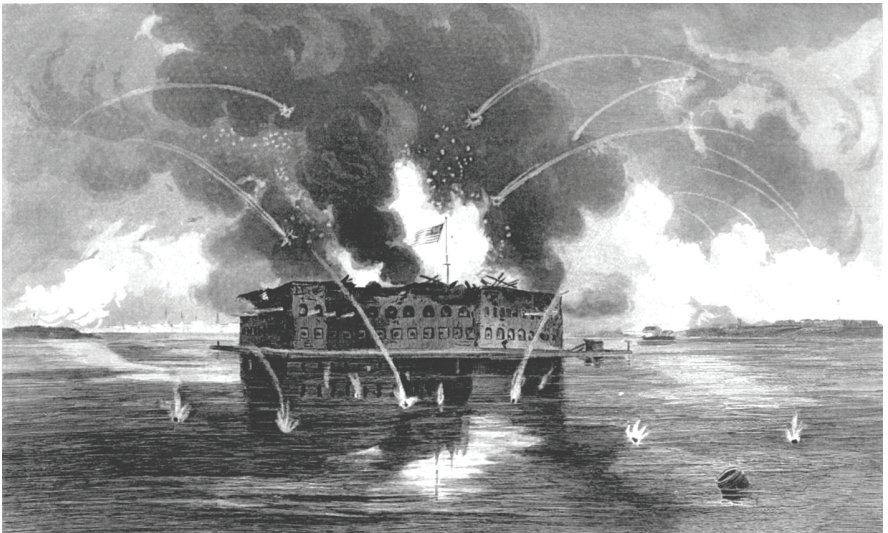
“The First Battle of Gettysburg”

April 22, 1861

By Timothy H. Smith

Part I

The fears of invasion voiced by the residents of south-central Pennsylvania prior to the Gettysburg Campaign are often the subject of ridicule in books and articles written on the battle. But to appreciate the events that occurred during the summer of 1863, it is necessary to understand how the citizens were affected by the constant rumors of invasion during the first two years of the war. And although there were many such scares prior to the battle, nothing reached the level of anxiety that was felt during the first few days of the war. On Monday morning, April 15, 1861, following the surrender of Fort Sumter, Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers from the loyal states to suppress the Rebellion so as to “maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union.”¹ It is clear from reading the



*The Bombardment of Fort Sumter,
From John S. C. Abbott, The History of the Civil War in America, 1867.*

newspapers of the day that prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, there was much division in the North as to the proper response to the secession crisis. But following the surrender of that fort, "the whole country seemed to awaken as from the trouble of a feverish dream." According to Abraham Lincoln's secretary, John G. Nicholay:

Cross-purpose and perplexed counsel faded from the public mind. Parties vanished from politics. Universal opinion recognized but two rallying-points--the camps of the South which gathered to assail the Union, and the armies of the North that rose to defend it. From every Governor of the Free States came a prompt response of readiness to furnish to the President the desired quota of militia. In almost every county of the North was begun the enlistment of volunteers. Meetings, speeches, and parades voiced the public exhortation to patriotism. Flags and badges symbolized an eager and universal loyalty. Munificent individual donations, and subscriptions, and liberal appropriations from State Legislatures and municipal councils, poured forth lavish contributions to arm, clothe, and equip the recruits. More than double the number of men required tendered their service. Before the lapse of forty-eight hours, armed companies and regiments of volunteers were in motion toward the expected border of conflict.²

The response in south-central Pennsylvania was much like that across the entire north. In Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania, the editor of the *Spectator* predicted a long and bloody struggle but gave assurance that the resolve of the northern citizens would see the war through to the end.

The intelligence received here from Baltimore on Saturday and Sunday last by telegraph, announcing the surrender of Fort Sumter, caused an immense excitement among all classes of our citizens. At first it was generally doubted and disbelieved, but on Sunday afternoon about 5 o'clock, a dispatch was received which again asserted that Fort Sumter had surrendered and was in the hands of the Secessionists, which at last convinced many of the truth of the previous dispatches. On Monday a very large number of persons collected at the depot and the post office on the arrival of the train and mails, to hear the confirmation of the surrender of Sumter. Every person now believes that a civil war, the most terrible the world ever saw, has been inaugurated by this uncalled for action of the hot blooded traitors of Charleston; and persons of both parties, Republicans and Democrats, with a few insignificant exceptions denounce the Confederate States in unmeasured terms and declared their intention of standing by the "stars and stripes" at all hazards. Our citizens have never been found wanting in their patriotism and devotion to the Union, and if called upon to fight the battles of the Union, every sword will leap from its scabbard and an enthusiastic and generous response be made. --The war

enthusiasm runs high, and even old, gray haired men feeling the fire of patriotism rekindled in their veins speak of taking up arms, and enlisting under the glorious banner of the Union. We tell the hot-blooded traitors and Secessionists of the South, that a terrible and active war spirit has been created and aroused in the North, which will, if they do not give up their traitorous designs, sweep with the speed of a whirl-wind over the South with fire and sword, and exterminate from the face of the earth, the miserable and cowardly traitors who have dared to strike a blow at the integrity and prosperity of the Federal Union, and which will proudly bear triumphantly aloft the glorious flag of our country, the Stars and Stripes, untarnished and unsullied, and with not a "star obscured nor a single stripe erased."³

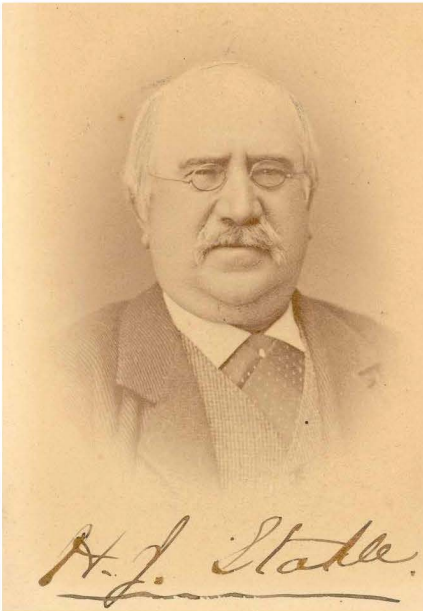
As in any crisis, it is often difficult for the opposition party to support the actions of the president. And with the outbreak of rebellion several Democratic newspapers were quick to say "I told you so." The *Valley Spirit* in nearby Franklin County went so far as to state that "every man who voted for Lincoln voted deliberately and knowingly for a dissolution of the Union."⁴ The *York Gazette* spoke for many Democrats throughout the North in an editorial printed on April 16.

The crisis has been reached and what we have so long feared, Civil War, is commenced. The Republican party after succeeding in electing their sectional candidates, and destroying the Union, have refused all the compromise preferred by the friends of the union North and South, and determined to adhere to the Chicago platform regardless of consequences. Instead of seeking a peaceable solution of our difficulties by compromises and concession, they have chosen the sword and now the extremes of both sections are about to deluge the country with the blood of brothers....The sectionalists of the North have by their anti-compromise course, co-operated with the disunionists of the South. Civil War is now a reality. The worst passions of the people North and South are aroused. God only knows when and where our unhappy fraternal strife shall end.⁵

Even after the firing on Fort Sumter, many Democrats still hoped for a peaceful resolution. But it was evident very quickly that no compromise would be reached. On April 17, the Pennsylvania state legislature adopted resolutions pleading the "faith, credit and resources of the state, in both men and money" in order "to subdue the rebellion" and punish the traitors. The resolutions passed unanimously, every Democrat in the Senate and the House voting in support. And following this event, Democratic newspapers altered the tone of their editorials. According to the *York Gazette*, "The

Democratic Party of Pennsylvania are true to the Union, and will ever defend the National flag from insult and dishonor. A difference of opinion may exist in reference to the policy of the Administration, but since the war has been commenced the Government must be sustained at every hazard and every extremity."⁶ The *Lancaster Intelligencer* gave much the same opinion when it declared, "now that war has commenced--no matter who is at fault--it is the duty of all of our citizens, irrespective of party, to stand by the old flag, with its glorious stars and stripes, and support the government in all proper and legitimate efforts to bring the contest to a successful issue.... We go for our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country."⁷ In Gettysburg, Henry Stahle, editor of the *Democratic Compiler*, also urged his readers to put their political differences aside and rally round the flag.

That we earnestly opposed the election of Abraham Lincoln, as well as his policy since his inauguration, is well known to all readers. We have spared no occasion to urge a peaceful settlement of the country's troubles--a settlement based upon a fair compromise between the two sections. All efforts in that direction, however having failed, and War



being now actually upon the country, the solemn question presents itself, what is our duty in this terrible emergency? Ex-President Buchanan, Ex-President Fillmore, Gen. Cass, Senator Douglas, Senator Bigler, Hon. Wm. Wilkins, and many others of note throughout the North, though differing with the Administration politically, have answered the inquiry, by declaring themselves squarely in favor of sustaining the Government. The same stand is taken, too, by the press of all parties. It is our position. We have a government, to which we owe allegiance, and it is our duty to sustain it. Whilst proclaiming our policy to be for a speedy peace, we will stand by the old flag.⁸

Henry J. Stahle, Editor of the *Gettysburg Compiler*, ACHS.

Even before the president issued his proclamation on June 15, Governor Andrew Curtin had called on the state legislature to appropriate funds for the munitions of war and for the purpose of calling up troops. And as a result, the state was well prepared to answer the President's call.⁹ Upon the firing on Fort Sumter, militia units from all over the state were offering their services to the Governor. Shortly after the call for volunteers, Secretary of War Simon Cameron informed Governor Curtin that Pennsylvania would be called upon to supply sixteen regiments. Two of these regiments were wanted in Washington within three days.¹⁰ In a matter of hours, Curtin had received pledges to fill his quota. But the pledges did not stop and he soon found himself in the awkward position of turning away volunteers.¹¹

For the citizens of Gettysburg, the days following the outbreak of war were filled with "suppressed expectancy, full of bustle and business, preparation for impending war."¹² As soon as the proclamation of the president reached town a meeting was called of the Gettysburg Independent Blues. On the morning of April 16, Charles Henry Buehler, commander of the Blues, traveled to Harrisburg for "information and to make arrangements." Upon his return that evening, another meeting was called and steps were undertaken to prepare the unit in answer to the president's call.¹³

Like many of these volunteer units across the North and South, the Blues were far from a state of readiness for actual combat. Many of these volunteer militia organizations were merely social clubs, where members gathered occasionally to drill. Their primary function was to appear at funerals, parades and Fourth of July picnics, on which occasions the members attended in their brightly colored uniforms and performed their own particular evolution of arms. To belong to such an organization was considered an honor and members of the Independent Blues were among the most respected men of the town.

From an article in the *Star and Banner* it is evident that the Blues numbered less than fifty men at the outbreak of the war. About twenty more joined following the proclamation of the president. And each day thereafter their strength increased until ranks swelled to an estimated 130 to 150 men. When the Blues finally reached the mustering point at York, however, they discovered that the size of each company was limited by the state to 77 men in the ranks. Some of the extra men were able to join up with other companies, but the rest returned home disappointed. The names of all of the men who traveled to York are not known, but the officers and men who were mustered in as Company E, 2nd Pennsylvania are listed in newspapers of the day.¹⁴

Initially, the Blues were expected to report to Harrisburg immediately, however, arrangements were made with the other militia units in the region. On June 17,

Frederick S. Stambaugh of Chambersburg informed Governor Curtin that he had organized a full regiment for immediate service, made up of four companies from Franklin County, four from Cumberland and one each from Fulton and Adams. Upon receipt of this dispatch, the authorities in Harrisburg informed Stambaugh, "You will prepare the men to be ready for marching orders when sent."¹⁵ As it turned out, days would pass before these somewhat organized militiamen were brought into service. At the same time, in a move that is hard to explain, completely unarmed Pennsylvanians were sent on to Baltimore and Washington in response to the president's request for immediate reinforcements.

In the meantime Gettysburg prepared as best it could. On the evening of April 16, Chief Burgess of Gettysburg, Charles H. Buehler who was also commander of the Blues, called for all loyal citizens, irrespective of party differences, to assemble at the Adams County Court House.¹⁶ "At an early hour the large court room was filled to its

utmost capacity, attesting to the fidelity to the Union, and their willingness to stand by its Flag." The meeting was called to order and George Arnold was named President. Vice presidents and secretaries were named, after which local attorney David Wills announced the purpose of the meeting. A committee was then appointed "to draft resolutions expressive to the purpose of the meeting." While this committee was at work the meeting was addressed by the Reverend James Brown of York, who had just returned from South Carolina where he was the president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Newberry, Henry Warren Roth (a student of Pennsylvania College), and David McConaughy, an attorney and much respected member



*Charles Henry Buehler, Captain of the Gettysburg
Independent Blues, ACHS.*

of the community, who had acted as a delegate at the Republican convention in Chicago that had nominated Abraham Lincoln. The committee then returned and the following resolutions were read and accepted.

Whereas, this meeting has been called by the Burgess irrespective of political parties, and whereas, it is the duty of the citizens of this state to give expression to their views and purposes in this emergency, therefore

Resolved, that humiliating as is the present distracted and perilous condition of the country, and however variant may be our views to the causes which have contributed to the present condition of affairs, in the face of the perils now threatening the Republic, it is the duty of every good citizen to forget party feelings and partisan distinctions and to unite in a common effort to maintain the honor, the integrity and the existence of our National Union.

Resolved, that the series of outrages perpetrated in a portion of the Southern States against the rights, honor and integrity of the National Government, commencing with the seizure of Forts, Arsenals, Custom Houses, munitions, and other property of the Union, and culminating in open War in the harbor of Charleston, by the cannonading and capture of a Federal Fortress, protected by the Federal Flag--with the threats of high officials, directing and controlling these movements, to invade and seize the Federal Capital, constitute Rebellion and treason against the Government, and call for prompt and energetic action upon the part of all good citizens in defense of the Government and the National Union.

Resolved, that we hereby tender to the National Government the expression of a firm determination to support it in all lawful efforts to maintain the honor, its dignity and its existence; and in this determination it is our purpose to know no party but fearlessly and boldly to tread the path of duty in defense of a Government the most glorious on earth --under which as a people, in little more than three-fourths of a century, we have risen to distinguished rank among the nations of the earth and in whose continued preservation our dearest interests of the civilized world, are deeply involved.

Resolved, that the gallant defense of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson and his heroic band, amid the fearful cannonading of the batteries by which he was beleaguered, his refusal to strike the flag of his country until compelled by the exhaustion of his men, attest the qualities of true soldier and patriot and demand the grateful recognition of all true and loyal citizens.¹⁷

The same types of meetings were being held in towns and villages all across the North and South. As a result of Lincoln's call for volunteers, Virginians met on April 17 and adopted an ordinance of secession.¹⁸ Federal authorities were fearful that the District of Columbia would soon be attacked. To some extent these fears were justified. There were very few soldiers of United States regular army stationed in the Capital. In early April, rumors were spreading that a force of 500 southerners under the command of Texas Ranger Ben McCulloch was assembling in Virginia in preparation for a raid of the District. Their plans, it was said, included the abduction of the president and his cabinet. To better insure the protection of the city, Lincoln called out the District of Columbia's militia and General Winfield Scott ordered the transfer of several companies of soldiers from the west.¹⁹

Virginia had a strong militia, and in fact, even before it seceded, plans were being made to capture the United States Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Naval Yard near Norfolk.²⁰ In a well publicized speech following the firing on Fort Sumter, Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker made the bold prediction that the Confederate flag would "float over the dome of the old Capital at Washington, before the first day of May." The *Richmond Examiner* of April 13 reported that "nothing is more probable than that President Davis will soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington."²¹ According to the *Reading Gazette and Democrat*:

It was rumored in Washington that there is a Southern force below of twenty thousand men. It is feared an attack will be made in a day or two. Rumor says they will shortly make their appearance on the Georgetown Heights, for the purpose of bombarding the city. The Southern forces, it is said, will be commanded by Jeff. Davis, in person. General consternation prevails.²²

A reporter from the *Evening Post* out of New York, reported on the evening of April 19, "from a reliable source, that Jefferson Davis, at the head of the Confederate army, is within twenty-four hours' march of Washington."²³ Gettysburg was not immune from the flying rumors. According to the *Compiler*:

Virginia has seceded, and seems to have entered actively upon war operations. The act of secession was passed in secret session, in order to accomplish certain military movements. The *Patriot & Union* says it was rumored at Harrisburg on Friday that a large force of Virginians, under ex-Governor [Henry A.] Wise, were on the march to take Washington, and

that "it is impossible to suppress the deepest solicitude for its safety." The city is vulnerable from nearly every direction, surrounded as it is by Virginia and Maryland.²⁴

An editorial in the *Adams Sentinel* warned:

Official advises from Montgomery indicate that the Confederate Congress will, on re-assembling, at once declare war against the United States! They are jubilant with their triumph over Fort Sumter, and are determined to "go ahead." They will march through Virginia, it is said, to attack the North, seize the Capital, and use it as their own. But they have aroused a sleeping lion. The North is a host of indomitable energies, that will sweep them with the besom of destruction if they venture the hostile foot of armed rebels upon our soil. Even now, in our quiet town, whilst writing this, the inspiring sound of martial music is calling our patriots together, to stand up for the government, and its Star - Spangled Banner.²⁵

With the secession of Virginia, it became imperative that Maryland stay loyal to the Union. If that state was lost, the city of Washington would be isolated. Not only would the North lose its capital, but its transportation system would be badly disrupted with the loss of the railroad network into Baltimore.²⁶ For the residents of Pennsylvania, the war suddenly seemed a lot closer than they had expected. Henry Eyster Jacobs of Gettysburg noted that "living only about ten miles from the Mason and Dixon Line, and the position of Maryland being a matter of uncertainty, there was naturally much alarm."²⁷ The line surveyed by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon during the 1760s to settle a dispute between the Penn and Calvert families had for many years been the symbolic border between the North and the South, between free and slave states. And now there was a chance that it would become the border of two separate countries.²⁸

The city of Baltimore, Maryland is located just 50 miles south of Gettysburg. Since the days of early settlement the residents of south central Pennsylvania have had strong economic and social ties with that city. The Baltimore Pike, laid out in 1769, was established prior to the founding of Gettysburg and much of southern Adams County was originally settled by Marylanders migrating northward. Following the American Revolution, the port of Baltimore emerged as an economic powerhouse and by the time of the Civil War it was the third largest city in the United States.

Maryland being a slave state, Baltimore was often considered the northernmost southern city. That fact, coupled with its proximity to Washington D.C., made the city a

convenient meeting place where the differences between political factions of the North and South could be discussed in sort of a middle ground. Baltimore was the site of the Democratic National Convention in 1832, 1836, 1840, 1844, 1848, 1852, and of course, 1860. The Whigs held conventions there in 1831 and 1852, and the Constitution Union Party nominated its candidate there in 1860. With all of this political activity, and the excitement that it generated, it should come as no surprise that Baltimore had gained a reputation for violence. Those wishing to cast dispersions upon the city in the years prior to the Civil War often referred to it as "Mobtown."²⁹

During the 1856 presidential election there were riots in the city as a result of the emergence of the Know Nothings as a political force. As a port of entry, Baltimore witnessed a huge influx of German and Irish immigration during the 1840s and 1850s. Maryland was the only state in that election carried by the American Party candidate, Millard Fillmore, and it was commonly believed that the mobs of "Plug Uglies" or "Blood Tubs" influenced the outcome of the election.³⁰ During the 1860 campaign, there was violence as a result of the conventions held there, and in the November election, Kentucky Democrat John C. Breckinridge carried Maryland.³¹ From the election to the outbreak of war, the city was torn between pro-union and pro-secession forces. "The attack on Sumter raised the excitement to fever-heat; knots of eager and angry disputants might be seen everywhere; and so dangerous seemed the public temper that the mayor, on April 17, 1861 issued a cautionary proclamation." Recruiting stations were established in the city for both the Federal and Confederate armies.³² There is no doubt that Baltimore "was the scene of wildest excitement." Many believed that it "would be the seat of war and that a battle would begin in a few days."³³

On April 18, 1861, five companies of Pennsylvania soldiers (460 men) passed through Baltimore on their way to the defense of the capital. Because of a long standing ordinance which prohibited locomotives from running through the city, passengers had to walk or ride in horse drawn cars to connecting stations. Traveling from Harrisburg over the Northern Central Railroad the Pennsylvanians arrived at Bolton Station, and leaving the cars, "orders were given to the men to preserve their temper, and to make no reply to anything that should be said to them." Many southern sympathizers were angered by the fact that the federal government was attempting to ship soldiers through Baltimore to subjugate the peoples of the South. When it was learned that the Pennsylvanians were approaching, a mob gathered at the station to voice its outrage at the men disembarking the train.

At the command 'forward' the mob commenced hooting, jeering, and yelling, and proclaimed with oaths, that the troops should not pass through their city to fight the South....Every insult, that could be heaped upon the troops, was offered, but no word of reply was elicited, the officers and men marching steadily on towards Camden Station. At every step the mob increased, until it numbered thousands of the most determined and desperate rebels of the war. As the volunteers were boarding the train at the station, the angry mob hurled a shower of bricks, clubs, and stones into their disorganized ranks...at length, amidst the demonic yells of the crowd, the train moved off, carrying the volunteers safely beyond the reach of their desperate assailants.³⁴

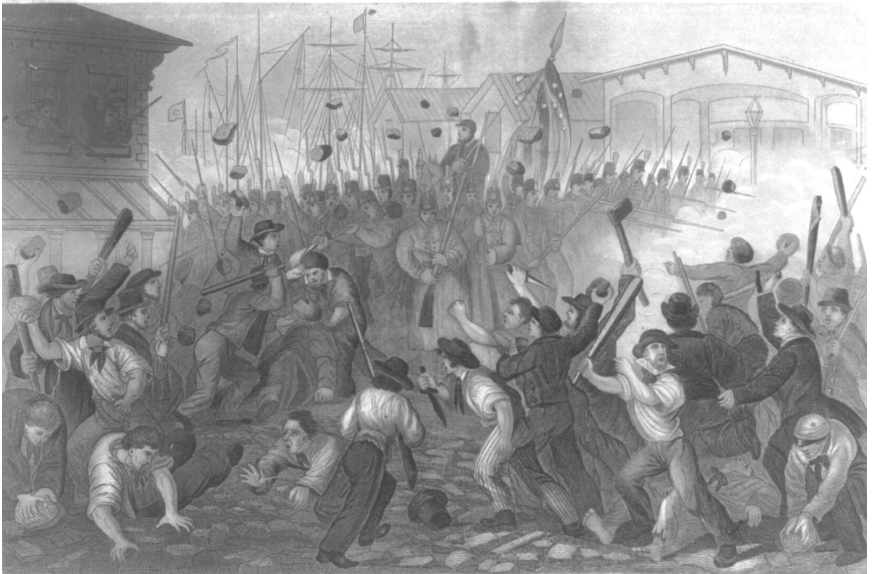
Fortunately for the mob, the Pennsylvanians were not armed. They would not be so fortunate the following day. Badly wounded in the melee, however, was a colored servant of Captain James Wren named Nickoles Biddle. According to many histories of the Rebellion, Biddle was the first actual combat casualty of the war. That evening the Pennsylvanians finally reached Washington and were quartered in the halls of the House of Representatives. Being the first soldiers to arrive in that city in answer to President Lincoln's call, "they were immediately supplied with arms and accouterments and were put to barricading the Capitol with barrels of flour and cement."³⁵ Meanwhile, authorities in Maryland dispatched Governor Curtin that "the feeling was intense in Baltimore, and that no more troops could pass through the city."³⁶ Curtin, in return, telegraphed Washington and asked for some clarification. He was told that Maryland Governor Thomas Hicks "has neither the right nor authority to stop troops coming to Washington. Send them on prepared to fight their way through, if necessary." And of course, this is exactly what they would have to do.³⁷

Also on evening of the 18th, several hundred Virginia militiamen marched on the United States Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry. The federal garrison at that point was made up of a small force of United States Regulars under the command of Lieutenant Roger Jones. When word of the intended attack arrived at the arsenal Jones ordered the outnumbered defenders to set fire to the works. About 10 P.M. an explosion ripped through the night air as the soldiers made their way across the Potomac into Maryland. The townspeople soon extinguished the fire, but Jones had destroyed some 15,000 muskets, preventing them from falling into the hands of the Rebels. The garrison marched all night to Hagerstown and then on to Chambersburg where the men arrived the next morning, exhausted and foot sore.³⁸

The events of April 19, 1861 only served to exacerbate an already tense situation. Violence erupted in the streets of Baltimore as troops again moved through

the city on their way to Washington. A large mob of southern sympathizers harassed the 6th Massachusetts Infantry and this time the soldiers retaliated. In the confusion that followed, four Massachusetts soldiers and a dozen civilians were killed and many more were wounded.³⁹ The mob then turned on several companies of unarmed Philadelphia militiamen who were disembarking at Presidents' Street Station. The men reboarded the train and heading back to Philadelphia, but not before several of them were also killed and wounded.⁴⁰ In Harrisburg, Governor Curtin received a dispatch informing him of the troubles in Baltimore and Harpers Ferry:

The Mayor and police at Baltimore attempted to conduct 7th Regiment New York [sic] across the city. They were attacked by an infuriated mob of thousands with stones & other missiles. Some thirty have been killed & great trouble must ensue. Harper's Ferry attacked & blown up by the garrison who have retired into Pennsylvania.⁴¹



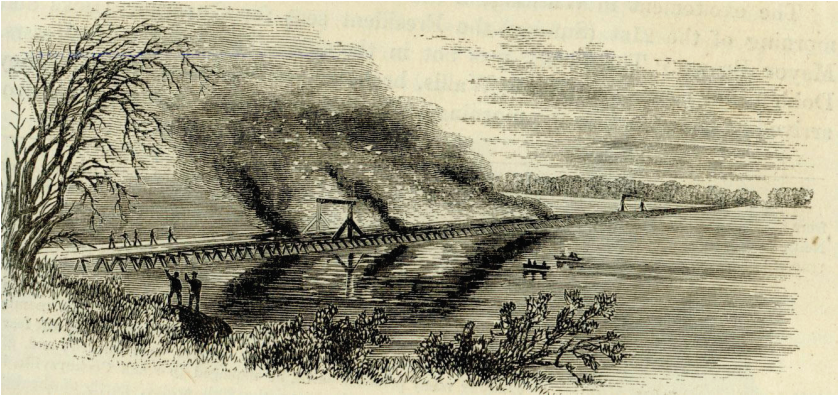
The Pratt Street Riot, Baltimore, Maryland, April 19, 1861, Library of Congress

In the city of York, news of the riot "caused the most intense excitement." According to the *York Gazette*, "our citizens began to realize that the war, which before they had regarded as afar off, had now, reached our immediate neighborhood."⁴² In Lancaster a dispatch reported "the most alarming state of affairs now prevails....Parties of half frantic men are running through the streets" of Baltimore "with guns and pistols, all the stores are closed and business generally suspended, and the population are in a state of dread, uncertain what is yet to happen."⁴³ About 3 o'clock, a dispatch reached Hanover alerting that town that "an infuriated and drunken mob," had attacked "a detachment of Boston Volunteers," with "stones, pistols, &c, and the troops immediately retaliated upon them, killing and wounding a large number of rioters." The rest of the day the people of Hanover were kept in a state of "great anxiety and suspense. The *Hanover Spectator* recorded that the news of the riot in Baltimore "had the effect of increasing the excitement and feeling to such an extent as we never before witnessed. Men of all parties swore that they would stand by the Union, and would do all in their power to aid and further the President in his efforts to concentrate troops to defend the National Capitol from the attack of the secessionists."⁴⁴

In Gettysburg on April 19, a "magnificent pole 120 feet above the ground was erected in the middle of the public square and at 6 o'clock P.M. the Stars and Stripes were run up amid hearty cheering." Speeches were then made. "The day was cold and disagreeable," according to the *Star and Banner*, "but the inclemency of the weather seemed to have no effect to dampen the ardor of the waiting crowds."⁴⁵ Following the flag raising, there was a meeting at the courthouse in order to form a committee "to take measures to provide for the families" of those men who were volunteering in answer to the president's call.⁴⁶

At some point on the late afternoon of the 19th, news of the riot in Maryland reached Gettysburg. According to one resident, "The nation was electrified with the account of a riot in Baltimore....The rising storm was a hurricane. People trembled at thought to what was to follow."⁴⁷ Word also reached Gettysburg of the destruction of the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the build up of secessionists forces there.⁴⁸

At 10:30 that night, a train was run from Gettysburg over to Hanover, "filled with men all anxious to hear the latest news from Baltimore. A procession was formed and they proceeded into town," stopping in front of the Central Hotel "where several patriotic speeches were made." Bands played and patriotic songs were sung. After an hour the Gettysburg men returned to the train "amidst the cheers of the large crowd who escorted them out."⁴⁹



Destruction of the bridge over the Gunpowder Creek, along the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, from Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War, 1866.

On the evening of the 19th, the authorities in Maryland decided to avert further violence by taking the extreme step of ordering the destruction of several major bridges along the railroads leading into that city from the North. On Saturday morning, April 20, a dispatch was received in Hanover that “all the telegraph lines south of Baltimore were out, and that all the railroads leading from the city were torn up and the bridges burnt and destroyed, thus preventing the running of trains and cutting off all connection whatever with the city.” The only information as to the situation in Baltimore was that derived from the families arriving in hacks that out of fear for their own safety were fleeing the city in great numbers.⁵⁰ “Regular communication between Washington and the North had been interrupted.”⁵¹ “The failures of the mails...together with flying reports of revolt in Baltimore and throughout Maryland, conspired to run the feeling up to fever heat.”⁵² In Gettysburg, the *Adams Sentinel* complained that “the communication of intelligence has been so disturbed, that we can scarcely get any reliable news.”⁵³ Rumors of a possible raid into Maryland and then Pennsylvania by a rebel force were all over the town of Gettysburg and every stranger who entered the town was looked upon with great suspicion.⁵⁴ Mixed in with the fear was an undercurrent of anger. An editorial printed in the *Lancaster Express* spewed about as much venom as was expressed by any paper during that period.

An unholy war has been made upon all that every American patriot holds dear--the Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of our fathers. This infernal rebellion must be put down. Federal troops have been assailed and shot down by an organized band of rebels, in the city of Baltimore, while going to defend the capital of our country. The blood of patriots has been shed by traitors. Their treason must be wiped out, and those who concocted it must be shot or hung like the vile-dogs that they are, else we all shall become the slaves of such nigger-drivers as Jeff. Davis, Drunken Wigfall, and the other arch-traitors who lend in this unholy crusade against Liberty and Justice.⁵⁵

On the evening of the 20th, a consultation was held in York among the leaders of the Pennsylvania militia that were gathering there. About 150 men were assembled and before midnight they were sent over the railroad towards Baltimore "to guard the track and bridges on the line of the road from further damage. They were stationed in squads from Parkton towards York."⁵⁶

It would be some time before the railroads through Baltimore could be put back in working order. Because of the interruption of service along the Northern Central Railroad, a coach line was temporarily established to run passengers from Gettysburg to Westminster where they could travel over the Western Maryland Railroad to Baltimore.⁵⁷ The city of York deeply regretted the severing of business relations with Baltimore. However, arrangements were quickly made with concessions at Wrightsville and Columbia (at reduced rates) for transportation of goods to and from Philadelphia.⁵⁸

On the evening of April 20, there was a large gathering around the "Liberty Pole" in the Diamond of Gettysburg. About 60 of the Independent Blues attended the ceremony in civilian dress.⁵⁹ The *Adams Sentinel* called it "a most impressive scene."

The Blues paraded and marched around the beautiful pole just erected, from which the Stars and Stripes had just commenced to stream, and there with uplifted hand and bare heads, took the solemn obligation of loyalty to the United States and the State of Pennsylvania. For the time there was a solemn stillness, and all felt deeply the thrilling interest of the scene.⁶⁰

Also on that day, a cavalry detachment of United States Regulars from Carlisle passed through the town of Gettysburg en route to Washington D.C. "This troop encamped several miles south of the town that night. "Early the next morning they were gone. According to one resident they "gathered their tents like the Arabs and silently stole away."⁶¹

On Sunday, June 21, William Wilson of Bendersville summarized the situation in his diary, "Great commotion. Baltimore under mob law. Great political excitement. A struggle between Freedom & Slavery. The arsenal at Harper's Ferry blown up. The different railroads coming into Baltimore torn up and the city under mob rule."⁶² In Harrisburg, there was even greater anxiety. Communications with Washington were still cut off, and volunteers were pouring in from all over the state. How to best get the troops through or around Baltimore was uppermost in the minds of the authorities.⁶³ That morning, a large force under the command of General George C. Wynkoop was put onto trains and sent to Cockeysville, Maryland to reinforce the troops sent the previous evening from York.⁶⁴ "This movement was made with the design of protecting the bridges on this road, and eventually of opening communication with Washington, which, since the passage of the Massachusetts troop, had been broken." This force of some 2,000 or 3,000 men was made up primarily of the Pennsylvania Volunteers who were in the process of being organized at Harrisburg.⁶⁵

In the midst of this excitement, rumors were making their rounds, even at the highest levels. Governor Curtin "received news that a battle is raging at Baltimore in an attempt to take Fort McHenry." The cannonading, it was said, could be distinctly heard at Harve de Grace, Maryland, along the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.⁶⁶ And about noon on the 21st, a dispatch was received from Chambersburg informing the governor that three United States soldiers, formerly with the garrison at Harper's Ferry had just come in. They had been left behind to scout the Maryland side of the Potomac River and now had positive information that 6,000 or 7,000 rebels were at Harper's Ferry under the command of Colonel Allen and General Harmer, and 5,000 more with 15 pieces of artillery were marching to that place from Richmond under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. "They design to invade Maryland [and] make the Mason-Dixon Line the line of warfare."⁶⁷ Shocked by the news, Curtin fired off a number of dispatches to Alexander K. McClure in Chambersburg and Lieutenant Jones who he thought to be at Carlisle, to check on the veracity of the claim.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the scouts from Harper's Ferry were conversing freely with every Pennsylvania citizen they encountered, causing much unnecessary anxiety. According to a correspondent of the *Lancaster Express* writing from Chambersburg:

This town is in high state of excitement. Fears are entertained that a demonstration will be made on this place and vicinity by the Secessionists, who are concentrated at Harper's Ferry, to the number of four or five thousand. The citizens of Chambersburg think the object of the raid on Chambersburg, by the Secessionists of Maryland and Virginia,

is to secure the gold and silver in the vaults of the Chambersburg Bank, and to pillage the stores, houses, &c....The citizens of the town and country are fully sensible to the danger with which they are surrounded, and are active in making preparations for the defense of Chambersburg and the villages along the border....Companies are being formed. Citizens of the town and country are arming themselves with rifle, shot guns, &c. and threaten to give the traitors from Virginia and Maryland a warm reception in case they venture out on their robbing expedition. ...The crops look exceedingly well through Cumberland Valley and Franklin County; and as I passed through this charming valley I could not help but reflect that, alas! how soon those green fields may be the scenes of blood and carnage.⁶⁹

The rumors turned out to be gross exaggerations in fact, and much valuable time and energy was wasted on such reports. But as a result, a mounted patrol was organized to guard the Maryland line against surprise, and Curtin gave A. K. McClure the responsibility of keeping him informed as to the developing situation in Chambersburg.⁷⁰

That same Sunday morning a number of wagons arrived in Hanover, Pennsylvania with families "who had to fly from Baltimore to save their lives." As soon as "they drew up in front of the hotels [they] were besieged by tremendous crowds of people, eager to obtain the latest news from that city."⁷¹ About 10:30 a messenger arrived with an order calling for the volunteer company from Hanover to report to York at soon as possible.

Messengers were immediately sent out through the country to notify the country members to repair to town without delay, and persons were dispatched to the different churches in town to notify such of the members of the companies as were present to repair without delay to their armories. We are informed by a person who was present in the Lutheran church at the time, that a solemn and profound stillness prevailed the entire congregation when the pastor, Rev. M. J. Alleman, announced that if any of the members of the military companies were present, they should repair without delay to their armories, as their services were immediately needed by their country, to uphold the Union and the Constitution. Many of the ladies present shed tears, on account of their husbands, brothers and lovers being obliged to leave their homes to enter the battlefield. The scene is said to have been solemnly touching and impressive.⁷²

That afternoon two companies of volunteers from the Hanover area assembled in Market Square. Martial music was performed, speeches were given and then the men marched off to the depot where they climbed aboard the train to York. A crowd of well wishers estimated at 3,000 gathered around the depot to see them off. "The last good-byes--and many thousands of them--were sighed and waved and shouted; the train moved and the boys were off, with farewell cheers and a parting salutes from the cannon. The volunteers bore themselves nobly, and although all must have felt the deep responsibility they were incurring, there was not a 'flicker' in their ranks."⁷³

The situation in Gettysburg was very similar. Churches all over the town held prayers "to the God of peace for protection and victory." At 2 P.M. there was a union prayer meeting held at the St. James Lutheran Church on York Street for the families of the men who were about to depart for the scene of the war. According to the *Gettysburg Star and Banner*:



[The]...church was perfectly jammed full of people, isles [sic] as well as pews, come together to commend our company of volunteers to the protection of Providence. Seldom has such a scene been presented to the eye of the journalist. Those who conducted the meeting, from the violence of their feelings, at times could with difficulty control their utterance. There was hardly a dry eye in the house. The prayer offered by Sergeant [John] Culp, of the Blues, will long be remembered for its strength, faith and feeling, as he prayed for assistance, from above, for those who remained and for those who composed the company and particularly for the Captain.⁷⁴

Postwar view of St. James Lutheran Church, ACHS.

One can only imagine the scenes that were enacted that night in homes all over the town as loved ones spent their last hours with their friends, sons, husbands and fathers. On the next morning, April 22, the families of the Independent Blues gathered in the center of the town to bid farewell to the men and boys from the town entering into their country's service.

From an early hour the streets around the depot and the express office were crowded with wives, children, brothers and friends of the officers and privateers. The bank behind the railroad near the depot was covered by ladies anxious to testify their kind feelings and sympathy for the soldiers.-- As each man came down, ready for the cars, his hand was seized and shaken, and God bless you and the country filled the air.-- No soldiers ever went to war with warmer wishes, more ardent prayers than the gallant volunteers of Adams.⁷⁵

According to Leander Warren, who was a young boy at the time, "The morning they left Gettysburg there were more tears shed than ever before or since. The scene was very touching, because no one expected to see the boys come back alive."⁷⁶ In recalling the events surrounding the outbreak of the war, Albertus McCreary noted:

Our only local excitement was the departure for the seat of war of a town company, the "Independent Blues," in response to Lincoln's call for soldiers. That was, as I well remember, a thrilling as well as a sad time. Almost every family had some member among them. My oldest brother [William T. McCreary] marched away with the rest. How grand they looked! and how eager we boys were to go with them! They were loaded with gifts from their friends, and I remember, every man was provided with a Bible and woolen socks.⁷⁷

At 7:40 A.M. the train slowly drew out of the Gettysburg depot, "amidst the roar of cannon and the cheers and 'good byes' of an immense concourse of people."⁷⁸ At some point prior to their departure, a letter was delivered to Captain Charles H. Buehler, the commander of the Blues. It was a letter of encouragement from James Wilson of Fairfield, in which he expressed some of his thoughts on the upcoming war. Apparently, Buehler retained the letter and in 1887 it was published in the *Gettysburg Star and Sentinel*.

This war is not of our Government's choosing. It behooves all sound men to rally round its standard, sustain its stars and stripes which is the cherished emblem of our glorious country. I would not that nay should

[not], for one moment, doubt the issue of this contest. We can and will Damn the rebels like damnation (this may thought profanity, but it is only the effervescence of patriotism), and then dictate the terms of peace. Arouse then, my young countrymen; arouse. Go forth and avenge your country's wrongs, for the aged cannot. I am now in the 83d year of my life, and in the long course of it I have not known a time in which young men had so fair an opportunity of earning renown for themselves and their country. In the outset we may and probably will meet disaster, as we have heretofore in our wars. Don't get discouraged at them. Up and at it again; avoid our former errors if defeat is attributed to our errors. When we get into the right hang of it, we can whip any equal number on God's earth, having equal advantages, with Gen. [Winfield] Scott's command and strategy. Our brave soldiers will soon learn that discipline and subordination is essential to success in all armies. Without it the military arm would be but an armed rabble. Go-go-then, my brave boys. Go-your country calls, and may heaven's choicest gifts attend you now and hereafter. Excuse me. When I get on this War subject as my whole soul is in it, my pen runs off with me.⁷⁹



1880s view of the Gettysburg Train Station, Henry Stewart Collection, ACHS.

Part II

Monday, April 22 would be a day well remembered by the residents of Hanover and Gettysburg. A string of unfortunate circumstances was to set off a chain of events that would resonate across the whole of south-central Pennsylvania. With the departure of the areas volunteer militia units, the proximity of the Maryland border and the troubling news coming out of that state, a strong feeling of anxiety permeated the air. In Hanover a meeting was held at the market house that morning in order to organize a "Home Guard for the defense and protection of the town." Speeches were made, officers were chosen and the men were drilled in the center of town. According to the *Hanover Spectator*:

In the afternoon the guards paraded to the number of three or four hundred men all armed. They were drilled in the Square for about an hour, and went through the evolutions in a highly creditable manner. The organization of this corps is a step in the right direction, and we think will go far toward placing our town out of danger from an attack. The number of men now under arms in town, is supposed to be from eight hundred to one thousand.⁸⁰

With the high state of excitement, and the large number of men under arms looking for a fight, it is not surprising that they found one. The trouble all started when a regular army captain named Walter H. Jenifer rode into Hanover from Carlisle Barracks. Jenifer, a native of Maryland, was returning to his home on leave, while in the process of resigning his commission in the 2nd United States Cavalry. Earlier that morning, a dispatch had been received at the office of Governor Andrew Curtin in Harrisburg.

Lieut. Jenifer, late of the U.S. Army returned from Texas, now resigned, has made himself acquainted far as possible as to the movement of troops. He fled this morning towards York and Hanover, is being pursued, but has considerable start. Might he be headed off by telegraph at York or Hanover?⁸¹

Governor Curtin, fearing that he was "deserting to the secessionists with valuable information," sent dispatches to the towns along the Maryland border, ordering Jenifer's arrest should he appear. Not being aware that his actions had come under some suspicion, the captain arrived in Hanover about 5 o'clock that afternoon and rode up to



Postwar view of Thomas McCausland's Central Hotel, on the Northwest corner of the Square in Hanover, from William Anthony, Anthony's History of the Battle of Hanover, 1945.

McCausland's Hotel, where a large crowd of armed men (which included the newly organized home guard) were gathered.⁸² In an interview a few days later, Jenifer gave his account of the unexpected events that followed.

As soon as he dismounted they crowded around him for the purpose, as he supposed, of ascertaining if he had any news. He gave what news he had, when the Mayor of Hanover asked him to step into the parlor; where he was arrested by the Mayor, by order of the Governor. The Mayor then informed him that the arrest was made in consequence of information received by telegraph, that he was the bearer of dispatches or important information, designed for the South. At this time the crowd became very much excited, when Capt. Jenifer proposed to address the populace, which, with the approval of the Mayor, he did from the window of the hotel, telling them the true object of his presence. This seemed to satisfy the crowd, but soon after a report was received that a mob from Baltimore was approaching Hanover, and was but a short distance off, intent upon the destruction of the town. The report was, of course, wholly groundless, but served to infuriate the populace again; the latter believing that Capt. Jenifer's appearance there at that time was part of the scheme against the place.⁸³

Confirming Jenifer's statement is an account printed in the *Hanover Herald* in 1885 which gave a very similar version of the same event:

To allay the angry and excited feelings of the crowd, some of whose members had begun to threaten personal violence, Capt. Jenifer was permitted to address the people from a window of the hotel which he did in a way that was satisfactory for the time being. But shortly afterwards the burgess was handed a letter from a homesick member of one of the volunteer companies written from York to his father, condemning the action of the state authorities in taking them away from their homes where they might soon be needed to defend their families against an expected attack of Baltimore rowdies. Without considering dates or circumstances, the burgess, who should have set an example of calmness, courage and deliberation, now flung reason to the winds and throwing up the window of the hotel, shouted: "To Arms! To Arms! The Baltimore rowdies are coming to destroy the town and Jenifer was to lead them." This was like applying a lighted match to gunpowder. A fearful panic ensued.⁸⁴

The Mayor (or Burgess) of Hanover who seems to have lost control was apparently Jeremiah Kohler. He was also commander in chief of the newly formed Home Guard. According to the *Hanover Spectator* of April 26, 1861:

On Monday evening about 5 o'clock, a terrible excitement pervaded our town in consequence of a rumor getting out, stating that 200 Rowdies and Secessionists from Baltimore, were on the outskirts of the town, ready to plunder and fire the town. The alarm bells were rung and an immense number of men were immediately assembled in the Market Square, armed with every conceivable kind of weapon, and ready to sell their lives in defense of the town. ...great preparations were made for an active and vigorous defense, cannon being planted in Market Square so as to command and rake all the streets leading thereto; barricades were also erected at the end of Baltimore Street.⁸⁵

One barricade, said to have been located on Baltimore Street at its intersection with Pleasant Street, consisted of "wagons, plows, boxes, wheel-barrows, lumber and anything handy." The barricade became known as "Fort Mulgrew," after an old soldier who "at that time was very much under the influence of liquor" and could hear "shooting everywhere."⁸⁶

Cyrus Cort, an 1860 graduate of Franklin and Marshall College, and a student of the Theological Seminary in Mercersburg, was visiting with a friend at the home of Stephen Keefer in Hanover. In 1885, he detailed the "confusion, exaggeration,

suspense, anxiety and imaginary horrors," that he witnessed that day. About 5 P.M. they were sitting down to supper when the maid "rushed in with the startling report that the Baltimore Rowdies were coming to destroy the town."

We ridiculed the report as absurd and preposterous. She begged us to come to the front door and see for ourselves. We went and sure enough the "rumors of wars" were such that we felt it our duty to arm ourselves for the coming fray. We got a gun in the wareroom attached to the premises and a lot of ammunition out of the store and hastened to the market house where the people were massing to resist the invaders....Horsemen galloped to and fro warning the people of the impending danger.-- Stores and dwellings were closed up. Women and children terror stricken were screaming, fainting, and fleeing to the country. Men were shouting, firing alarm guns and tolling bells. Some very ludicrous as well as distressing scenes occurred. One woman seized a large feather-bed and fled from her house toward the country, leaving articles of far greater value and much less bulk and weight behind. A young woman snatched up her child and hastened several squares when its screams attracted the attention of persons less excited, who discovered that its frightened mother was carrying it with head downwards. One old gentleman was short of ammunition. Mounting his old horse, in woman fashion, with gun in one hand, he dashed up and down the street shouting in Pennsylvania German, "Wo kann ich koogla griega?" "Wo Kann ich koogla griega?" (Where can I get bullets?) Another one got down his flint lock shot gun and in his haste to load it and light his pipe to calm his nerves at the same time, he put the tobacco into his gun and the powder into the pipe. Having occasion to use the pipe first, he discovered his mistake by the explosion which seriously damaged his eyes....The old market house then stood in the centre of the town where the fountain is now located. This was the rallying point and here the excitement and confusion was intense. An old sailor had loaded a small swivel with slugs and it was pointed down Baltimore Street ready to deal out destruction to the rowdies who were momentarily expected to rush into town. Those who had no guns were equipped with such formidable weapons as dung forks, pitch forks, corn cutters and even scythes. In the midst of the panic some of the infuriated people resolved to put Capt. Jenifer out of the way before his rowdy Baltimore accomplices would make their assault. One man with a gun in his hand said he would like to put 300 bullets into Jenifer.⁸⁷

The mob moved towards the hotel with the intention of dragging Captain Jenifer out into the streets. "It was determined to handcuff him, but before handcuffs could be procured," Captain Abdiel Wirt Eichelberger, President of the Hanover Branch Railroad interfered, declaring that it was an indignity to an officer of the Army and a

gentleman.”⁸⁸ “Had it not been for the timely interference” of Captain Eichelberger, and a few others “Jenifer would certainly have been murdered in the frenzy of the hour.” Eichelberger then telegraphed to Harrisburg informing them of Jenifer’s capture and asked “What shall be done with him?”⁸⁹ Perhaps regretting his role in creating the panic that was spreading like wildfire, Mayor Kohler determined it would be in the best interest of everyone to send the prisoner to York, and he was hurried out of the town. When finally Jenifer arrived in York, several influential citizens interceded on his behalf and attempted to gain his freedom. He was eventually taken to Harrisburg and met with Governor Curtin, who expressed his regret over the entire episode and granted him his release. Walter H. Jenifer then proceeded by rail to Hagerstown and made his way to the South, where he did in fact enter into the service of the Confederate Army.⁹⁰ The resignation of Southern born officers from the United States Army was a concern to many Northerners, and a topic of discussion in the newspapers of the day. Speaking of these men in general and Jenifer in particular, a Carlisle newspaper stated: “a man that will eat the bread of the government, and then forsake it in the hour of need, is not fit to die an honorable death.”⁹¹

With the removal of Jenifer, the panic in Hanover began to subside. In the meantime a number of citizens on horseback had been sent out on the Baltimore Pike to ascertain the proximity of the supposed mob.

After half an hour’s absence the scouts returned, stating that there was no truth in the report whatever, having gone down to the Maryland line, and seeing nothing suspicious enough to create any apprehensions of an attack, whatever. On the receipt of this news, the alarm was somewhat dispelled. Guards were appointed however, and stationed in the streets to prevent against any surprise if there should happen to be any truth in the rumor.⁹²

The idea that the Baltimore Rowdies were close to the outskirts of Hanover may seem preposterous to us today, but the events of the previous few days had convinced many that such an attack was inevitable. It was commonly believed that it was mob of secessionists that had destroyed the bridges along the Northern Central Railroad north of Baltimore and cut the telegraph lines.⁹³ And by Sunday, April 21, a large force of Pennsylvanians was gathering at Cockeysville, Maryland to protect a crew of railroad workers making repairs to the bridge. These soldiers were raw recruits, untrained and inexperienced, with only a dozen rounds of ammunition per man. Rumors were rampant and many Pennsylvanians became convinced that they were about to be

attacked. According to a correspondent of the *Lancaster Express* who was serving in one of the volunteer companies:

At dark [on Sunday], reports began reaching the camp that six thousand men, with eight pieces of artillery, were approaching. These reports came in so rapidly and apparently in such an authentic shape, that the men were ordered under arms and drawn up in battle array. Scouts also began to hover around the camp and on the adjacent hill-tops, and the women and children of the village, with what effects they could carry, passed up the road. In this situation we remained all night, our arms never leaving our hands. There were no tents provided, and the men when too tired to stand longer, lay down on the hard ground and snatched a moment's sleep. At intervals of about every hour, however, the word "attention!" went along the line, and every man was on his feet ready for action...We were all ready, however, to defend ourselves to the last. It was a night of most painful suspense and anxiety, and the like of which we are not desirous of having repeated. Company K (Jackson Rifles) received the second honor in the regiment, being in the extreme left. They did excellent service last night, being on their feet all night. Captain Hambright formed the company into a square to repel cavalry as a number of horsemen were seen lurking about. Lieutenant Weaver was deployed to look after a party of horsemen and put them to rout, which caused one of the most sudden of the alarms in the camp.⁹⁴

In the meantime, the mayor of Baltimore and the governor of Maryland raised concerns with President Lincoln that the occupation of Cockeysville by the Pennsylvania troops, and the further passage of troops along the railroads into Baltimore, "might precipitate a collision, and lead to the secession of the state." Lincoln had some tough words for the Marylanders, but thought it best to avoid any more violence. As a result, "a retrograde movement was ordered and on Monday morning, the 22, and the Pennsylvanians returned to York.⁹⁵ In the end, the Cockeysville expedition amounted to very little. No blood was shed, the railroad was not reopened and the telegraph lines were not reestablished.

Looking back, there is little doubt that the Pennsylvania Militia exaggerated the danger on the night of the 21st at Cockeysville. No large force was advancing on their camp and there is no evidence that a raid into Pennsylvania was ever considered by the Secessionists of Maryland. More than likely it was the reports by the returning members of this expedition that fueled the rumors of the Baltimore Rowdies supposed attack on Hanover.

If the panic had been contained to only Hanover, however, this would be the end of our story. Unfortunately, word of the Rowdies travelled "all along the Pennsylvania border like a galvanic shock, reaching far beyond the mountains." Legend has it that upon hearing the "horrific news a lady at New Oxford or East Berlin is said to have died of fright." John W. Love was coming towards Hanover in a buggy when he met an old female acquaintance about a mile or two from the town. In reply to his inquiry "Why, Aunt Polly, what's the matter?" she exclaimed "For God's Sake, turn back! the Baltimore rowdies are burning the town, and killing off the people, men, women and children, just like flies!"⁹⁶ As word of the invasion spread, reinforcements were sent to Hanover.

A great number of country people by this time began to come in, the news of the expected attack having got out through the country, creating an immense excitement. Nearly all the men in McSherrystown came in, bringing with them three kegs of powder for the cannon. The excitement then gradually began to lessen, and by twelve o'clock the streets wore a very quiet aspect, no persons being out except the guards.⁹⁷

Word of the excitement spread not just to McSherrystown but all across Adams County. Two men got on a hand car at Hanover and made the 14 mile journey to Gettysburg, spreading fear and panic in their wake. New Oxford reacted to the news by organizing a company of men "armed with shot guns, pitchforks, shovels and spades," and then "sent word up along the line for ammunition." The company was drilled by Dr. Michael Diedrich Gotlob Peiffer a "Bearded, shaggy haired" Prussian immigrant and veteran of the Napoleonic Wars "whose face bore a sabre scar; his souvenir of Waterloo."⁹⁸

By the time the men on the hand car reached Gettysburg, "perspiration was rolling off them like rain."⁹⁹ As luck would have it the men learned that a public meeting was being held at that very moment at the Adams County courthouse on Baltimore Street. With the departure of the Independent Blues, earlier that morning, the people of Gettysburg suddenly realized that there was no force of militia to protect the town in case of danger. "A very large meeting of the citizens" was organized and a Committee of Safety was established. The committee of thirteen townspeople, made up of some of the most prominent citizens of the area, were to initiate measures to ensure that no



The Adams County Courthouse, ca. 1900, ACHS.

harm would come to the community during the present hostilities. The committee included: David Ziegler, Samuel Smith McCreary, Robert McCurdy, Joel B. Danner, George Arnold, William A. Duncan, James F. Fahnestock, George E. Eckenrode, Jacob Troxel, William B. McClellan, J. Findley Bailey, James D. Paxton and John Scott.¹⁰⁰ In the midst of this meeting the men from the hand car entered the courthouse. According to an eyewitness:

Their errand was announced as they burst through the doors with the cry, "The Rebels are burning Hanover and will be on to Gettysburg before morning." About the same time a horseman, coatless and hatless, entered the town from the east and dashed up York Street, crying, "To arms, the Rebels are coming." Nothing more could be obtained from the messengers than that five hundred or more Rebels, or plug uglies as they called them, from Baltimore, had raided and burnt York, were within a short distance of Hanover, which was to be laid in ashes and that they would be on to Gettysburg before morning. Hanover implored that aid be

dispatched at once to her. It was almost impossible to preserve order in the meeting, pandemonium reigning supreme. Every man was on his feet frantically yelling and shouting "To arms." The crowd immediately poured itself out of the doors of the Court House bent on but one purpose--to arms.¹⁰¹

John Charles Will of the Globe Inn was sitting in one of the window sills along the north side or Middle Street side of the Court Room. Years later he related a similar version of the event.

They came up to the "Court House" and into the door of the Court room crying out "Six hundred came up the Baltimore Pike into Hanover. They are burning properties and insulting women. They left Hanover and are now on their way through Oxford and up the Pike to Gettysburg." The court room being crowded...the whole audience at once jumped to their feet and ran pell mell out of the room and down the street. Men were running up and down the streets crying out "to arms" "to arms men" "the Rebels are coming up the pike to Gettysburg. They are burning properties and insulting women."¹⁰²

The Gettysburg Committee of Safety immediately assumed charge of affairs. They organized a strong "Night Guard" and ordered them to the small armory of the Independent Blues, which held a quantity of outdated rifles that had been once used by the state militia.¹⁰³ This armory was apparently located in a warehouse in the alley behind the home of John Scott, on the northern side of the first block of Chambersburg Street. John Scott was one of Gettysburg's "universally esteemed" and "best known citizens." During his lifetime he served in a variety of public positions, including sheriff of Adams County from 1851 to 1853. For many years he was a brigade inspector in the state militia, and for that reason had possession of the weapons desired by the home guard.¹⁰⁴ Considering the fact that Scott was one of the citizens who had just been appointed to the Committee of Safety, he was probably the one who directed the men to the warehouse.

In 1861, Leander Warren and his family lived on the south side of Railroad Street and the backyard of his home was very near to the warehouse in question. In his recollections of the Civil War, written many years later, he described an incident which supposedly occurred that night as the home guard attempted to retrieve the badly needed firearms.

There was an old warehouse on the alley, to the rear of what is now known as the Shoe Shine Parlor, in which was stored a lot of government guns that had been used by a company that used to drill for the fun of it. When the report came that the mob was coming everyone ran for a gun. When they came for the guns, Mrs. [Martha] Scott told them she had orders from her husband not to let anyone take any of them, but the men paid no attention to her and took them while she stood in the yard with a child in her arms, begging them not to take the guns. When they still paid no attention to her, she became violently insane and started to throw her child in an open well. A man caught her in time and saved the child, who lived to be one of our best physicians, while the mother never regained her right mind.¹⁰⁵

"Everything in the shape of defensive weapons that could be had was placed in requisition," and a search for ammunition was taken up.¹⁰⁶ "The sickening discovery was made that the hardware stores had no ammunition in stock, no powder and shot, their supply having been very recently exhausted. This added a hundred fold to the excitement."¹⁰⁷

At some point the guard was assembled and organized, and orders for the protection of the town were given. Young Tillie Pierce remembered this as "an amusing incident...quite a number of them had assembled to guard the town that night against an



attack from the enemy. They were 'armed to the teeth' with old, rusty guns and swords, pitchforks, shovels and pick-axes. Their falling into line, the maneuvers, the commands given and not heeded, would have done a veteran's heart good."¹⁰⁸

Patrols were stationed at the entrance of every street and alley leading into the town.¹⁰⁹ According to John Will, a large force of citizens "armed with all kinds of weapons" was sent out York Street in the direction of the expected attack. Will was most amused by the sight of the girls "running up and down the streets and the crossings, grabbing

Tillie Pierce, from at Gettysburg, 1889.

their beaus, throwing their arms around them, hanging on to their clothing, dragging along with them, crying out and begging them, saying 'Oh! don't. Oh! please don't go.' You will be killed."¹¹⁰

Many incidents occurred on the outposts around the town where weary citizen soldiers were expected to stay alert and give warning of the first signs of the approaching enemy. In later years, the citizens of town would poke fun at each other as they related the chaotic events of that night. The password "Scott" was chosen; perhaps in honor of John Scott, of the committee of safety, or perhaps in honor of Winfield Scott, the commander of the United States Army. Those who approached the outpost were challenged by the patrols. One local story related that in the uncertain light of the moon, a dark object, presumably a human, approached one of the patrolmen, who nervously cried out in challenge, "Halt and give the countersign." No answer being received, the guard in alarm called, "Say Scotty or I'll shoot!"¹¹¹

The patrolman stationed on Carlisle Street where the road crosses Stevens' Run was an "old Dutchman." Another resident of town was riding on horseback north along Carlisle Street and onto the Mummasburg Road blowing what was described as on "old horn" apparently as a warning to those who were still unaware of the enemy's approach. The old Dutchman "being very much frightened he crawled on the foot-log in hiding. When the citizen had ridden through the run and had passed him he crawled out and pointing his weapon at him crying out: 'Stop Rebel. I'll shoot You.'" Great amusement was exhibited when it was realized that the old man's weapon consisted of an "old broom stick with an old rusty Bayonet stuck on one end of it."¹¹²

Although Pennsylvania College was on break, "the students who were spending their vacation at Gettysburg immediately volunteered and with others picketed the roads leading to the town."¹¹³ According to Henry Eyster Jacobs:

The western approach to the town from Hagerstown was put in charge of two students....Their powder supply was limited; but they had sufficient lead which they had chopped up with a hatchet into slugs, to do execution if properly propelled. Nothing disturbed them until towards morning when a countryman was frightened by their challenge. He was bringing supplies from Fairfield. He thought he had a keg of powder. But when opened carefully, it proved to be soap!¹¹⁴

Patrols were sent out from the town of Hanover as well, and some spent the entire evening staring into the darkness. Isaac Wise, William Stair and a man named Welsh were on picket duty along the Westminster Road. Isaac was persuaded to climb

up a tree to see if he could discover any "Rowdies." When asked if could see anything, he replied: "It's too dark, but it looks damn suspicious."¹¹⁵

All this activity threw the town of Gettysburg into chaos and the situation quickly began to deteriorate as all sense of reality was lost. "In an incredibly short space of time there was not a soul in the town but knew the dread news. Bells were rung and a general alarm proclaimed. Almost every house added its inmates to the people on the street."¹¹⁶ Professor Michael Jacobs of Pennsylvania College was greeted on the streets of town by a widow carrying a large horse pistol. "What are you going to do, Madam?" he asked. The widow replied, "Oh, Mr. Jacobs, my husband is in heaven and I only wish all my children were there too,"¹¹⁷ An article in the *Gettysburg Compiler* printed in 1908 entitled "The Awful Fright of War," tried to give some idea of the scene that occurred that night.

The inhabitants of Gettysburg began to arm themselves in the most curious and extraordinary way that could be imagined. Every gun,



musket, rifle, old flint lock, pistol and revolver was called into requisition. The fortunate possessors of arms loaned their less fortunate neighbors such arms as could be spared. It is related that one who was the happy possessor of an enormous horse pistol of ancient pattern, suggested as an exigency of war that it should be mounted on wheels and used as a howitzer. History fails to record the effect of this brilliant suggestion. Notwithstanding the existence of these arms, the pitiful truth of their uselessness without ammunition made the situation one of utmost despair. The many without firearms of any kind, including the women and children, armed themselves with stones, scythes, hoes, shovels, pitch forks, hatchets, axes, clubs, anything and everything that they could put their hands upon. One was known to have pulled up the previous year's crop of bean poles for weapons.

William McClean, Gettysburg attorney and presumed author of the "The Awful Fright of War," ACHS.

Another proposed that as the whole body of the enemy would attack his home and in single file attempt to enter he would be ready to sever each man's head with a double edged axe. The foe would thus accommodatingly allow itself to be ambushed and exterminated. Many women made fresh fires, heating water to scalding point, prepared from the upper windows to give the intruders a hot reception. As motley a collection of arms as were ever heard of became the fondled and precious weapons of the people and over each was crowned an invocation to the protection of the town and its homes.¹¹⁸

The African American population of Gettysburg was also thrown into a state of panic as a result of the events of April 22. That Gettysburg blacks might be kidnapped and sold into slavery was an honest and real threat. Reflecting the common intolerance of the day, however, their plight was not taken seriously by their white neighbors. The reminiscences of Tillie Pierce are typical of the time period.

On these occasions it was also amusing to behold the conduct of the colored people of the town. Gettysburg had a goodly number of them. They regarded the Rebels as having an especial hatred toward them, and believed that if they fell into their hands, annihilation was sure. These folks mostly lived in the southwestern part of the town, and their flight was invariably down Breckenridge Street and Baltimore Street, and toward the woods on and around Culp's Hill. I can see them yet; men and women with bundles as large as old-fashioned feather ticks slung across their backs, almost bearing them to the ground. Children also, carrying their bundles, and striving in vain to keep up with their seniors. The greatest consternation was depicted on all their countenances as they hurried along; crowding, and running against each other in their confusion; children stumbling, falling and crying. Mothers, anxious for their offspring, would stop for a moment to hurry them up saying: *"fo' de Lod's sake, you chillen, cum right long quick! If dem Rebs dun kotch you, dey tear you all up;"* and similar expressions. These terrible warnings were sure to have the desired effect; for, with their eyes open wider than ever, they were not long in hastening their steps.¹¹⁹

Another civilian who wrote of that night remarked:

A large portion of the Negro population in pitiable despair picked up, some a bed, some a pillow, others blankets, anything that they could place their hands upon of their meager household stores, and were off--anywhere to the north to the woods. Some of the timid whites followed the example of their darker brethren. The streets of the town became the scenes of the wildest confusion, alarm and consternation.¹²⁰

The Gettysburg Committee of Safety dispatched messengers that night to neighboring villages for men, arms and powder. "The messengers who went to different parts of the county, aroused the population, and men and arms came in during the night, in answer to the call." The northern part of the county was particularly well represented.¹²¹ At 10 p.m. word reached Bendersville, 11 miles north of Gettysburg. William Wilson of that town was told that "Hanover was burned by the Southern army and that Gettysburg would be next."¹²² Clinton M. Swope and seven other men of the town volunteered to go to Gettysburg armed with "rifles, shot guns, revolvers, knives, &c.," but within a few miles of the town they "were informed that the rumor was unfounded" and returned home.¹²³ And Bendersville was not the only town to answer to the call. "Farmers came riding into town from all directions armed with all kinds of arms, ancient and modern."¹²⁴

As the night advanced the faint tap tap of the drum mingled with the shrill cry of the life was heard. It was not the enemy. It was as though the eternal city had been imperiled and the Romans to a man arose to protect her, so did the country round about respond, each village and hamlet with their quota of volunteers, pouring into Gettysburg, the county seat, to her protection, to the strains of martial music. The messengers returned with all the ammunition that could be obtained. The town was preparing for a state of siege. No one thought of sleep.¹²⁵

One of the factors that added to the confusion that night was the lack of accurate information as to the situation in Hanover. At that time there was no telegraph in Gettysburg, and the only reports coming in were those brought by messengers on horseback. Finally, an engine was fired up at the depot and two men ran it over the railroad to Hanover to learn the true state of affairs. At Granite Station a few miles from town, Robert Bell and several others climbed above the tender with a "keg of powder," apparently in response to the request of New Oxford for ammunition.¹²⁶ When the locomotive finally reached that town, word was beginning to circulate that the mob did not exist. At 11 o'clock they returned to Gettysburg.¹²⁷

As the locomotive came to a stop in the town, it was immediately surrounded by a large number of anxious people. The intelligence brought was that the Rebels existed only in imagination, that previous reports were false. A sigh of relief passed through the town, yet while some believed, many were incredulous and not until dawn of day did the fear of invasion gradually vanish.¹²⁸

When the crowd of defenders were finally dismissed and sent to their homes early on the morning of April 23, they were enthusiastically cheered by the citizens of Gettysburg in whose defense they had been summoned.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, a message was received by Captain Charles H. Buehler at Camp Scott in York. The Independent Blues were not yet officially mustered in and so were still free to go where they pleased. The note, sent by the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, stated that "In view of existing rumors relating to the invasion of your county, you had better return and protect your homes." Without informing anyone of the telegram, Buehler quickly hopped a train to Harrisburg to learn for himself the accuracy of the rumors. One can only imagine the further embarrassment that would have ensued had the whole company returned to Gettysburg to defend the town against an imaginary enemy.¹³⁰

At least the citizens of Gettysburg could take solace in the fact that they were not alone in their overreaction to the rumors. There was continuous excitement in Chambersburg at that time due to the Confederate buildup in Northern Virginia.¹³¹ At one point a rumor circulated that a thousand Cherokee Indians with tomahawks, scalping knives and rifles were assembling at Harper's Ferry in preparation for a raid of the Cumberland Valley.¹³² In Harrisburg, word was spread that Southern sympathizers had poisoned the city's water supply. Although the report was quickly dismissed, it "had its effect." Many people would only use well water and "such a panic was created that it was deemed necessary to place a guard around the basin." "In times like these," reported the *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*, "it requires but little to inaugurate a reign of terror, and people who circulate false reports of any kind to inflame the public mind, assume a fearful responsibility."¹³³ In Lancaster, "a most ridiculous and mischievous story" was circulated when some bad yeast was used by a baker and his bread did not rise. In relating the story, the *Lancaster Express*, noted, "In times like these, when every mind is on the full stretch of excitement, people should be cautious about crediting and circulating the innumerable idle rumors set afloat."¹³⁴ The *Adams Sentinel* was quick to point out that the panic had not been isolated to Gettysburg and had spread all across the region.

[At] the time of great excitement here from the rumor of the raid upon Hanover, the same apprehensions were felt at Frederick and Carlisle; the latter preparing for defense against Marylanders, and the former against Pennsylvanians. The same kind of excited feeling that was evinced here, was even stronger in those places--so that if folks laugh at us, we can return the compliment. At Carlisle, the bells were rung, the drums beat to

arms, and in a short time the volunteer companies were forming in the square. The streets were crowded, and women and children during the night were preparing to move at short notice. The number had swelled to 5,000 secessionists, who had burnt Hanover, and were in full march to Carlisle. One infantry company marched to Mt. Holly, but returned without finding the enemy. The report all arose from the alarm given by those persons on the hand-car which came up that night, which set the country in a blaze, and reached Carlisle in a magnified manner.¹³⁵

The Carlisle newspapers confirm the incident as printed in the *Sentinel*, giving the impression of a scene very similar to that which occurred in the streets of Gettysburg. Apparently, the same men who rode the hand car over to Gettysburg were the ones who caused the alarm in Carlisle. At some point along the way they passed their information to a man on horseback who rode into York Springs with the news and from there a rider relayed the information northward. It was 1 A.M. on April 23, before the messenger reached the town "with the startling intelligence that 5000 secessionists were in full march towards Carlisle and had fired the town of Hanover."¹³⁶

According to the *Carlisle Herald*,

Absurd as the story was, it caused the greatest alarm and excitement. The bells were rung, the drums were beat to arms, and in a short time the volunteer companies were forming in the square. The streets were crowded with our citizens while women and children were preparing to move at short notice. By 3 o'clock, the alarm had subsided, when another messenger arrived confirming the story of the first, and stating that he had been sent to procure ammunition. These men were highly respectable, known to many of our citizens, and it was evident they had been imposed on, or there was some foundation for the rumor. The consequence was a greater degree of excitement than ever, until communication was opened by telegraph with York, and assurance given that nothing was known of it there. Finally the people became satisfied that the report had originated in some ridiculous mistake and retired.¹³⁷

The *American Volunteer* of Carlisle added that "women and children were weeping in all directions, and the excitement exceeded anything we ever witnessed....A number of children were taken from their beds and hurried out of town....Our whole people, old and young, were in a wild state of alarm until long after day-light."¹³⁸ Before the alarm was proved to be false, however, a company of the newly formed home guard was in fact sent to Mt. Holly Gap to intercept the marauders. Thirteen year-old James Sullivan of Carlisle was a member of this company and years later he described the

events that occurred early that morning. In his memoirs, he referred to the incident, somewhat sarcastically, as the "Battle of Papertown."

Capt. Robert McCartney's company, its members roused from their sleep before dawn by messengers and the courthouse bell, was—I presume by proper military authority--dispatched the five miles afoot to the Holly Pass, there to dispute its seizure by "rapidly on-coming Confederate raiders." I helped to call from their beds some of the men in the north-east quarter, Bedford and Louthier [Streets]. "What's the matter?" a querulous voice from an upper window, after a banging at the street door. Reply from the important youthful courier from the army: "Capt. McCartney's company has orders to march to the front at once!" The company was soon moving in good order southward in Hanover Street....Summing up, the company's achievements of the day were no more than marching out and marching back, the raiding enemy proving a figment of a rumor monger's imagination. At that stage of the war, baseless reports--of battles, of town-burnings, of horrible massacres, of treacherous surrenders--were everyday sensations in our town so near the Mason and Dixon boundary.¹³⁹

Written in 1886, the *History of Cumberland County* referred to the affair as "one of those little comedies in the real tragedy of war."

The report reached here that the Confederate Army was advancing; that they were marching towards Holly Gap from Hanover Junction, that the Carlisle Barracks was one of their objective points, and that they were spreading desolation without delay and consternation with ruthless hands. A company, quickly organized, under Capt. Robert McCartney, of Carlisle, marched to protect the village. Upon reaching the town they took a fortified position in the Gap, ready to sweep like a bosom of destruction upon the foe. To achieve this mighty victory...and to immortalize themselves like those sturdy Spartans in a pass of old, they came with flint-lock muskets, many minus locks, and others armed with knives for closer conflict in the mountain passes. The company had come prepared to die in the last ditch, and many of the farmers joined to show "the mettle of their pasture;" but after holding peaceable possession of the Gap, they finally concluded that the reports which had disturbed them were untrue, and when the first rays of the morning sun had dispelled both the mists of the mountain and the fears of invasion, they departed, some of them, we have no doubt, reluctantly, to their homes, where some remained, having no doubt become unfitted to perform further military duty on account of disease contracted at the bloodless battle of Mount Holly Gap.¹⁴⁰

Not so humorous for the citizens of Carlisle, was "a distressing and fatal accident" which occurred at Mt. Holly the morning of the 23rd. Nineteen year old William Beetem and a friend had proceeded to Papertown in a buggy along with Captain McCartney's Company. As the troops were preparing to return to Carlisle, "young Beetem proposed to receive a number of their muskets in his buggy, and bring them into town. In placing the guns in the vehicle, one of them discharged, the ball passing through the body, and, as supposed, through the heart of the unfortunate lad." William Beetem died almost instantly, the only casualty of a battle that was never fought.¹⁴¹

The events that followed over the next few years of the war overshadowed the chaos and confusion of "the night of terror," but the lessons learned would never be forgotten. Years later, Tillie Pierce wrote, "I have often sat and listened to these well-meaning citizens laugh over the contemplation of their comical aspect."¹⁴² William A. McIlhenny noted that the "affair only showed how ridiculous people will make themselves under excitement."¹⁴³ And John Will, in his reminiscences wrote that he "always believed" that the whole affair was a "joke played on the citizens of Gettysburg by some of the Hanover wags."¹⁴⁴ When the story of the events of April 22, 1861 was retold in the *Gettysburg Compiler* in 1908, the incident was referred to as "The First Battle of Gettysburg...one which had no other known origin than that of growing out of the feverish state prevailing throughout the nation those first days of the war."¹⁴⁵

ENDNOTES

- 1 "Proclamation of the President of the United States," *Adams Sentinel*, June 17, 1861; "Proclamation," *Star and Banner*, April 19, 1861; "Proclamation," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861.
- 2 John G. Nicholay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion* (Charles "Scribner's Sons, New York: 1881), 75-76.
- 3 "The War Feeling," *Hanover Spectator*, April 19, 1861.
- 4 "Who is to Blame?" *York Gazette*, April 16, 1861. This article was reprinted from the *Valley Spirit* of Chambersburg.
- 5 "The War Commenced!" *York Gazette*, April 16, 1861. See also, "Unparalleled Impudence and Dishonesty," in the same issue.
- 6 "Union Resolutions," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1863. See also "The Government must be Maintained" in the same issue. For a change of position by the *Valley Spirit*, see "Duty of Democrats," reprinted in the *York Gazette*, April 30, 1861. This sudden reversal of position by the democrats in the North caught many Southerners by surprise. See Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (Philadelphia: 1866), 111-115.
- 7 Quote from the *Lancaster Intelligencer* in "Stand by the old Flag," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861. See also "Our Flag--Duty of Democrats," *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, April 20, 1861; "Civil War Begun:--Our position," *Carlisle Democrat*, April 24, 1861.
- 8 "War Commenced," *Compiler*, April 22, 1861.
- 9 "Pennsylvania Arming," *Compiler*, April 15, 1861; *Compiler*, April 22, 1861; "Military Bill," *York Gazette*, April 16, 1861; "The War Bill," *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, April 20, 1861; "Reasons," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861. The Military Bill was passed on Friday, April 12, 1861, prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, and initially did not receive the support of the state's democrats.
- 10 Samuel Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers*, Vol. 1 (B. Singerly, State Printer, Harrisburg: 1869), pp. 3, 6-12; "The Requisition for Volunteers," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861.
- 11 Telegrams for April 1861 in Military Dispatch Books, RG 19.181, Pennsylvania State Archives.
- 12 "The Awful Fright of War," *Compiler*, June 24, 1908.
- 13 "Prompt Action," *Star and Banner*, April 19, 1861.

- 14 "Prompt Action," *Star and Banner*, April 19, 1861; "The Independent Blues," *Compiler*, April 29, 1861.
- 15 F.S. Stambaugh to Eli Slifer, April 17, 1861, Military Dispatch Books, RG 19.181, Pennsylvania State Archives.
- 16 "Union Meeting," *Compiler*, April 22, 1861; *Adams Sentinel*, April 17, 1861. Similar meetings were held all over the state of Pennsylvania. See for instance "Great Unanimity," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861.
- 17 "Union Meeting," *Compiler*, June 22, 1861. The names of the vice presidents, secretaries and members of the committee read like as who's who of Gettysburg. The vice presidents were Professor Frederick Muhlenburg, Robert G. Harper, David Ziegler, Samuel S. Forney, John Busbey, John Picking, Jeremiah S. Gitt, James Linn, Samuel McCreary, and William Douglass. The Secretaries were Samuel R. Russell, Daniel Snyder, Charles X. Martin and Emanuel Bushman. The members of the Resolutions Committee were Henry L. Baugher, Martin Luther Stover, David Wills, William Douglas, Mathew Echelberger, Edward G. Fahnestock, William A. Duncan, David Ziegler, George Swope, Joel B. Danner, Dr. Charles Homer, John Houck, David A. Buehler and Reverend Jacob Ziegler.
- 18 "Virginia Secession Ordinance," *Compiler*, April 29, 1861; "Virginia Armed Against the Union," *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, April 20, 1861.
- 19 Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington* (Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., Garden City, New York: 1945), 53-54.
- 20 Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (Doubleday & Co., New York: 1961), 335-336, 347-349; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (Oxford University Press: 1988), 278-279; Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 122-123.
- 21 *New York Evening Post*, April 23, 1861; Nicholay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion*, 91; Samuel Bates, *Martial Deeds of Pennsylvania* (T.H. Davis, Philadelphia: 1875), 118; Samuel M. Schmucker, *The History of the Civil War in The United States*, (Jones Brothers & Co., Philadelphia: 1865), 98-99; Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 328; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. 1 (Charles Scribner Sons, New York, 1947), 78.
- 22 *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, April 27, 1861.
- 23 "From New York," *Lancaster Daily Evening Express*, April 20, 1861.
- 24 "The Capitol in Danger," *Compiler*, April 22, 1861.
- 25 "Declaration of War," *Adams Sentinel*, April 24, 1861.

26 Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, 55.

27 Henry Horn, ed., *Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs*, Vol. 1 (privately printed: 1974), 46.

28 A popular topic of discussion at the time, it is not surprising that there were several articles concerning the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania in newspapers of the day. See "Mason and Dixon's Line," *Hanover Citizen*, May 9, 1861; "Mason and Dixon's Line," *Compiler*, March, 12, 1860.

29 Scott Sheads and Daniel Toomey, *Baltimore during the Civil War*, (Baltimore: 1997), 2-4; Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, Vol. 1 (Louis H. Everts, Philadelphia: 1881), 778. In his history of Baltimore, Scharf devoted a whole chapter to "Mobs and Riots."

30 "Baltimore Rowdy Clubs," *Compiler*, November 28, 1859; L. Magruder Passano, *History of Maryland* (Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore: 1901), 162-163; Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 786-787.

31 Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 127.

32 Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 27-129; 788.

33 *Adams Sentinel*, April 24, 1863; "Gov. Hicks Turned Traitor," *Adams Sentinel*, April 24, 1861.

34 Samuel Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers*, Vol. 1, 5-6. See also Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 344; Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 129; 788. The five companies were the Logan Guards of Lewistown, the Allen Guards of Allentown, the Ringgold Artillery of Reading, the Washington Artillery and the National Light Infantry of Pottsville. A detailed account of these men and their journey to Washington can be found in Bates, *Martial Deeds of Pennsylvania*, 119-125.

35 Bates, *Martial Deeds of Pennsylvania*, 124-125; "The Troops in the Capitol," *York Gazette*, April 30, 1861; Sheads and Toomey, *Baltimore during the Civil War*, 13-14; Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, 58-59.

36 Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 129, 789.

37 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Vol. 2 (Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.: 1889), 579.

38 Catton, *The Coming Fury*, pp. 335-336; A.K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times* (The Times Publishing Company, Philadelphia: 1892), 392; Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 122-123; Joseph Barry, *The Strange Story of*

Harper's Ferry (Thompson Brothers, Martinsburg, W.V.: 1903), 97-98; David Gilbert, *A Walker's Guide to Harper's Ferry, West Virginia* (Harpers Ferry Historical Association: 1983), 27; *Adams Sentinel*, April 24, 1861; "Burning of Harper's Ferry Arsenal," *Star and Banner*, April 26, 1861; "Harper's Ferry Blown up," *Shippensburg News*, April 20, 1861; "Destruction of the Armory at Harper's Ferry Confirmed," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861; "Harper's Ferry Burnt," *New York Times*, April 20, 1861; "The Harper's Ferry Garrison at Carlisle," *Lancaster Daily Evening Express*, April 20, 1861 and the *Carlisle Democrat*, April 24, 1861. Because he thwarted the Rebels in their attempt to gain possession of the firearms, Roger Jones became one of the first celebrities of the war and was hailed as the "Hero of Harper's Ferry." See for instance, "Camp Cockeysville," *Lancaster Daily Evening Express*, April 22, 1861.

39 Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 343-346; Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 123-125; Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, Vol. 1 (George W. Childs, Publisher, Philadelphia: 1866), 409-416; "Riot in Baltimore," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861; "Further Statements," *Star and Banner*, April 26, 1861; "War at Baltimore," *Compiler*, April 22, 1861; "War at Baltimore," *Adams Sentinel*, April 24, 1861; "The Civil War in Baltimore," *Compiler*, April 29, 1861. One of the most detailed accounts of the Pratt Street Riot is found in Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 788-791.

40 Bates, *Martial Deeds of Pennsylvania*, 127-128; "General Small's Statement," *York Gazette*, April 30, 1861; "Riot in the Streets of Baltimore," *Star and Banner*, April 26, 1861.

41 Samuel B. Thomas to Governor Curtin, April 19, 1861, Military Dispatch Book, RG 19-181, Pennsylvania State Archives.

42 "Fearful Excitement in our Midst," *York Gazette*, April 23, 1861.

43 "By Telegraph from Baltimore," *Lancaster Daily Evening Express*, April 20, 1861.

44 "The War Excitement," *Hanover Spectator*, April 26, 1861. See also "Civil War In Baltimore," in the same issue.

45 "Gettysburg Thoroughly Aroused," *Star and Banner*, April 26, 1861. Over the next few weeks, similar flag raisings were held in communities all over the North. In Adams County they were also held in Fairfield, Biglerville, Bendersville and New Oxford. See "Pole Raising," *Compiler*, April 29, 1861; "Pole Raising," *Adams Sentinel*, May 1, 1861; "Raising the Stars and Strips at

Mapping Gettysburg: Baltimore Street in 1910

By Danielle Hiss and Megan Gray

In 1910, the town of Gettysburg was a thriving, bustling place. The Civil War was long over, and the town had begun to profit from tourists who wished to see the site of the famous battle. Business boomed. Merchants moved in and out of buildings and young families set up housekeeping in their own homes, raising their children and getting off to a running start in their chosen professions. There were cars in the streets next to the old horse-drawn buggies and electricity had begun to replace the gas lamps and candles of the Victorian era. For all that the town was growing rapidly, however, it was still subject to turn of the century problems. Tuberculosis was still widespread and killed many people every year – indeed, lung diseases in general seem to have plagued the country. Kidney disease was another concern, as were rats and other pests. On the whole, Gettysburg was a town in transition – not yet firmly in the twentieth century, but no longer a part of the nineteenth century either.

In many cases, the people of Gettysburg lived, worked, celebrated, and were buried within the borough's modest limits. A holistic approach to the examination of the town at this time tends to yield the impression that nothing of note occurred in Gettysburg in 1910. When one chooses to narrow the scope of a quest for information, however, to a specific block or two of the borough, the stories available somehow become increasingly vibrant. Everyday activities begin to take on a surprising brilliance when viewed at the microscopic level. The historian can place him or herself into the shoes of the very individuals whose existence made the operation of Gettysburg possible, and can subsequently live vicariously through these ghosts of a time past.

The western side of Baltimore Street was a bustling place in 1910. The first two blocks of this road, leading from the square, were taken up entirely by businesses. At the corner of Baltimore Street nearest the square, there was a dry goods store which stood next to a millinery shop. On the corner of the first block stood a tobacco shop, which was run by one George E. Stock. Outside the store stood a giant Indian, which became emblematic of the tobacco trade in the eighteen and nineteen hundreds. In the next block, there was a grocer's shop, a dentist (Dr. Stoutter), a hardware store, a drug store, a butcher shop, another millinery shop, and a barber shop.¹ The hardware store was most likely run by

Joseph H. Colliflower and his nephew, Ross, who was 19 at the time. The elder Colliflower was thirty-five and married to thirty-three-year-old Lula Colliflower.² The owner of the barber shop was Harry B. Sefton, who had remodeled the shop in 1900. Sefton was married to Clara Eugene Sefton, née Fissel, the daughter of Elias Fissel. Like most shop owners of the time, they did not live above their shop. Instead, they lived on Steinwehr Avenue and had, rather unusually, no children who survived to adulthood.³ Mrs. Sefton was evidently ill early in that year – she was a patient at the Presbyterian Hospital as of April 13 of 1910 and released several weeks later.⁴

The Fahnestock House, which stood next to Sefton's barber shop, had been remodeled in 1895. A new brick front with show windows had been added, as had a third story. The third story was immediately appropriated as apartment space, and the second story was remodeled. Indoor plumbing was introduced, as were "baths and all modern conveniences." The house was comprised of two major businesses: a photo shop and a furniture store. The furniture store also contained a funeral parlor; both of these establishments were run by Harry B. Bender, formerly of the firm of Mumper and Bender. Harry was married to Elsie Mumper, who was the daughter of a prominent furniture merchant. It was probably through his association with her father and brother that he had met her in the first place.⁵ Bender, who had started his career as a milkman, eventually became trained in carpentry. At the time, many individuals who possessed this woodworking skill would seek instruction in embalming, so that they could serve also as funeral directors. It appears that this was the case with Bender.⁶ An advertisement in *The Gettysburg Times* from 1910 proclaimed, "H. B. Bender, Funeral Director. Prompt Service. Either day or Night."⁷ At the time, the flexibility Bender offered in his undertaking services certainly would have been most welcome.

When not involved in his business as an undertaker, Bender worked at his furniture store. For this establishment, he ran many advertisements in such local newspapers as the *Gettysburg Times*. One such announcement proclaimed, "Just now: We can give you some interesting prices on furniture. It will pay you to investigate. Our stock you will find equals city stores, and the prices are way below. H. B. Bender, the Homefurnisher."⁸ In his business on Baltimore Street, Bender also sold sewing machines. Bender marketed the machines with such slogans as, "Why pay the agents who travel over the country 25 per cent more

for a sewing machine than you pay us. The Standard is recognized as the best machine made and we have them from \$22.00 up. Guaranteed for 10 years.”⁹

Bender's furniture store evolved through a long process of the transference of property between family members and neighbors, a practice which was certainly common during the early twentieth century. Originally, the shop from which Bender sold his furniture had been owned by the Mumper family, into which Bender had married. The Mumpers were a large, well-known family who lived and worked in Gettysburg. Levi “Lee” Mumper, the patriarch of the family, owned the photo shop and the furniture store, both of which were later run by his sons and their associates. Levi had a great many sons; in fact he was married twice and had a total of eight sons and two daughters.¹⁰ By 1910, Levi, a Civil War veteran, was getting old – he had sold his photo shop to his son Clyde, who had then sold it to his brother John. The furniture store had been bought in 1897 by Levi's son Charles and Harry Bender himself. In the next year, the two expanded into the undertaking business. Bender was only one of a number of carpenter-undertakers in Gettysburg. In fact, he had learned his trade from Charles A. Strack, one of the leading undertakers of the town. With the addition of the new funeral parlor and most likely some help from Charles Mumper's well-known father, the firm took off – one advertisement in the local paper read, “For night calls, ring bell on store door or call on C.S. Mumper at his residence on Chambersburg Street.” The partnership, however, did not last – in 1901 the firm was dissolved and Mumper moved to a different building. By 1910, he was a thriving furniture merchant, while Bender remained in control of the furniture store on Baltimore Street and the funeral parlor.

Charles S. Mumper ran a fair number of advertisements in the *Gettysburg Times* as well as in several other local newspapers, offering his carpentry and cabinetry services to borough residents. “Do you have a piece of old furniture that you can't use because it is in poor repair or needs refinishing? We have competent workmen in our repair department who will fix it. No job is too small or too large for us. We also make to order any piece you have in mind.”¹¹ This sort of versatility in business capabilities was fairly common in the early twentieth century community of Gettysburg. In such a small town, it was necessary for a great many tasks to be accomplished by the population at hand; thus, occupations which were similar in nature to other vocations were often assumed by one person or a particular family.

After 1901, the Fahnestock House, which had been earlier designated as 27 Baltimore Street, became 37 Baltimore Street. The other shop in the Fahnestock House, the Mumper photography studio, was by 1910 owned and operated by John A. Mumper, son of Levi.¹² John, like his father, had served in the army. John, however, was a veteran of the Spanish-American War and had served in the 5th PA Infantry as part of M Company. He was married to Ora Mumper, née Beegle, with whom he had one child, John E. Mumper.¹³ As of 1910, however, his fortunes had taken a turn for the worse. The wagon belonging to both him and his brother, Clyde, had a bad accident while traveling on Little Round Top on the battlefield and the photography equipment it carried was destroyed, with the sole exception of the camera. The horse carrying the cart suffered the worst damage – its leg was broken and the hapless creature had to be shot.¹⁴ This must have been quite a blow for John, and may help to explain why he retired only nine years later.

John Mumper's photography entrepreneurship was also greatly impacted by the fact that he had to contend with the business of another Gettysburg resident, W. H. Tipton of 20 and 22 Chambersburg Street, also a photographer.¹⁵ Both men ran ads frequently in such publications as the *Gettysburg Times* throughout the year of 1910. Tipton's ads were crafted for a sentimental appeal. They encouraged readers to "Come here with the baby for its first picture! Unlimited patience and quick action is required to obtain a good picture of a restless baby. Bring Baby here where you are sure of a successful result. Have a photo of the Baby as he or she looked at the beginning of 1910." Mumper's advertisements utilized a similar tone denoting the imperative nature of getting one's photograph taken: "We must talk Photography to you. It's our business. The best time to have a photograph taken is when you are in good health—now."¹⁶

Certainly, during the early part of the twentieth century, health was less assured than it is in modern times; Mumper's advertisement, however, does seem rather dismal. Of course, the necessity of having one's photograph taken which is implied in both Tipton's and Mumper's printed proclamations of their services could perhaps be due in part to the fact that photography as we know it had really only been around for sixty or seventy years as of 1910.¹⁷ In any case, the frequency with which each man published his advertisements in the *Gettysburg Times* implies that the competition for business between the two was rather fierce.

On the corner of the block next to the Fahnestock House where the photography studio was housed was a new 5 & 10 cent store, run by Samuel E. Trimmer. The building had formerly been the home of Skelly and Warner's department store. Skelly and Warner's, however, had sold out and moved to the late Captain Martin store room.¹⁸ The next block down was a residential area. In the first house on the block lived Joseph W. Sefton, who was, at the time, 71 years of age and employed as a battlefield guide. He had been married for forty-nine years. We do not, however, have any record of his wife's name, age, or indeed of her having lived in the house. Sefton apparently lived with his daughter, who had no occupation and seems to have been a spinster. In the next house lived Harry Bender, his wife Elsie, and their three children, Ruth, John, and a second daughter. Bender's children were quite young at the time. The eldest, Ruth, was eleven, while John and the second daughter were 10 and 8 respectively.

In the next house lived William H. Pfeffer, 55, who was the bartender at a local hotel and, seemingly, the proprietor. He lived with his wife, Anna, who was two years his senior. They had one daughter, Mary G. Pfeffer, who was twenty-four and who worked in one of the millinery shops on the street. Only three houses down lived 78-year-old Mary A. Pfeffer, who was widowed, and her sister, Amanda Homan, also widowed. With them lived Mary's son, Harry F. Pfeffer, who was 34, single, and worked at a brickyard. It would seem probable that Mary and her son were related in some way to William and Anna Pfeffer, although the name was widespread in the area and often confused with its alternate version of Pfieffer. Mary could conceivably have been William's elderly aunt or mother, just as her son Harry might have been a brother or cousin. It would seem that most of the residents on the street were related to one another through either business or marriage. There were a great number of Pfeffers who had married into other families on the street, as well as Seftons, Ogdens, and, of course, the Mumper family.

Living with one's mother or mother-in-law seems to have been fairly common at the time. Such was certainly the case for George Black, who lived with his wife, his mother-in-law, Sarah Wellert, and the couple's daughter, Sarah. In 1910, George was 35 years of age and working at the post office as a clerk. His daughter Sarah was only three at the time, one of many young children who lived on the street. Unless Mrs. Wellert waited a rather long time to get married and have children, Mrs. Black could not have been her eldest child, being 32 to

her mother's 72 years of age at the time.¹⁹ It was also uncommon to live alone. In fact, from the Center Square to High Street, there is no record of anyone living alone. Most people lived with either parents, spouses, or offspring, and most boarders lived with families, not single people, reflecting perhaps the lingering effect of Victorian sensibilities and practice.

A number of Gettysburg residents at the time lived very close to their places of employment. Number 239 Baltimore Street was the home of John L. McSherry, who worked as a carpenter. Given his proximity to a carpentry shop at 239 ½, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he worked next door to his home or perhaps for one of the Mumpers up the street. McSherry was thirty at the time and married to Bessie M. McSherry, née Cluck, who was eight years younger than he. They had one daughter, a ten-month-old infant whom they had named Violet. Their immediate neighbors were Joseph H. Colliflower, his wife Lula, and their nephew, Ross. Again, the placement of the couple's dwelling was convenient in relation to the hardware store, which was just up the street. Number 247 was home to Charles D. Winebrenner, his wife Minnie M. Winebrenner, née Golden, and her mother, Susannah Golden, who was 77 and widowed. The couple had no children, or at least none who were living with them. Charles, at the age of 50, had married Minnie fourteen years earlier at the age of 34, possibly after a first marriage that did not last. Given the average age of couples with young children, however, it is not unlikely that Minnie was Charles' first and only wife.

Charles was a tinner, although he did not own his own business – instead he was a renter, living down the street from the tin shop that he worked in.²⁰ There was, in fact, a tin shop just down the street. This was probably Winebrenner's place of employment, making it convenient to get to work as well as easy to get home at the end of the day. In keeping with the tradition of living near one's relatives, there was another Winebrenner, Thomas, doing business on Baltimore Street who owned a stove and paint store. The name is distinctive, and it would be a remarkable coincidence for two Winebrenners to be doing business on the same street and yet have nothing whatsoever to do with one another.²¹ Thomas, like many residents of the street, seems to have had some connection to the Pfeffers – he is listed as having sold the Pfeffer property along the Emmitsburg Road.²²

There does not seem to have been much separation between classes or social strata in Gettysburg in 1910. Near the beginning of the second residential

block of Baltimore Street lived the driver for the grocery store, his wife, Carrie, 48, their daughter Elsie, a sister-in-law named Mary, and the driver's brother, Rufus, who was a carpenter. Given the apparently close-knit nature of the family and their seemingly Germanic names, we might be justified in wondering if the family had not immigrated to the area from another country or perhaps from Lancaster County, where many German immigrants settled. In any case, Rufus and his brother seem to have settled into the area through their professions, becoming part of the predominant trades on the street. Number 253 Baltimore Street and Number 255 were in the same building, one beside the other. In Number 253 lived Robert Caldwell, the superintendent of the local water company, and his wife Margaret, who was known as Maggie. Maggie was a member of the Pfeffer family and it seems not unlikely that she was related to the other Pfeffers on the street – perhaps a sister of William and Harry.²³ With them lived Maurice Miller, a boarder at the tender age of 13.

In Number 255 lived John C. Wills, who was 72 and had been in Gettysburg at the time of the battle. He was the author of *Reminiscences of the Three Days Battle of Gettysburg* and a fairly prominent citizen, being a member of the Wills family and the son of Charles Wills, who had been the proprietor of the Globe Inn at the time of the battle.²⁴ He had been married for 45 years to a woman named Martha and the couple had at least five children – four daughters and a son, all of whom were living with them as of 1910. Ruth, 40, and Margaret, 30, were teachers who worked as private tutors, while their sister Mary was an operator at the telephone company. The youngest girl, Frances, was not employed at the time, nor was she married. The youngest child, a son named Charles, was twenty-eight and worked as a salesman at the department store – most likely Skelly and Warner's, but possibly another department store somewhere in the city.²⁵ This family would have been, if nothing else, well connected in the area, with family members widespread throughout the town and in fact the county, whereas a family of immigrants might have had little to no kin in the area and less connection to the local customs and traditions. Likewise, the Caldwells were connected by marriage to one of the most notable families in the area, and yet there was no physical boundary separating one class from another.

In general, the borough of Gettysburg seemed to have been a very closely-knit community in 1910. This can be seen quite clearly in the examination of the area's news publications. The fact that the majority of advertisements included in these newspapers did not include an address or other sorts of contact

information for the businesses and services being publicized seems to indicate that craftsmen and business owners assumed that their customers would know where to find them. Additionally, the community interest sections which seemed to appear in most issues of the borough's news publications made public the minutiae of residents' lives. Oftentimes, these brief tidbits of personal information could be linked back to Baltimore Street itself, further emphasizing how very tight-knit the town really was in 1910.

For instance, the *Gettysburg Times* of January 3, 1910 included a snippet informing residents about the return of Mrs. Morris Musselman (a family name which has historically had and continues to have a tremendous influence on the borough of Gettysburg and the outlying regions).²⁶ The same week in 1910, the *Times* also mentioned the visit of one J. Rowe Stewart, who made his home in New York, to Dr. and Mrs. H. L. Diehl. The Diehls lived on Baltimore Street in Gettysburg.²⁷ Another tidbit mentioned in the *Gettysburg Times*, under the headline of "Profitable Poultry," informed readers that Clyde Mumper had eighteen Rhode Island hens which had managed to lay three hundred and sixty-four eggs in one month. According to the brief report, Mumper gratefully attributed this success to "good stock and good care."²⁸ Certainly, the specificity and intimate details of these sorts of stories were unique to the time; nowadays one would be hard-pressed to find such things in any newspaper, excluding exceedingly provincial publications with limited readership.

Early in the year in 1910, the *Gettysburg Times* included a human interest snippet discussing the re-opening of the Gettysburg public schools. The schools had been closed for nearly two weeks for the holiday season, and, according to the article, "the boys and girls had a good time with various Winter pleasures." The College and Seminary also resumed classes at the same time for the spring semester.²⁹ Though this brief notice did not mention any individuals specifically, we can employ our knowledge of who was living in Gettysburg at the time, and who, of those residents, had children enrolled in the public school system, to determine who the news in this article would have affected. In this case, the Bender children of 235 Baltimore Street, Ruth, John, and their younger sister (whose name is illegible on the 1910 Census records), would likely have enjoyed a two-week vacation from school.³⁰ Perhaps during this recess they passed the time in their father's furniture shop, helping out with odd jobs or waiting on customers. Of course, the children would not have been officially employed at the Bender shop: according to *The Gettysburg Times*, a new federal child labor law

was passed in early 1910 requiring all workers under the age of sixteen to have certain certificates for employment.³¹ It is unlikely that the Benders would have invested in such certificates for their children, who probably just helped out in the shop from time to time. It is entirely possible that Ruth, John, and their younger sister were friends with the Miller children of 269 Baltimore Street. Carrie, aged fifteen, her brother Maurice, aged thirteen, and their sibling Frederick, aged ten were most probably enrolled in the Gettysburg public school system as well.³² It is crucial to extrapolate upon information that can be found in the borough records, for the stories people tell about the not-so-recent past are nothing more than the confluence of documentation and imaginative memories.

Though our focus in this investigation is on the West Side of Baltimore Street from the town square to High Street, it is also worthwhile to examine some of the homes and businesses on Eastern side of the street. After all, the residents and proprietors on the West side interacted with their neighbors across the street each and every day. Through advertisements and announcements printed in the local newspapers, we can tell that an individual by the name of Urie S. Walick managed a store at 46 Baltimore Street (opposite the Court House) called J. H. Myers. This establishment sold children's overcoats, suits for men and boys, and home furnishings.³³ Just a ways down Baltimore Street (at number thirty-six), the discerning consumer of 1910 could pay a visit to the Gettysburg Gas Company. Advertisements that this company ran in the *Gettysburg Times* indicated that the proprietors were quite energy-conscious and knowledgeable; "If your gas does not give all the light you need you are using the wrong fixture," the ad stated. "Call at the office and select a fixture suited to your purpose. Remember it saves the cost in a month."³⁴ For other frugal shoppers, the town's 5 and 10 cent store was located at number six Baltimore Street. The *Gettysburg Times* ran an advertisement for the establishment, "Some Bargains at the 5 and 10 cent store. . . we just received a new line of tools such as Hammers, Hatchets, Gas Plyers [Pliers], Hand Axes, Pinchers, vises. Also a full selection of paints in Enamels, Varnish Stains, and Oil Paints all 10 cents each."³⁵ From these advertisements, as well as those that can be found for businesses on the West side of Baltimore Street and the fire insurance maps from the period, it becomes clear that the street's first fifty addresses or so were largely businesses. Only after the break when West Middle/Middle Streets cut through the block did some of the buildings become more residential.³⁶

The West Side of Baltimore Street played host to the “People’s Drug Store,” which surely would have played a focal role in the town of Gettysburg in 1910. Located at 25 Baltimore Street, the drug store ran many advertisements in the town’s newspapers. One such advertisement, published near the beginning of the calendar year, touted the store’s wide selection of Valentine’s Day cards. “Valentines, from the smallest to largest. 1 cent to \$5.00. Big Lot Valentine Postals. 1 cent to \$5.00. The largest assortment ever opened in town,” the advertisement proclaimed.³⁷ This drug store ran many advertisements in the Gettysburg newspapers, and for good reason: a man named Huber ran another establishment of the same type elsewhere in town. Huber’s drug store also seems to have run frequent ads in the paper.

The residents of Gettysburg in 1910 lived in a world very different from the one we inhabit a century later. There was very little electricity. The new lighting technology was installed at Pennsylvania College that year, but everywhere else gas lamps and candles were still the norm, as demonstrated by the frequent advertisements for gas lamp fixtures and supplies that ran in the local newspapers. Carts and horses were still common, although cars were starting to gain in popularity. There was at least one auto accident reported that year, but far more accidents concerning carts overturning or horses spooking and running off with carts still attached to them.³⁸ Clothing and shoes were beginning to be manufactured rather than made especially for their wearers, but wives and mothers still did a fair amount of sewing and patching of clothing. Most women still did not work, although some of the younger generations were starting to do so. Mary G. Pfeffer, for example, worked at the millinery shop and John Wills’ daughters worked at a variety of professions. The vast majority of the women listed in the 1910 census, however, had no profession aside from housewife and, in some cases, mother.

There was an Episcopal church just up the street from the residential area of Baltimore Street.³⁹ It is not hard to imagine that the people of Baltimore Street would have gone to that very church on a regular basis, putting on their Sunday best, spending most of the morning in church, and then coming home to a day of rest and relaxation from their various businesses, save perhaps for the undertaker – after all, Death knows no days. Some, however, may have been good Irish Catholics or Lutherans and would have gone a bit further a-field for their devotions, and in fact there were a good many people of Irish, Scottish, Scots-Irish, and German descent in the borough, since the area had been settled

primarily by those groups in the late 1700s and early 1800s.⁴⁰ The people who lived on Baltimore Street were most likely moderately religious, which is to say that they came from mostly German or Scots-Irish stock, were practicing Christians, and were part of the middle class, which meant that they were neither completely unconcerned with the state of their souls nor obsessed about them. Religious sensibility was beginning to loosen up. There was a debate that year as to whether fishing ought to be permitted on Sundays, evidence that religion and entertainment were beginning to clash with each other.⁴¹

If they were not terribly religious, however, they were remarkably political. There are indications that most of the residents of the street participated in the political activities of the time, and newspaper articles concerning the president's activities would seem to indicate that the residents of the town had at least a passing interest in what was going on in the world at large. Two residents of the street, George P. Black and Joseph Sefton, served on the grand and petit juries respectively at the local courthouse that year.⁴² There was evidently very little for the grand jury to do that year, but the petit jury saw some activity. It is interesting to note that illegitimate children were a matter to be considered by courts – the purported fathers and the mothers were reported in the newspaper along with the outcome of the case.⁴³ Harry Bender was the president pro tempore for the Board of Health in the town and there seems to have been a fair bit of buying and selling of property among the families living on the street. This propensity for politics seems to have been a commonly recognized trait. Henry Eyster Jacobs noted in his journal that the people of the area were a crafty lot, “in fair circumstances, clannish, aristocratic.” He noted their fondness for politics as part of the essential nature of the Scots-Irish who had settled the region.⁴⁴

Of course, the residents of Baltimore Street faced a number of societal problems. The first and foremost of them all was disease. The world in 1910 was not a healthy place – infant mortality was high, as was the death rate from disease of the aged. The report of the Board of Health in 1910 stated that nine children under 5 and nineteen elderly citizens had passed away in the year preceding, and the worst killer among all the possible causes of death was not heart disease, cancer, or old age, but rather various types of lung disease.⁴⁵ Tuberculosis was a major concern for the state in that year. Numerous articles were published concerning the so-called “White Plague” which was sweeping the state and leaving a trail of devastation among the very old and the very young. “Health Commissioner Dixon,” the *Gettysburg Republican Compiler* reported, “is

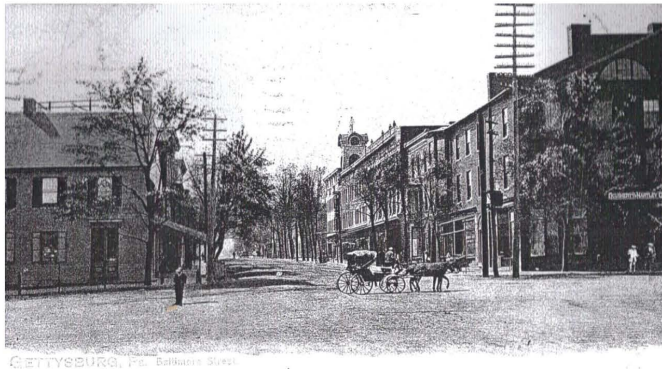
educating the masses to the dangers of tuberculosis and showing them how to guard against the spread of the disease."⁴⁶

There was an outbreak of diphtheria in the nearby town of McSherrystown that year – the sufferers were promptly quarantined to prevent an outbreak in other parts of the county. Another advertisement warned emphatically that, "It May be Pneumonia." The ad went on to warn of "a hard chill, pain through the chest, difficult breathing, then Fever with great prostration. If this should be your experience, send for your doctor."⁴⁷ Last but not least, there was an outbreak of rabies in the town and specifically on Baltimore Street that year. A yellow dog was seen to quite literally tear down the street, biting three people before finally being shot and examined. If further sightings were to be believed, there was more than one rabid animal, and a one hundred day ban was placed on all dogs running in the streets.⁴⁸

The town of Gettysburg in 1910 was, in some ways, a proverbial foreign country. The methods of transportation used, the social concerns, and the customs of the day were vastly different from the ones with which we are familiar today. Life was, in some ways, more settled – there was none of the urgency to life that so many have complained about in modern times. People grew up with their families, lived with them until they themselves married, and then moved out, had children, and supported themselves in different professions than the ones we today find most useful and relevant. In some ways though, life in 1910 was not so very different from the average lifestyle in small towns in modern times. People got up early in the morning, went to work, came home to their children, and had jury duty the same as most of us do on an everyday basis. Women went to visit their friends, men went fishing and hunting, and people were born and died. Local politics mattered more than the great happenings of the world, a fact which is still true in Gettysburg. The year 1910 was, in many ways, part of the transition point between the old world of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and the new reality of cars, telephones, and industrialism that we are so familiar with. With changes in technology came changes in morality, social tradition, and the entire fabric of life in the town, which were slowly chipping away some of the old closeness and insularity of the town and opening it to the bigger happenings of the world.



The George E. Stock Tobacco Store on Baltimore Street, circa. 1910
Image courtesy of the Adams County Historical Society



Postcard depicting Baltimore Street circa. 1910
Image courtesy of the Adams County Historical Society



Image depicting church on Baltimore Street circa. 1910
Image courtesy of the Adams County Historical Society

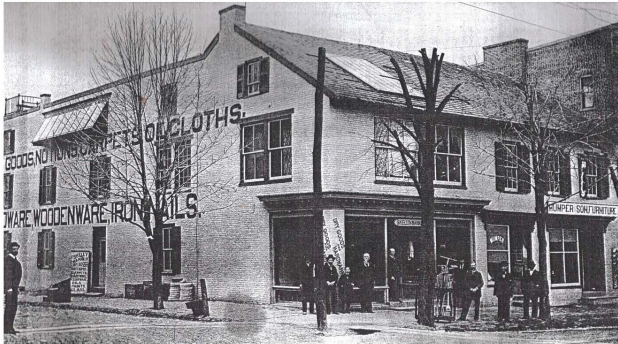


Image depicting Baltimore Street circa. 1910
Image courtesy of the Adams County Historical Society

**The authors would like to thank Dr. Michael Birkner for his guidance,
and the wonderful staff of the Adams County Historical Society for all of
their assistance.**

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and professional service advertisements in *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, 1910.
- ² 1910 Census Records, 212.
- ³ *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, June 6, 1928.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 13 and Apr. 26, 1910.
- ⁵ Dr. Charles Glatfelter, *Research Report No. 1*, April 1973, 15, ACHS.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.
- ⁷ *The Gettysburg Times*, January 1, 1910.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1910.
- ⁹ *The Gettysburg Times*, 1910 . Such advertisements ran on a regular basis.
- ¹⁰ *Star and Sentinel*, Dec. 2, 1916.
- ¹¹ See for example *The Gettysburg Times*, April 27, 1910.
- ¹² Glatfelter, *Research Report No. 1*, 14.
- ¹³ Mumper Family File, Adams County Historical Society.
- ¹⁴ *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, May 11, 1910.
- ¹⁵ *The Gettysburg Times*, January 1, 1910.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1910.
- ¹⁷ National Geographic Society,
<http://photography.nationalgeographic.com/photography/photographers/photography-timeline.html>.
- ¹⁸ See for example *Gettysburg Republican Compiler* Apr. 6, 1910.
- ¹⁹ 1910 Census Records Gettysburg Borough 2nd Ward, 212.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 212.
- ²¹ *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, July 20, 1910.
- ²² *Ibid.*, Early November (Before the sixteenth of the month).
- ²³ *Ibid.*, May 16, 1910, 4.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1918.
- ²⁵ 1910 Census Records Gettysburg Borough 2nd Ward , 213.
- ²⁶ *Gettysburg Times*, Jan. 3, 1910.
- ²⁷ *Gettysburg Times*, Jan. 1, 1910.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1910.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1910.
- ³⁰ 1910 Census Records Gettysburg Borough 2nd Ward, 212.

- ³¹ *The Gettysburg Times*, January 1, 1910.
- ³² 1910 Census Records Gettysburg Borough 2nd Ward, 214 or 215.
- ³³ *The Gettysburg Times*, 1910 – this was a generally run advertisement and can be easily found in almost any edition of the paper.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1910.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1910.
- ³⁶ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1912.
- ³⁷ *The Gettysburg Times*, Feb, 1910.
- ³⁸ There was in fact an auto accident on Baltimore Street – a Miss Stammers was hit while crossing the road in June of 1910 – see *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, Wednesday, June 15, 1910. There were also a number of cart accidents that year, including one that resulted in a fatality – see *Star and Sentinel*, December 7, 1910.
- ³⁹ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1907 and 1912. This was the Prince of Peace Church, at the corner of Baltimore and High Streets.
- ⁴⁰ Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Early Gettysburg History: Town and College* (Transcript of his journal, Courtesy of Gettysburg College Special Collections), 6.
- ⁴¹ *Gettysburg Republican Compiler*, Early November, 1910.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, Jan 19, 1910.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1910.
- ⁴⁴ Jacobs, *Early Gettysburg History*, 6.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan 12, 1910.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1910.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1910.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9 and Feb. 16, 1910.

**MARCH INTO OBLIVION:
A FOOTNOTE**

**Further information on President George Washington's Return
to Philadelphia in late October of 1794**

By Larry C. Bolin

In the above-titled work in 2006, this writer briefly discussed the possibility that President George Washington traversed present Adams County in October 1794, during his return from Bedford to Philadelphia, a belief long and widely held locally. ¹ No credible assertion of the President's presence here in 1794 was possible at that time. Recently however, a forgotten narrative was "rediscovered"; its author, Jacob Eyster, gives some substance to the previous mere speculation. ² After extensive research, this writer was graciously requested to produce a sequel to his prior speculative writing.³

Jacob was the first of thirteen children of George and Mary Magdalene (Slagle) Eyster, born June 8, 1782, and baptized at St. Matthew Lutheran Church in Hanover. ⁴ At that time the family home was near "Blue Spring," as Jacob himself later referred to it, in then Berwick Township.⁵ By 1788, the family had moved to a site near Hunterstown, in Straban Township, where George Eyster opened a tannery. ⁶ The Eyster home there was built near the intersection of what Jacob called "the State road from Harrisburg to Washington City and the old road from York, through Hunterstown and Black Gap to Chambersburg." ⁷ Sometime later, that intersection became known as Schriver's Corner (or Crossroads).⁸

Jacob Eyster was taxed first in Straban Township in 1805; by 1808 he was termed "tanner" and surely was working for his father.⁹ He was also undergoing military training. ¹⁰ At the age of 23 he received his first of eventually five commissions as an officer in the Militia of York and Adams Counties. ¹¹ On November 6, 1810, he married Maria, daughter of Jacob and Julianna Middlekauff ¹²; shortly thereafter, the young couple moved to Gettysburg.¹³ Within a year of his marriage, Jacob Eyster, along with Jacob Middlekauff, purchased a store on Baltimore Street, where they sold groceries, dry goods, and fresh produce.¹⁴ Then in the autumn of 1817 their partnership was dissolved, with Jacob Eyster afterwards continuing to run the store alone.¹⁵

While residing in Gettysburg, Jacob also attempted to win various political offices, both local and state, running as a Democrat. His success was very limited until 1819 – that autumn he was notified by the election return judges of York and Adams Counties: "you are returned highest in votes for Senator for the district composed of the

Counties of York and Adams, for two years, commencing the first Tuesday of December next. Witness [our] hands the twenty-sixth day of October 1819." He was re-elected to the Senate in 1821.¹⁶

Then in the spring of 1824 a newspaper report in Gettysburg told readers that "Gen. Eyster of this place" had been appointed Deputy Surveyor General of Pennsylvania.¹⁷ Jacob himself later wrote that Governor John Andrew Shulze "requested him to accept the appointment," which he did.¹⁸

Jacob lost little time in moving to Harrisburg to begin work at his new post. He wrote that he "left Gettysburg on Friday, the 7th of May, 1824." After making arrangements for living quarters in Harrisburg, he returned to Gettysburg, then again he "left there with his family on the 1st day of June 1824."¹⁹

Clearly, Jacob Eyster's efficiency and integrity were recognized as valuable assets, for he continued as Deputy Surveyor General for about fifteen years, from 1824 to 1839, through the administrations of three successive governors.²⁰ In addition, in 1839 he was asked by newly elected Governor David Rittenhouse Porter, a Democrat, to remain at his post; that offer was withdrawn however, before Porter took office, upon his learning that someone else had already been offered, and had accepted, the job.²¹

Jacob tried several avenues of work after his government service came to an end.²² He wrote at some length on one. He was elected by its directors to be cashier of a bank in Hagerstown, Maryland, but after performing an audit of the bank's financial situation decided against accepting that position.²³

Frequently plagued in his adulthood by financial difficulties, Jacob continued to have a hard time staying afloat.²⁴ Finally, in 1843 and again living in Harrisburg, he opened a store in his home with money provided by his son-in-law Michael Jacobs; that store apparently earned him enough for his maintenance for the rest of his working days.²⁵ He died on March 24, 1859.²⁶

The Eyster memoir likely was written in the 1850s, after Jacob's business career ended. He claimed no pretensions of education or writing ability; rather, he said his primary object was "to record facts without any paint or varnish."²⁷ Close scrutiny appears to uphold very well what he wrote, his words being in close agreement with documented information and therefore eminently believable. Credence is thus also given to his statements for which corroboration has not been found (indeed may not exist).²⁸

Among the things Jacob Eyster included in his memoir was this:

*He [that is, Jacob himself] had the satisfaction
once, when yet a boy, to see General Washington
pass his father's house on his return to Philadelphia,
from what was called the "western expedition"
against the "whisky boys."*²⁹

The editors of the President's diaries say that Washington "apparently followed a route from Bedford to Chambersburg, from Chambersburg to York, and then to Lancaster, from which place he proceeded to Philadelphia."³⁰ So it is credible that George Washington traveled through future Adams County in 1794 and it is Jacob Eyster's own testimony that he saw the President pass by his home. By October 26, Washington had reached Wright's ferry on the Susquehanna and from there he wrote to Alexander Hamilton that "thus far I have proceeded without accident to man, horse, or Carriage. I rode yesterday afternoon thro' the rain from York Town to this place."³¹

Certainly, Jacob Eyster's affirmation, added to the first-hand unarguable documentation above, makes George Washington's presence in now Adams County in 1794 believable. It does nothing however to support claims such as those broadcast about supposed incidents at Russell Tavern or Hunterstown, which to date remain without credible evidence.³²

October 2010

ENDNOTES

¹Larry C. Bolin, "March into Oblivion," in *Adams County History*, vol. 12 (Gettysburg, PA, 2006), endnote 9, 50.

²Jacob Eyster, *Memoir (1782-1859)*, 2 vol., typescript and manuscript (n.p., n.d.).

³Research was done by Charles Glatfelter, Timothy Smith, Wayne Motts, and Arthur Weaner.

⁴Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 13; Frederick S. Weiser, *Records of St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover, Pennsylvania 1741-1831* (Camden, ME, 1994), 58.

⁵Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 7. Blue Spring is actually in Mt. Pleasant Township, about midway between today's Mt. Rock (or Centennial) and Conewago Chapel. Therefore, the Eyster home was across the South Branch of the (or Little) Conewago Creek, in then Berwick, now Oxford, Township. *Atlas of Adams Co, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1872), 48.

⁶Adams County Historical Society, tax lists: Straban Township, 1786-8.

⁷Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 15; York County Deeds LL-532 and LL-533, Conrad Hoke to George Eyester, both dated January 30, 1786 –originals in ACHS deed collection.

⁸Arthur Weaner, land draft; *Star and Sentinel*, Gettysburg, February 27, 1943, obituary of D.D. Schriver, 5.

⁹ACHS, tax lists: Straban Township, 1805-11.

¹⁰Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 34-41.

¹¹ACHS, Room 21, oversize files, 130. Four of the commissions are originals. In short order Jacob advanced from Captain to Major to Lieutenant Colonel to Brigadier General.

¹²*Centinel*, Gettysburg, November 14, 1810. The Middlekauffs were a prominent family in early Conewago and Franklin Townships.

¹³ACHS, tax lists: Straban Township, 1811, and Gettysburg, 1812.

¹⁴*Centinel*, Gettysburg, October 22, 1811. It is not clear whether Middlekauff was Eyster's father-in-law or brother-in-law.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, October 20, 1817.

¹⁶ACHS, *Published or Compiled Reference Materials*, #204: "Adams County Elections and Appointments, from 1800"; Eyster, *Memoir*, II, 34.

¹⁷*Centinel*, Gettysburg, May 19, 1824. Jonathan Stayer, head of the reference section of the State Archives of Pennsylvania, upon request was unable to verify the appointment, uncovering no information at all on those who held positions as Deputies. Nevertheless, the *Centinel* report was accurate. Mr. Stayer was also unable to find evidence that Jacob Eyster "filled the office of Auditor General for about fifteen years," as was printed in the *Harrisburg Weekly Telegraph* of March 31, 1859. That latter report was not accurate. Letter from Jonathan Stayer to Charles Glatfelter, dated March 31, 2010.

¹⁸Eyster, *Memoir*, II, 286-7. A check of "Executive Minutes of Governor John Andrew Shulze" revealed no mention of Jacob Eyster. *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series, Volume VIII*, May-June 1824, 6110-6136.

¹⁹Eyster, *Memoir*, II, 292 and 294. Tax records of Gettysburg include his name as late as 1826, although a correct reading of them reveals that he was no longer there after 1824. ACHS, tax lists: Gettysburg, 1824-6.

²⁰Eyster, *Memoir*, II, 298, 310, 326. His service time crossed party lines too, his first two stints being under Governors John Andrew Shulze and George Wolf, both Democrats, and his third under Governor Joseph Ritner, an Antimason.

²¹Eyster, *Memoir*, II, 361-5 and 369.

²²*Ibid.*, 373-4.

²³*Ibid.*, 374-436.

²⁴*Ibid.*, passim.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 444-5. The 1850 federal census shows him, aged 68 years, residing in the West Ward of Harrisburg, his occupation grocer, which is the same business he had pursued in Gettysburg and was apparently comfortable with.

²⁶*Sentinel*, Gettysburg, March 28, 1859; *Compiler*, Gettysburg, April 4, 1859; *Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph*, Harrisburg, March 25, 1859; *Patriot and Union*, Harrisburg, March 26, 1859; *Weekly Telegraph*, Harrisburg, March 31, 1859. There is not conformity in his date of death in the newspaper accounts.

²⁷Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 1.

²⁸Evidently the memoir remained in the Eyster family's possession for many years after Jacob's death. By 1875 it was held by Lutheran College and Seminary Professor Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844-1932), grandson of Jacob Eyster. By the courtesy of Professor Jacobs, a lengthy excerpt was published in the September 2, 1875, issue of the *Gettysburg Star and Sentinel*. The article included long lists of early prominent local citizens according to their political party affiliation and stressed Jacob Eyster's own observation of the general "acerbity" of political opponents' views of one another at that time. The memoir

came to ACHS from the Eyster family after being in their hands for about a century.

²⁹Eyster, *Memoir*, I, 39. Another assertion of the President's passage through the county also exists; surely it is a story accepted by its hearer as an actual memory, handed down to Jacob Eyster's grandson who wrote this more than a hundred years after the event: "*My grandfather, Jacob Eyster, as a boy had sat on the railing of a neighboring porch, intently watching every movement of George Washington, as he paced up and down the porch, while waiting the preparation of his dinner.*" Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Memoirs* (n.p., 1906), 25-26. In light of Eyster's own written affirmation, this passed on memory deserves recognition as a likely reflection of Eyster's.

³⁰Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, VI (Charlottesville, VA, 1979), 197.

³¹Library of Congress, "Hamilton papers," as quoted in Jackson and Twohig, *The Diaries of George Washington*, VI, 197.

³²Further word of the President's return to Philadelphia is in the offing. The next installment, number 16, of the *Presidential Series*, which itself is part of the publications collectively called *The Papers of George Washington*, is scheduled for publication in 2011 or 2012. Installment 16 covers some months, possibly to the end, of 1794; its appearance could unveil a revelation intimately pertinent to this sequel and to the interest of many local people.

James P. Myers, Jr., *The Ordeal of Thomas Barton: Anglican Missionary in the Pennsylvania Backcountry, 1755-1780* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, Studies in Eighteenth-Century America and the Atlantic World, 2010)

The Ordeal of Thomas Barton is a highly informative read that I recommend for anyone interested in the history of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Scholars will find the book useful for its many connections to the histories of settlement, religion, politics, Indian diplomacy, and warfare on the Pennsylvania frontier. The book's author, Gettysburg College English professor James P. Myers, Jr., has written the most deeply researched account of Barton's importance in eighteenth-century religion and politics, and has contributed some of the finest overall scholarship on early Pennsylvania in recent years. Based in Huntington Township in what is now Adams County, and later in Lancaster, Barton was an Anglican frontier clergyman, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), and a client of the Penn family. The word *ordeal* aptly summarizes the tumultuous life and career of Thomas Barton, which spanned the French and Indian and the American Revolution.

Many readers are perhaps familiar with Barton's vivid journal of his experiences as a chaplain in British Gen. John Forbes's campaign in 1758. This crucial description of Forbes's army is reprinted in the book's appendices along with many other useful primary documents related to Barton. Chaplain Barton's journal alone would have made him a significant figure for historians of the eighteenth century; but Myers's book reminds us that his importance in colonial Pennsylvania was even more extensive than his participation in Forbes's Campaign.

Myers's well-researched portrait of Thomas Barton is instructive on a number of levels. It reveals the precise social context in which Barton operated: he was a recent Anglo-Irish immigrant with many of the same characteristics as his more famous Anglo-Irish contemporaries, William Johnson and George Croghan. Born in Ireland in 1728, Barton's family had sufficient means to send him to Trinity College, Dublin, but his immigration to America in 1751 suggests poor economic prospects in his native land. Barton pursued a calling as a missionary of the S.P.G. and began his ministry at the Conewago settlements in 1755—a particularly dangerous time on Pennsylvania's western frontier. The Conewago clergyman fashioned himself as a "watchman on the walls"—a scriptural allusion to the prophet Ezekiel's role as a spiritual watchman over the kingdom of Israel (p. 29). The comparison is apt, for just as Ezekiel suffered rejection and resentment from his people, so too did Barton. He achieved a degree of

prominence for his efforts to defend Pennsylvania and for his sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit*. Published in 1755, the sermon exhorted all Pennsylvanians to unity and a manly defense of Protestantism in the face of the Catholic French and Indian onslaught against the colony after Braddock's Defeat; but his sermon was mired in charges of plagiarism of a popular English sermon from 1745. And his dissenting neighbors, largely Ulster Presbyterians and German Lutherans, were always suspicious of Barton's motives, given his status as a S.P.G. missionary and proprietary placeman.

Myers's book also illustrates the gritty struggle for sheer survival on the frontier, even for a presumably well-to-do clergyman like Barton. Beyond the physical threat of French and Indian attacks, much of Barton's life was a struggle for financial security. A father of eight children with his wife Esther, he was almost constantly in debt and searching for ways to establish a solid economic foundation. Unlike his Anglo-Irish peers William Johnson and George Croghan, Barton's attempts to gain wealth through frontier land faltered. Like Johnson's and Croghan's careers, Thomas Barton's ultimately rose and fell according to the fortunes of his powerful patrons. The Anglican missionary could never escape the chaotic interplay of politics, religion, and society in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, for Barton was always a client of Pennsylvania's Proprietors—a status that instantly set him at odds with the “swarm of sectaries” that composed Lancaster County (p. 79). The ironic moment when Barton became at least a nominal ally of his sectarian opponents was the Paxton Crisis of 1763-1764. Myers has given us the finest explanation to date of Barton's role in the Paxton affair, especially his authorship of a pamphlet that defended the Paxton B killings of the Conestoga Indians.

Ultimately, what I found most instructive about Myers's biography was the tenuousness and fragility of Barton's frontier world. Here was a man who was tied to the Anglican Church's militant arm, the S.P.G., and personally acquainted with powerful figures such as Thomas Penn, William Johnson, and Richard Peters. Though he represented connections to Great Britain, the Church of England, and the ideals of the Enlightenment, his influence was attenuated. By the 1770s, Barton struggled against a revolutionary tide that crashed upon his world with overwhelming force. He ended his career on the Pennsylvania frontier as a political outcast and loyalist who refused to abjure his sovereign as required by the State's Test Act of 1777, and he died in British-occupied New York City in 1780. Myers aptly summarizes the trajectory of Barton's life as one of “many beginnings . . . with few decisive endings or even, and certainly, fewer sustained periods of stability” (p. 80).

David L. Preston

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