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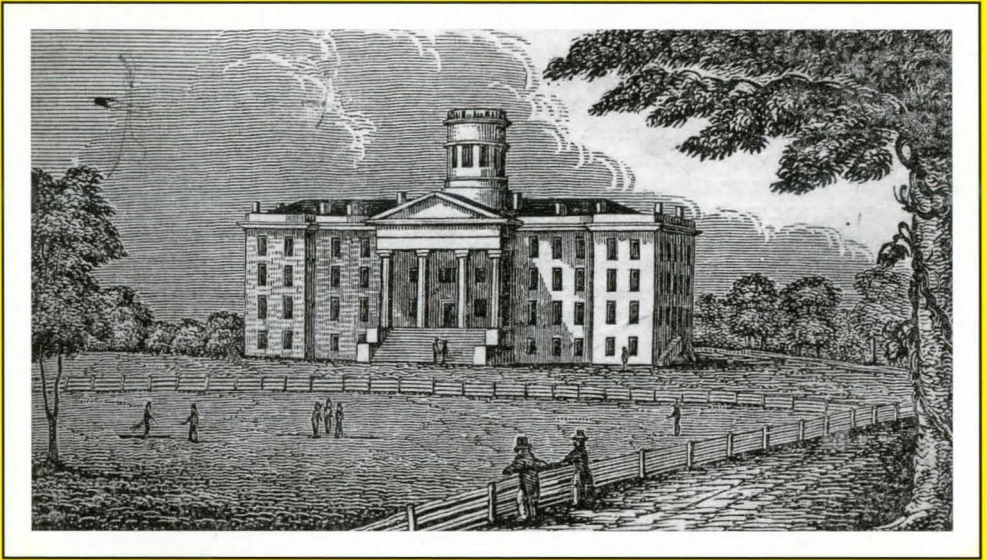
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ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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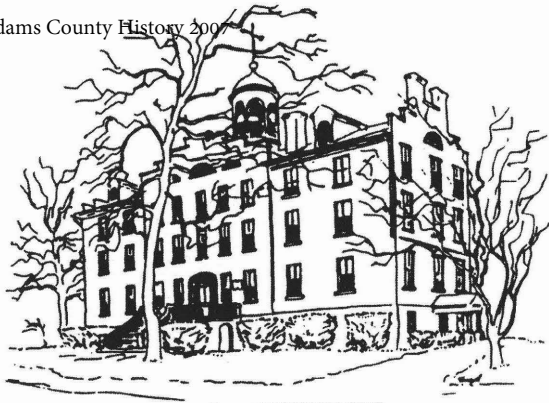
Adams County Historical Society

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Cover Illustration: *Image of Pennsylvania Hall from a drawing dated 1843. From Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania, 1843.*

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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

Local history in every community spills over into national themes and issues, and the opposite is equally true. Few counties exemplify this axiom better than Adams County, which like its neighbors has been influenced by significant episodes and trends in American religion, economics, politics and social history. Because the Civil War played such a pivotal role here, it is unsurprising that collections at the historical society have been well represented by documents relating to the great clash of armies in Gettysburg in July 1863, and that there's a continuing interest in researching, writing, and reading about this seminal event.

In Journal Volume 13, two of our articles connect to Civil War themes. Our lead article, by Gettysburg College student Brian Jordan, retails the role of Adams County native John S. Rice in producing a successful commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. The logistics entailed in such an event were daunting; but Rice and his cohort accomplished the task to the satisfaction of virtually everyone, from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the politicians participating in the program to the aged veterans themselves and on down to the youngest Boy Scout recruited as an aide to assist them. Rice did it with great precision, and he managed to do it under budget!

Director of Historic Collections Benjamin K. Neely has taken a different piece of the Battle story, editing an extended account by John Charles Wills of what was happening in Gettysburg and specifically at his Globe Inn during the battle. Replete with dialogue vividly recalled despite the passage of nearly half a century from the time of the battle, Wills's reminiscence is one of the most detailed and valuable accounts of the battle's impact on local people and buildings in Gettysburg. It will make absorbing reading for Civil War buffs.

Adams County has been blessed for nearly two hundred years as the site of two notable institutions of higher learning: Gettysburg College and the Gettysburg Theological Seminary. In Charles Glatfelter's paper on the founding and early years of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, we are reminded of the humble beginnings of what has become a significant player in the world of liberal arts education, not to mention a major economic force in Adams County. Glatfelter highlights the vision of founder Samuel Simon Schmucker and the local boosters who helped him make a dream come true and emphasizes the nonsectarian nature of the new college—one of the nation's 50 oldest liberal arts institutions.

A further example of Adams County's connection to a larger, nationally significant story is the county's connection to General of the Army and 34th president, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Dwight Eisenhower chose Gettysburg as his retirement home, determined to leave a piece of land in better condition than he found it. He did just that on the Redding Farm he purchased just off the Millerstown Road a couple of miles south of Gettysburg. The circumstances surrounding Eisenhower's deeding his home and property to the federal government is provided in a poignant letter by a witness to the deed signing event in 1967—Horace Busby, an aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Reading this note one can appreciate how much Gettysburg meant to the Eisenhowers—and how Ike was looking ahead, to a time when he would be viewed through the lens of history.

Our final offering, a review by Society Executive Director Wayne Motts of

a new volume on the Lincoln Highway that runs through Adams County, offers the reminder that Adams County's history is replete with interesting tales well removed from the three days of battle in July 1863.

We invite you to sample these wares and also to consider contributing your own work to the pages of this journal.

MJB

Michael J. Birkner
December 4, 2007

‘A Beautiful Dream Realized’: John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg

By Brian Matthew Jordan

“We have real cause for being proud of our past and the heritage it has given us . . . We have a rich past . . . along with this heritage we have had thrust upon us a deep responsibility,” John S. Rice said in 1959.¹ Indeed, it was the same sense of deep responsibility that had motivated him in anticipation of 1938. That year marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the cataclysmic, three-day battle that was waged in the fields and farm lanes surrounding the seat of his native Adams County, Pennsylvania. Rice’s cognizance of the importance not only of the Battle of Gettysburg — but of commemorating it — led the state senator to introduce legislation providing for a state battle anniversary commission; soon thereafter, by virtue of a gubernatorial appointment, Senator Rice found himself the commission’s chairman. In this capacity, Rice spurred interest in



State Chairman John S. Rice on Oak Ridge, 1938.
Courtesy Adams County Historical Society.

remembrance; he fostered connections with local, state, and federal leaders and organizations; he coordinated the construction of a vast “tent city” and secured amenities for the attendees; he organized the proceedings and crafted the program for a “final reunion” of the Blue and Gray; he arranged for the construction of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. Finally, he accomplished each of these objectives efficiently and economically.

“I appreciate the senator’s ability and I can think of no one better fitted to head this commission,” Pennsylvania Governor George H. Earle declared before a group of his friends at the Hotel Gettysburg on Memorial Day 1935.² Rice was not present in the hotel’s crowded lobby to receive his appointment; however, the news was probably no surprise.³ The Senator had invited the Governor and the entire State Senate to travel to Gettysburg for the Memorial Day Services held in the Soldiers’ National Cemetery with the objective of securing support for the seventy-fifth anniversary

commemoration.⁴ Furthermore, this invitation came less than a month after Earle signed Rice's General Assembly Act 42, which passed unanimously and instructed the governor to appoint nine citizens to a state commission "to consider and arrange plans for a proper and fitting recognition and observance at Gettysburg." The commission would function without compensation and would invite the cooperation of Congress. Finally, the legislation provided for a \$15,000 appropriation for the commission to commence its work.⁵

The senator introduced the legislation well aware that with his election to the State Senate in 1932, he had become Gettysburg's first representative in the body in twelve years.⁶ Moreover, he distinctly recalled the invitation of another Pennsylvania chief executive, Governor John Kinley Tener. When over fifty-thousand Union and Confederate veterans met in Gettysburg in 1913, on the battle's fiftieth anniversary, Tener invited survivors to return in twenty-five years for a final, joint reunion.⁷ Now, with an average of nearly nine hundred veterans expiring each year, it was imperative that a final gathering be organized to imbue the inspiration of those veterans into the hearts of the living.⁸ Perhaps as Amy J. Kinsel has noted, too, "Honoring, commemorating, even celebrating what might have been the most dangerous moment in a very dangerous war may have paradoxically reinforced the country's sense of accomplishment at surviving the ordeal."⁹

Rice's commission was soon filled out with the appointments of Dr. Henry W.A. Hanson, the President of Gettysburg College; Major General Edward C. Shannon of Columbia, the Commanding General of the Pennsylvania National Guard; former Attorney General William F. Schnader of Philadelphia; attorney Victor C. Mather of Haverford; Gerald P. O'Neil, a hotel manager from Pittsburgh; Judge William S. McLean, of the Eleventh Judicial Circuit, from Wilkes-Barre; former United States Senator George Wharton Pepper of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania Adjutant General Frederick B. Kerr of Clearfield.¹⁰ These appointments, each of which brought useful, specialized experience to the commission, were announced by Governor Earle on October 1, 1935, and would be confirmed by the General Assembly the last day of June 1936.¹¹

Rice called the first organizational meeting of his state commission on November 25, 1935 in Parlor D of the Penns-Harris Hotel in Harrisburg. A general outline was approved, a proposal for an Eternal Peace monument was discussed, and President Hanson offered the buildings of Gettysburg College, Rice's alma mater, for veterans' housing.¹² The commission agreed to reconvene on January 23, 1936 at the State Capitol Building. However, a winter storm prevented Rice, Hanson, and Roy from making it to Harrisburg that day. Rice telephoned the State Capitol, informing the other commission members who had assembled of the "impassible condition" of Harrisburg Road and postponed the meeting until February 20.¹³ When the commission did convene for a second time, an emblem for the commission was adopted, which featured two shields — one bearing the federal flag, the other depicting the Confederate banner. Intertwined were oak, laurel, and palm leaves, symbolizing honor, bravery, and peace. The circle which enclosed the symbol represented the eternity of the Union now preserved.¹⁴

As chairman of the commission, the senator immediately began fostering connections with local, state, and national political leaders and veterans' organizations; indeed, even before he had received the official commission, he had been politicking for the commemoration. In April 1935, Rice and his wife, Luéne, hosted the Senate's Democratic floor leader, Warren R. Roberts of Bethlehem, at their Gettysburg home.

"I am happy to tell the people of this district that in Senator Rice they have an able and competent State Senator," Roberts told the *Gettysburg Times* after his visit.¹⁵ Then, in November, chairman's commission in hand, Rice spoke to the fifth annual banquet of the Past Commanders and Past Presidents' Association of the Grand Army of the Republic at the Hotel Gettysburg. He invited the federal veterans' organization to play "an active part" in the reunion. Considering the widespread hesitancy of both Union and Confederate veterans' organizations to participate, this was an important appearance.¹⁶ Rice spoke of plans for the reunion, the unknown intentions of which had fomented both the Northern and Southern anxieties. That evening, Rice attempted to allay these fears. "The battle between the right and wrong never ceases," the senator declared. He continued:

Let us resolve to fight it with the same clear vision, the same undying courage that made immortal history on the hills surrounding the peaceful community of Gettysburg. Let us see to it that every day of our lives this country of ours shall have some new birth of freedom, freedom to prosper, freedom to be happy, freedom to know what a great adventure of goodness and charity this life of ours can be made.¹⁷

Despite the persistence of the "Lost Cause" mythology and reconciliation tropes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, federal veterans remained chary of participating in a celebration where the "Stars and Bars" would be unfurled. "Persistent opposition [was] agitated by individuals who nursed petty thought of animosity and bitterness," the commission's final report recollected.¹⁸ Likewise, Confederate veterans were reluctant to endorse a "final reunion" on Pennsylvania's soil, which they believed would amount to a celebration of the federal triumph at Gettysburg — without their flag.¹⁹ Rice had dispatched newspaperman Paul L. Roy, who was appointed the commission's executive secretary at its first meeting, to assuage the fears of the hardened old veterans in September. "It was a slow and tedious process to weld an amicable association of mutual interests in the Reunion," Roy reflected.²⁰ On September 2, 1935, he attended the forty-fifth reunion of the United Confederate Veterans at the Herring Hotel in Amarillo, Texas, where he was directed to speak with ninety-year-old General Harry Rene Lee. The Adjutant General and Chief of Staff of the UCV, General Lee was launching a bid to become the organization's next commander-in-chief based upon his opposition to the pending Gettysburg reunion.²¹ Only after assuring Lee of the broad, noble goals of the reunion and its equal terms, including a provision allowing the Confederate flag to fly, did he finally endorse the "last opportunity to receive plaudits and praises of a grateful people."²²

Securing approval from the Grand Army of the Republic was just as difficult. A week after his success with the United Confederate Veterans in Amarillo, Roy traveled to the Pantlind Hotel Grand Rapids, Michigan to meet with Commander-in-Chief Alfred E. Stacey. Although Stacey personally endorsed the project, objections were raised by a contingent led by Iowa veteran James W. Willett, who rejected the proposed display of the Rebel flag at the reunion. Assembled in closed session, opponents withdrew from the balloting after much persuasion, and the GAR voted for reunion.²³ "In the end they voted for brotherhood and the extreme sacrifice of friendship to admit the Confederacy's colors," concluded the *Milwaukee Journal*. "We are glad it is so; it is an example to us and future generations."²⁴

Continuing his campaign for reunion support, on March 12, 1936, Rice traveled

by automobile from Gettysburg to the White House to meet with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Accompanied by President Hanson, Victor Mather, Generals Shannon and Kerr, and Executive Secretary Paul L. Roy, Senator Rice explained his proposal for the grand reunion and asked for sanctioned, federal cooperation. Additionally, Gettysburg's representative in the United States House of Representatives, Harry L. Haines, who had arranged the meeting, spoke of his legislation to strike fifty-thousand commemorative coins and create a commemorative postage stamp.²⁵ After the meeting, Victor Mather confided to Rice, "You were brief and to the point and I could see at once that the President was in sympathy as was shown by the manner in which he treated the entire matter."²⁶

Indeed, Roosevelt must have been impressed, for he responded to Rice with a firm endorsement of the reunion plans. "At Gettysburg in 1863 occurred the greatest battle ever fought on the American continent. . . . Few remain who wore the Blue or the Gray on that historic occasion, but the valor and nobility . . . will ever live among our cherished traditions," he declared.²⁷ Roosevelt appointed a five member federal commission for the anniversary, consisting of Secretary of War Harry Woodring, Mississippi Governor Hugh White, U.S. Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania, Harry Haines, and U.S. Representative Marvin Jones of Texas, who was designated as the chairman.²⁸

Again, like President Roosevelt, Rice was aware of the historical weight of the reunion. His speech at the 1937 Memorial Day observance in Waynesboro seemed to transcend the day's events and speak simultaneously to the importance of the approaching ceremonials. Rice said that the remembrance of veterans served the "purpose of awakening again the memory of their deeds." Furthermore, he said, "by so doing, [we] stir in us a deeper appreciation and a spirit of emulation of the supreme sacrifices which they made for their fellow countrymen."²⁹

State commission meetings, likewise committed to the preservation of valor and nobility, continued throughout 1936. In the Senate Caucus Room at the State Capitol on June 30, Rice authorized the call for a joint meeting with Roosevelt's nascent federal commission. A month later, meeting at General Shannon's headquarters at Indiantown Gap, the state commission reviewed Pittsburgh artist Frank Vittor's fourteen models for Harry Haines' Gettysburg anniversary half-dollar. A subcommittee, consisting of Rice, Shannon, Kerr, and Roy, was appointed to complete the work of settling upon a coin design.³⁰ By the end of the summer, after consultation with William Ludwig of the State Art Commission, a model depicting one Union soldier and one Confederate soldier — side by side and looking symbolically forward under the banner of "Liberty" — was selected. The reverse side of the coin bore a reproduction of the commission seal.³¹ That summer, in addition to the commemorative coins, the publication of ten-thousand special, forty-eight page booklets, featuring photographs and information about the battlefield, was ordered.³²

On January 6, 1937, Rice and the commission returned to the Penns-Harris Hotel for its most important meeting to date. The chairman welcomed Governor Earle and Secretary of the Commonwealth David L. Lawrence as his guests for this luncheon meeting, in which he reported the commission's progress and suggested the conception of a "tent city" to house the veterans. Although President Hanson had graciously offered the buildings of Gettysburg College, responses to the initial questionnaires the commission disseminated to veterans suggested a turnout too burdensome for the dormitories.³³

Earle listened with “keen interest” and recommended the construction of a model of the “modern, tented city.”³⁴ Offering the use of state equipment and employees, the governor proclaimed, “I think this reunion is one of the most marvelous and beautiful things that could happen. It will do more to bring about a united nation than any other thing we could have undertaken.”³⁵ A week later, in a letter to Rice, Earle was just as eager and supportive. “I feel that I hardly need to tell you how enthusiastic I am about Pennsylvania’s observance,” he wrote to Rice. “It is most fitting that we should take advantage of this opportunity. . . . I believe firmly that this observance will go down in Pennsylvania history as one of her great historical occasions.”³⁶

The governor also participated in the first joint meeting of the federal and state commissions, held in Gettysburg on February 6, 1937. Unanimously, in recognition of his diligence and organization as state chairman, Senator Rice was elected chairman of the joint state-federal commission.³⁷ The federal commission was just as enthusiastic about the pending program, especially the conception for an Eternal Peace memorial. The prime purpose of the memorial, according to the initial study commissioned by Rice, would be “to weld a closer spirit of friendliness and good fellowship.”³⁸ Six designs were submitted for the joint consideration of the commissions, the National Park Service, and the Pennsylvania Arts Commission.³⁹ At the meeting, Rice also welcomed the “artistic opinion of experts” to determine both the memorial’s location and design. “The site for the memorial . . . must be selected with care[,] and we are anxious to be in harmony with [National Park Service] officials in all matters with respect to this project,” Rice declared.⁴⁰ In his initial study, Rice suggested placing the memorial on Big Round Top, one of the highest elevations on the battlefield.⁴¹

A memorial committee, consisting of Rice, President Hanson, Victor Mather, and Gerald O’Neil, was appointed and met periodically the balance of the year. Together, they selected Paul P. Cret of Philadelphia as the architect.⁴² Cret’s design, presented to the commission in a series of seven renderings, called for the memorial to be erected on a terraced mound at the crest of Oak Hill, one of the most prominent features of the first day’s battlefield. From the granite base of the memorial, 82 feet wide and 42 feet deep, would emerge a limestone shaft, twelve feet square and embossed with inscriptions. Capping the shaft would be a bronze burner providing for the flame of “Peace Eternal in a United Nation.”⁴³ “It is a very beautiful thing and will attract millions to Gettysburg,” Governor Earle predicted when the state commission approved the design on November 4, 1937.⁴⁴ Rice sent Earle, as well as President Roosevelt, a miniature plaster model of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.⁴⁵ The bid for the construction of the \$60,000 memorial, which Rice celebrated as “the only one of its kind in the world which does not use an artificial substance for its lighting effect,” went to the George A. Fuller Company.⁴⁶ The commission sought a \$5,000 donation from each state to defray the cost of construction. Governor George Peery of Virginia was the first to respond with an appropriation; funds also followed from New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.⁴⁷ Construction was completed by June 1, 1938.⁴⁸

The conception and construction of the Eternal Flame Peace Memorial were only two components of Rice’s work and the commission’s duties. With over 2,000 aged veterans — each to be accompanied by an escort — planning to make their way to Gettysburg for the ceremonies, the foremost task became preparing adequate accommodations, as well as securing the assistance of local and state leaders in these preparations.

With a \$75,000 construction appropriation having passed the Pennsylvania General Assembly at Rice's request on May 5, 1937, the creation of the "tented city" commenced on April 26, 1938. The work in the fields directly north of the College began with the labor of 28 men; by the eve of the reunion, that workforce would swell to include 953 individuals.⁴⁹ The construction was supervised by Major Coleman B. Mark, the superintendent of the Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, the installment which had also provided the labor.⁵⁰ Five sawmills produced the boards for the tent floors and the labyrinth of sidewalks installed in the Union and Confederate camps; these sidewalks, extending nearly eight miles in total length, would be illuminated by 396 street lamps.⁵¹ "There is now arising a veritable city community with living accommodations for 6,000 persons," noted Professor Robert Fortenbaugh on June 15, 1938.⁵² The "veritable city" included three kitchen tents and 55 mess tents, which were supported by ten miles of waterlines and twenty-five miles of electric light wire.⁵³ Fifty telephones were installed in the veterans' camps, necessitating the placement of over thirty miles of telephone lines.⁵⁴ In anticipation of construction, Senator Rice had met with the Gettysburg Water Company to arrange an agreement on October 21, 1937, just as he would meet with other utilities companies — specifically the telephone service and the Gettysburg Gas Company — as the reunion neared.⁵⁵

Rice also worked closely with President Hanson, who again had placed the entire Gettysburg College campus at the commission's disposal without cost.⁵⁶ Naturally, with both veterans' camps located on the northern bounds of college property — the Union veterans' camp situated between the Biglerville and Mummasburg Roads, and the Confederate veterans' camp located between the Mummasburg Road and the Reading Railroad tracks — Gettysburg College would play "host to the nation."⁵⁷ College historian Charles H. Glatfelter notes that when the 1938 spring term concluded, the state and federal commissions assumed control of the grounds and buildings.⁵⁸ The edifices were quickly designated for specific functions. Glatfelter Hall was slated as the general headquarters for the reunion, with the National Broadcasting Company occupying the top floor to disseminate the proceedings internationally; McKnight and Weidensall Halls were to be used by the print media; Huber Hall was allocated as the headquarters for the state commission and Governor Earle; Eddie Plank Gymnasium was selected as sleeping quarters for the Army Band.⁵⁹ Once again, Pennsylvania Hall was to serve as a hospital.⁶⁰ "Gettysburg College has entered wholeheartedly into the preparation for the celebration



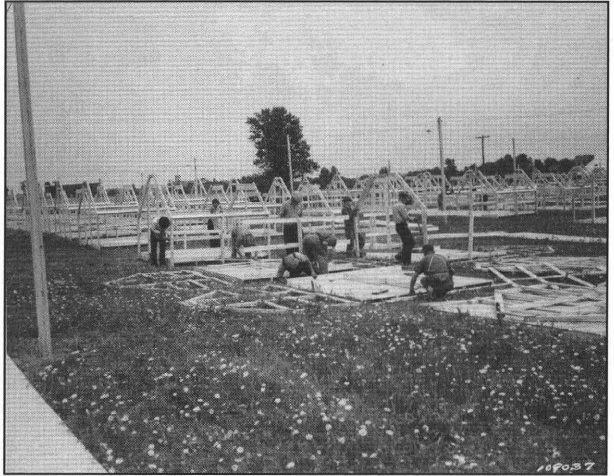
John Rice and the State Commission inspect the site of the Eternal Peace Memorial on Oak Ridge.
Courtesy of Adams County Historical Society.

of the final Reunion of the Blue and Gray,” President Hanson told the Board of Trustees at its annual spring meeting in June. “In an age when old landmarks are forgotten and creative beliefs . . . have been placed on the side lines[,] I have looked forward to the coming celebration as the occasion when a real contribution will be made to American life and thought.”⁶¹

President Hanson also told the Board of Trustees something illuminating about the work of his friend, John S. Rice. “The ample provision made for [the] comfort, health, and for entertainment [of the

veterans] makes the celebration the most elaborate ever planned,”⁶² he said. Indeed, when the veterans’ trains would begin arriving on the Western Maryland Railroad and Reading Line on June 29, the old men and their attendants would find that “all [was] in readiness.”⁶³ Each veteran and his attendant would be provided with a well-ventilated canvas tent, nine feet by nine feet, outfitted with a screen door, mosquito netting, two iron cots, pillows, linen, woolen blankets, electric lamps, a water pitcher, rugs, two chairs with rubber seat pads, soap, towels, an umbrella, and a walking cane.⁶⁴ “Everything humanly possible has been done to make [the veterans and observers] comfortable,” the *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorialized.⁶⁵

Even the traffic patterns and parking configurations were considered. After consultation with Rice, the Pennsylvania Motor Police, led by Commissioner P.W. Foote, undertook a detailed traffic survey, considering potential problems within a thirty-five mile radius of Gettysburg. When the observers and participants began arriving, the Motor Police ensured that the traffic flowed.⁶⁶ Train schedules were coordinated, too, and for onlookers, special excursion trains ordered. These trains left York,



Work crews are busy on June 13, 1938.
Courtesy of Adams County Historical Society.



The “tented city,” shown here in an aerial photo, was extensive and efficient. Courtesy of Adams County Historical Society.

Thomasville, Spring Grove, and Hanover at special times and rates arranged by the commission.⁶⁷

Upon their arrival, the veterans' trains were met by government officials, the National Guard, Boy Scout troops, doctors, and Red Cross nurses. "I was reminded of a housewife expecting company," Annette Tucker, wife of the last surviving Confederate veteran of Manatee County, Florida, recalled. She continued:

[The housewife] busies herself cleaning, baking, and seeing that everything is in order for her guests. This was the atmosphere in which we were surrounded when we arrived in Gettysburg. The nation was ready. Gettysburg was prepared.⁶⁸

From the train platforms, volunteer female college students would show the veterans to their quarters, where they would have two days respite before the festivities commenced. The Boy Scouts would take the luggage and deliver it to the respective camp sites.⁶⁹

"If ever a history is written of this reunion," the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* remarked, "there should be a special page for a tale of the Boy Scouts . . . [who were] at the constant beck and call of the veterans as page boys."⁷⁰ Rice and the Pennsylvania state commission had invited 200 scouts from the York-Adams Area Council to serve at the reunion. They were divided into four troops of six patrols; each troop was led by a Scoutmaster and two assistant Scoutmasters, and worked in three, eight-hour shifts as guides, servers, escorts, information liaisons, and errand runners. A special blue and gray neckerchief was developed for the occasion.⁷¹ Fifteen-year-old Robert Fortenbaugh, Jr., whose father taught History at Gettysburg College, was one of the boy scouts who assumed these roles. With his father's connection to Civil War history, he became an obvious choice to serve as a battlefield guide. "I and a couple of others were assigned to go on buses with the veterans as they toured the field, and I would explain to them where they were and a little bit about that particular day's actions. . . ." Fortenbaugh recalled. "I was basically a guide, and these people were very old so they didn't want to get too many technical details. They just wanted to basically try to remember where they might have been."⁷²

In addition to the Boy Scouts, other organizations and individuals contributed to the safety, security, and order of the veterans' camps. Medical attention was provided by members of the First Medical Regiment from Carlisle and the Pennsylvania National Guard. "They went through hell and all I wanted to do was treat them like gold," Angelo Barraco, of the First Medical Regiment, reflected.⁷³ Between 50 and 60 plainclothes detectives provided by the State Police wandered the camps to detect crime — by the end of the reunion, ten people were arrested for pick-pocketing.⁷⁴

Life in the camps was regimented. Veterans were not to be unattended by their escorts, and the government threatened to discharge those escorts who neglected their duties. At designated times, meals were served on paper dishes in mess tents with long board tables and long board benches.⁷⁵ During the reunion, 12,000 pounds of beef, 1,400 pounds of broiled ham, 13,000 pounds of lamb, 4,000 pounds of seafood, and 1,000 pounds of scrapple were served.⁷⁶ Vegetarian options were also available. One veteran, apparently unaware that his doctor had placed him on a vegetable diet for health reasons, grumbled, "I hadn't any idea these people would be so short of meat. If I'd thought they

were as bad off as this, I'd have brought up some hogs from my smokehouse."⁷⁷ Of course, even with the attendance of 1,950 Union and Confederate veterans, there was no shortage of sustenance.⁷⁸

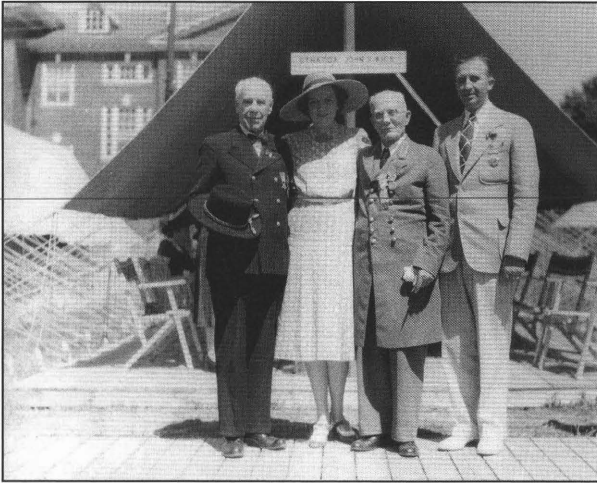
Again, the first two days in camp were days for the rest of veterans and attendants; however, Rice and the commission provided for battlefield tours with licensed guides (in addition to the trained Scouts) for those who were willing and able.⁷⁹ For the historical entertainment of those unable to tramp around the battlefield, Orville Mullis, an Abraham Lincoln impersonator from Decatur, Illinois, made his rounds and visited with the veterans.⁸⁰ The commission also arranged for an afternoon tea for female escorts on June 30. Held on the lawn near one of the mess halls, each attendee was given "a beautiful corsage tied with a ribbon and pin suitable to pin on."⁸¹ To conquer the heat, blue and gray fans bearing images of Lee's Headquarters, Meade's Headquarters, and the Lincoln Speech Memorial were distributed.⁸² It was "a very pretty affair carried out in a nice manner," recalled Annette Tucker. "I thought it was sweet of them to do that, but we were met at every turn with unexpected courtesies that we enjoyed and appreciated so much."⁸³ Senator Rice's wife, Luéne, along with Mrs. Hanson and Mrs. Earle, would serve as the official hostesses, both for the tea and the entire reunion. They were assisted by nine female college students.⁸⁴

Two additional "unexpected courtesies" were provided for the veterans in the form of souvenirs. First, handsomely bound program booklets were distributed. The three color emblem of the state commission graced the cover of the books, which featured reproduced, handwritten welcome messages from President Roosevelt, Governor Earle, Secretary of War Woodring, and Chairman Rice. These messages were centered on the page under their official photographs. "It is a privilege and an honor to welcome you to Gettysburg," Rice wrote in his message addressed to the Blue and Gray. "'Your reunion' will inspire us through the years to come."⁸⁵ Short messages were also interspersed from the nation's governors.⁸⁶ Second, in stout, leather presentation cases, official reunion badges were provided. A blue and gray ribbon, held in place by a bronze crossbar bearing the veteran's name, hung beneath an eagle bearing the symbols of the Union and Confederate forces.⁸⁷

Finally, after two days of rest, conversation, and rounds of gin rummy,⁸⁸ it was time for the program to commence. On July 1, in the College Stadium, "Reunion Day," consisting primarily of welcoming speeches, began with the United States Army Band in concert from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m.⁸⁹ At 2:00 p.m., Senator Rice welcomed the crowd, which was followed by the singing of "America" and an invocation from GAR Chaplain Martin Stone of Jamestown, New York. Following the prayer, Rice delivered his opening address.⁹⁰ "If we derive from this reunion renewed faith, renewed patriotism, renewed devotion to our beloved united Country, this reunion will not have been in vain," Rice declared.⁹¹ Following Chairman Rice's speech, brief remarks were delivered by the governor, whom Rice had extolled in introducing, and Secretary of War Harry Woodring.⁹² But before the governor arose to speak, his chair gave way, sending him tumbling to the floor of the platform. Pulling himself up with a grin, he allegedly said, "Now I'm a Gettysburg veteran, too!"⁹³ Humor aside, the emotional apogee of the first day's ceremony were the salutes to and addresses by Dr. Overton H. Mennet, the Commander-in-Chief of the GAR, and General John M. Claypool, the Commander-in-Chief of the UCV. The UCV Chaplain, J.J. Melthvin of Andarko,

Oklahoma, delivered the closing prayer. The service was sealed with the singing of the National Anthem.⁹⁴

The second day of the program was designated as “Veterans’ Day.” At 1:30 p.m., a street parade, seven miles in length, stepped off. Led by Grand Marshal Major General Edward C. Shannon, the parade attempted to meld the veterans of the Civil War with those of subsequent conflicts; it featured squads provided by the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, United Spanish War Veterans, and Disabled American Veterans of Eastern America. Other units in the parade were occupied by the state and federal commissions, the Gettysburg



Chairman Rice’s tent was situated in front of Gettysburg College’s Breidenbaugh Hall. Posing in front are, left to right, Mennet, Luéne Rice, Claypool, and Rice.
Courtesy of Adams County Historical Society.

Borough Council and Mayor Heiges, as well as Mennet and Claypool. The procession was set to the cadence of the United States Army Band and Drum Corps.⁹⁵ That evening, speeches celebrating the theme of comradeship among veterans of all wars were preceded by an hour of music provided by the U.S. Marine Band in the College Stadium. Chairman Rice introduced each of the speakers, and President Hanson delivered the invocation. Mennet and Claypool again addressed the crowds, as did representatives of each of the veterans’ groups that participated in the parade.⁹⁶

As with the battle itself, the climax of the entire reunion was reached on Sunday, July 3, which was designated as “President and Peace Memorial Day.”⁹⁷ The day began with optional services at the Christ Lutheran Church on Chambersburg Street, where at 8:00 a.m., Professor Robert Fortenbaugh delivered an address, “The Lutheran Institutions in the Battle of Gettysburg.” The sanctuary was opened for silent prayer from 10:00 a.m. to 1:15 p.m., and again from noon to 4:00 p.m.⁹⁸ For Catholic participants, a military field mass was arranged in the College Stadium with the pastor from St. Francis Xavier Church.⁹⁹ The central event, however, took place that evening at 6:30 p.m. on Oak Hill: the dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. A crowd of over 250,000 people began assembling at 10:00 a.m.¹⁰⁰ At 4:30 p.m., the U.S. Marine Band provided a one hour concert, which was followed by a 21 gun salute announcing the arrival of President Roosevelt. He was motored directly to the platform after a rail journey from Hyde Park.¹⁰¹ This was an event of great excitement, even for ardent Republicans, according to Ruth Fortenbaugh Craley, the daughter of Professor Fortenbaugh. Ten years old at the time, she recalled watching the president’s arrival from the roof of their Broadway Street home. “Even though my father was not a Roosevelt person . . . I was still aware that we were seeing

a president come by and who he was and all of that excitement,” she recalled. “Just the feeling of being part of that huge, huge, huge crowd [was exciting].”¹⁰²

In his opening address on this day of “excitement,” Rice celebrated a dream becoming a reality. He also spoke to the larger themes of reunion before introducing Governor Earle, who likewise spoke of realized dreams. “Why are they here, and why are we here?” the governor asked. “I will tell you, we are all here and they are all here to tell our State and Nation and World that for seventy-five years these men have healed all the wounds that existed between them and have bound themselves together in the cause of peace.” Earle then introduced the president, lauding Roosevelt for his “efficient direction” of the government and “matchless desire for peace.”¹⁰³ Roosevelt then spoke of deeds and words immortal abounding over the fields of Gettysburg, and to the new, fundamental challenge of unity and reunion.¹⁰⁴ Further demonstrating the efficiency of the program implemented by Rice and the commission, during Roosevelt’s speech, National Guardsmen rushed into the crowds to carry fainting and weary veterans to aid. “[Calls of] ‘Make way there,’ and ‘stand aside,’ punctuated [Roosevelt’s] speech,” noted the *Philadelphia Record*.¹⁰⁵

Finally, the most visible and, appropriately, “eternal” legacy of Rice’s commission was unveiled; an oversized American flag obscuring its limestone shaft was slowly removed by one Union and one Confederate veteran.¹⁰⁶ GAR Chaplain Stone delivered a closing prayer before 48 airplanes from Langley Field simulated an aerial attack on Gettysburg, dropping flares and consuming the sky with searchlights. Modern military demonstrations continued on Independence Day, with a special military drill by the Third U.S. Cavalry, a Battery drill by the Sixth Field Artillery, and a final, “national” salute of 48 guns. That evening, from Oak Hill, fireworks polluted the sky.¹⁰⁷ And then, it was over. Veterans boarded the trains, the camps were taken down by the same armies that installed them, and the memories of the last, joint meeting of the Blue and Gray became the stuff of legend.

“What is exemplified at Gettysburg . . . could not occur anywhere else in the world but in the United States,” the *New York Times* editorialized. “The reconciliation and reunion of the men who fought here, the bitterness which has been translated into everlasting friendship—these are truly Americanisms.”¹⁰⁸ “The tramp, tramp of marching veterans . . . on the field of Gettysburg in 1938 will reverberate far beyond the confines of that historic spot,” the *Christian Science Monitor* contended.¹⁰⁹ “Gettysburg’s program was carried through admirably, but what happened there within the last week will live in the memories of those present,” the *Harrisburg Telegraph* responded.¹¹⁰

Reactions to the reunion consisted not only of these abstract, often patriotic responses; reactions nearly unanimously heaped praise on John Rice and the commission. Attendees were the most decided. “We do not think there will ever be another such meeting in this world, not until we meet on the Heavenly Shores, will North, South, East and West, black and white, be united in one such common gathering as we experienced as your guests in Gettysburg,” one veteran and his attendant wrote to Rice. “In our estimation, everything done was as nearly perfect as it was humanly possible to have it.”¹¹¹ Elizabeth R. Fausett, on behalf of her father, Benjamin McCain Robinson, wrote to Rice, “We southerners are supposed to specialize in hospitality, but we don’t feel we could have added one thing to the Pennsylvania type of hospitality.”¹¹² Flora Stersh, President of a Phoenix, Arizona chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, thanked Rice

for a “marvelous trip” and a “riveting . . . walk on the grounds of those great old men.”¹¹³ In her typed reminiscences of the reunion, Annette Tucker concluded that the reunion, “forever and always” would “be a benediction” on her life, and that it would “take a lifetime to use up all the good [she] received [and] the inspiration [she] caught.”¹¹⁴ The UCV, coming full circle after its initial reticence, noted that “each veteran received every attention possible, the comfort of all was of the best while on the way, in attendance, and on the return trip, and the food was excellent, well prepared, and conveniently served.”¹¹⁵ Charles A. Shaffer called the reunion an “epoch-making celebration.” “From the moment the engraved invitation was received and we found ourselves magically on the way to Gettysburg, to the hour when we returned . . . every detail was so amazingly worked out for our pleasure and comfort that it seemed a beautiful dream realized.”¹¹⁶

Officials, participants, and correspondents were also unanimous in their praise of Rice and the commission. “May I congratulate you and your commission on its farsighted vision and its ability to coordinate,” Major General J.K. Parsons, U.S. Army, wrote to Rice.¹¹⁷ For the medical regiment, commander Paul R. Hawley reflected, “I have never . . . worked under more pleasant circumstances than during the Blue and Gray reunion — both in the planning and in the execution. One important result of this effort, to me, is the demonstration that civil and military agencies can work together in perfect harmony.”¹¹⁸ A.A. Schechter, the Director of News and Special Events for the National Broadcasting Company, likewise thanked Rice for the cooperative environment. “Having worked with a good many commissions in my day on such affairs, I want to tell you honestly that this was one of the best handled jobs I have ever encountered. . . .”¹¹⁹ Perhaps the most flattering review considered Rice’s fiscal management. After the reunion, the state commission would return \$435,529 of unused funds; this was an unexpended balance of 36% of the total appropriation offered. “Now just suppose that all the spending agencies of the government were to follow the lead of this modest Gettysburg commission. . . . If the Gettysburg plan were to become universal we should face not a deficit of \$2,000,000,000, but a surplus of \$2,000,000,000,” the *Baltimore Sun* editorialized. “Evidently, what this country needs most are more Gettysburg commissions.”¹²⁰

After the passage of nearly seventy-five years, the mere volume of these responses evinces the leadership, foresight, vision, and commitment of the state commission and its chairman, Senator John S. Rice. In a life journey that would take him from his father’s farm in Upper Adams County to the Ambassadorship of the Netherlands, perhaps no event encapsulated his life as perfectly as did his efforts in organizing the final reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg in 1938. His devotion to Gettysburg and his consignment of importance to the reunion — an importance for him that transcended both time and place — were clear from the commission’s inception and his first appeals and appropriations. His commitment to implementing a memorable program and erecting the Eternal Light Peace Memorial on the battlefield were likewise driven by these deeply-held fidelities. Also clear from the beginning was his dexterity in organization and coordination. Rice’s commission moved logically, knowledgeably, and presciently, securing important political,¹²¹ pecuniary, and public support for the reunion. Doing so met making arrangements and fostering agreements with the National Guard, the Boy Scouts, Gettysburg College, the President of the United States, Congressman Haines, the First Medical Regiment, utility companies, and an array of veterans’ organizations. Once

these arrangements were made, cooperation and moderation became the cornerstones of success, providing for a hospitable, welcoming, and ultimately efficient environment. In that environment, a dignified program which melded the past, present, and future was carried out with fiscal restraint and personal humility. Never did Rice allow the limelight to shine on him; while content to be working alongside notable leaders and public figures, he was consistently deferential in his remarks and in his actions. He was loath to take credit for anything, and quick to delegate appreciation for everything. So in summary, devotion to Gettysburg, ambitious commitment to a dream, organization and coordination, moderation, dignity, hospitality, humility, and fiscal responsibility — these were the hallmarks of John S. Rice.

On August 7, 1985, John S. Rice's funeral was held at the Christ Lutheran Church, where decades before, visitors flocking to the unveiling of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial paused in prayer. Rev. Herman G. Stuempfle, the President of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, delivered the eulogy. As a young seminarian, Stuempfle had sought a job laboring for the state commission in 1938. In the eulogy, he related the story. "He asked me why I wanted the job and I told him, 'So I may buy my girl a ring,'" Stuempfle recalled. "[Rice] said, 'It sounds good to me.'"¹²² This simple story, interpolated into a eulogy, is further evidence of the personality and work of John S. Rice. The scores of letters he received, the programs he saved, and the speeches he delivered, all tucked into archival boxes at the Adams County Historical Society, also stand collectively as a measure of the man. Likewise, further evidence exists in both the Gettysburg College dormitory dedicated to his memory and the granite cornerstone of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial on Oak Hill, into which is carved his name. But Stuempfle may have had something more for us. He concluded his eulogy by altering the ending of a Rudyard Kipling poem:

*...If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings — nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth and everything that's in it
And — which is more — you'll be like John S. Rice, my son!*¹²³

Stuempfle's rendition of Kipling stands as an abstract of the work of John S. Rice as chairman of state commission for the commemoration of the battle. Along with the continuously flickering beacon which hovers over Rice's beloved alma mater, it reminds us of the man whose effort in organizing a final reunion of the Blue and Gray allowed the event to become — in the words of Charles A. Shaffer — "a beautiful dream realized."¹²⁴



"A beautiful dream realized": a completed Eternal Peace Memorial, July 3, 1938.
Courtesy Adams County Historical Society.

Endnotes

¹ John S. Rice, as quoted in "John S. Rice remembered," editorial, *Gettysburg Times*, 6 August 1985.

² "Governor Selects Senator Rice to Head Commission on Anniversary of Battle," *Gettysburg Times*, 31 May 1935.

³ Ibid.; John S. Rice and Francis C. Mason, eds., *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg: Report of the Pennsylvania Commission* (Gettysburg: Times & News Publishing Co., 1939), 7-8.

⁴ "Rice Invites State Senators," *Gettysburg Times*, 23 May 1935.

⁵ Pennsylvania General Assembly Act 42, 30 April 1935, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Acts & Bills" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA. The legislation was introduced in the State Senate on 25 March 1935, and passed after a brief hearing in the Senate Committee on Appropriations on 2 April. From there, it was received by the House, which quickly moved it to its Committee on Appropriations before final passage on 22 April. See Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 6-7.

⁶ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 4; "John S. Rice remembered," *Gettysburg Times*, 6 August 1985. Rice, a moderate Democrat, would represent Adams and Franklin Counties in the State Senate, a heavily Republican district which simultaneously voted to reelect Herbert Hoover to the presidency in a landslide. On Rice's election to the State Senate, see "Gettysburg Voters Split Ticket," *Gettysburg Times*, 9 September 1932.

⁷ Paul L. Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray* (Gettysburg: The Bookmart, 1950), 17; "Senator John S. Rice," *Harrisburg Telegraph*, 9 February 1937.

⁸ Undated, unattributed newspaper clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, Gettysburg, PA; Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 29.

⁹ Amy J. Kinsel, "'From these honored dead': Gettysburg in American Culture, 1863-1938" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1992), 30.

¹⁰ "State Commission for Reunion Here in 1938 Is Named by Governor," *Gettysburg Times*, 1 October 1935; Secretary to the Governor, Robert L. Myers, Jr., to John S. Rice, letter, 1 July 1936, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹¹ "State Commission for Reunion Here in 1938 Is Named by Governor," *Gettysburg Times*, 1 October 1935.

¹² Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 17; "Propose Peace Monument For Veterans Here," *Gettysburg Times*, 26 November 1935. John S. Rice, Gettysburg College Class of 1921, served as assistant business manager of the *Spectrum*, the Gettysburg College yearbook. He was described in the 1921 *Spectrum* as "very quiet" and "unassuming," but a man with "considerable talents."

¹³ "State Group Fails to Meet," *Gettysburg Times*, 24 January 1936.

¹⁴ Ibid., 18; see also Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Commission gummed label, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Coin Design, Programs, Gummed Label" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹⁵ *Gettysburg Times*, 8 April 1935, in "Pennsylvania State Senate 1932-1940, Newspaper Clippings" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹⁶ On the hesitancy of these organizations to participate, see Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, vol. 4, *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg* (Gettysburg: Times & News Publishing Co., Inc., 1939), 444-448, and Mitchell Yochelson, "The Great Reunion: The Seventy Fifth Anniversary of Gettysburg," *Prologue* 24 (Summer 1992): 190-191.

¹⁷ *Gettysburg Times*, 18 November 1935, in "Pennsylvania State Senate 1932-1940, Newspaper Clippings" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹⁸ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 10.

¹⁹ See "Dixie's Flag May Fly Again at Gettysburg," *New York Times*, 5 September 1935; "Confederates Chary of Meeting Ex Foes," *New York Times*, 4 September 1935; "G.A.R. Votes Reunion with Confederates," *New York Times*, 13 September 1935.

²⁰ Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 19.

²¹ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 10-12.

²² *Ibid.*, 12.

²³ *Ibid.*, 13; "G.A.R. Votes Reunion with Confederates," *New York Times*, 13 September 1935.

²⁴ "The Flag They Fought Against," editorial, *Milwaukee Journal*, 15 September 1935, in Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, vol. 4, *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 444-446.

²⁵ "President Roosevelt Approves Plans for Anniversary, Reunion," *Gettysburg Times*, 12 March 1936.

²⁶ Victor C. Mather to John S. Rice, letter, 13 March 1936, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence, 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

²⁷ Franklin Delano Roosevelt to John S. Rice, letter, 8 September 1936, in *Ibid.*

²⁸ "President Roosevelt Approves Plans for Anniversary, Reunion," *Gettysburg Times*, 12 March 1936; Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Commission letterhead, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Invitations, Stationery, Proposal" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

²⁹ John S. Rice, transcript of speech at Waynesboro, PA, Memorial Day 1937, in "Pennsylvania State Senate 1932-1940 Newspaper Clippings" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

³⁰ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 19-21; "Special G-Burg Coins Will Sell for \$1.65 Each," *Gettysburg Times*, 1 July 1936.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 21; prints of coin design in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Coin Design, Program, Gummed Label" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society; "Coin Designs To Be Studied By Arts Group," *Gettysburg Times*, 29 July 1936. Coins were sold and distributed from the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Commission's Headquarters in the Hotel Gettysburg for \$1.65 each.

³² Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 21; "Coin Designs To Be Studies By Arts Group," *Gettysburg Times*, 29 July 1936.

³³ It was reported at this meeting that 2,242 veterans planned to travel to Gettysburg for the reunion. A total of 10,500 invitations were addressed after the commission scoured the pension rolls and state archives and engaged the aid of the United Daughters of Union Veterans, commanders of the GAR, and commanders of the UCV. See "Earle Endorses Blue-Gray Fete, Promises Help," *Gettysburg Times*, 7 January 1937, and Yockelson, "The Great Reunion," 190-191.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*; see also Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 22.

³⁶ Governor George H. Earle to John S. Rice, letter, 15 January 1937, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence, 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

³⁷ "Rice Heads Two Reunion Groups; Coin Approved," *Gettysburg Times*, 7 February 1937.

³⁸ John S. Rice et al., *Suggested Study of Eternal Light Peace Memorial* (Gettysburg: Pennsylvania Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Commission, 1937), in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Invitations, Stationery, Proposal" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

³⁹ "To Fix and Design and Location of Peace Memorial," *Gettysburg Times*, 30 July 1937.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ John S. Rice et al., *Suggested Study of Eternal Light Peace Memorial*, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Invitations, Stationery, Proposal" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁴² Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 23-28. Paul Cret was a close friend of President Hanson and made frequent visits to the Gettysburg College campus. These visits often became critiques of the campus' layout and architecture. On one such visit, Cret suggested that each of the campus edifices be painted white; on another occasion, he selected the location of what is today Schmucker Memorial Hall. See "Peace Memorial Designer Selected Site for Library," *The Gettysburgian*, 12 May 1938.

⁴³ "\$60,000 'Peace' Memorial to be Finished June 1," *Gettysburg Times*, 31 December 1937. On the ultimate selection of Oak Hill as the site for the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, see "Oak Hill Then and Now," undated typescript, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Speeches, 3 July 1938 (Dedication)" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society. Oak Hill was celebrated for its easy access, "splendid panoramic view," and approach of roads.

⁴⁴ "State Commission Approves Design for Peace Memorial," *Gettysburg Times*, 5 November 1937; Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 28-31.

⁴⁵ Franklin Delano Roosevelt to John S. Rice, letter, 25 May 1938, and Governor George H. Earle to John S. Rice, letter, 16 May 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁴⁶ "Open Peace Memorial Bids," *Gettysburg Times*, 21 January 1938; "4 Camps Will Be Erected for Battle Reunion," *Gettysburg Times*, 15 March 1938.

⁴⁷ (Hanover, PA) *Evening Sun*, 5 July 1938; Roy, "Report of the Executive Secretary" in Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*. Roy also reports that despite the then lame-duck Gov. Peery's pledge, the reticent Virginia State Legislature withheld payment. Not until the new governor, James Price, urged the body to take action did they finally agree to make good and forward payment.

⁴⁸ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 31-32. "Open Peace Memorial Bids," *Gettysburg Times*, 21 January 1938; "4 Camps Will Be Erected for Battle Reunion," *Gettysburg Times*, 15 March 1938.

⁴⁹ Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 34-35; Stan Cohen, *Hands Across the Wall: The 50th and 75th Reunions of The Gettysburg Battle* (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, Inc., 1982), 41. For a copy of the 5 May 1937 appropriations legislation, coupled with an appropriation of \$1,000,000 for the entire event by the federal government, see the "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Acts & Bills" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁵⁰ Robert Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," *The Lutheran*, 15 June 1938, 3.

⁵¹ Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 34-35.

⁵² Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," *The Lutheran*, 15 June 1938, 3.

⁵³ Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 34-35; Annette Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion," typed reminiscences, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, Gettysburg, PA.

⁵⁴ (Hanover, PA) *Evening Sun*, 29 June 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, Gettysburg, PA.

⁵⁵ Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 28-37.

⁵⁶ Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," 3.

⁵⁷ "Many People Visit College During Celebration," *The Gettysburg College Bulletin* 28 (October 1938): 1; "State Begins Campus Work," *The Gettysburgian*, 28 April 1938.

⁵⁸ Charles H. Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence: Gettysburg College 1832-1985*, vol. 2 (Gettysburg, PA: Gettysburg College, 1987), 728-729. See also Anna Jane Moyer, "Gettysburg: The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray," in *To Waken Fond Memory: Moments in the History of Gettysburg College* (Gettysburg: Friends of Musselman Library, 2006), 31-36.

⁵⁹Ibid.; "Seventy-Fifth Anniversary," *Gettysburg Times*, 9 June 1938; "College Land to Hold Many This Summer," *The Gettysburgian*, 12 May 1938; "500,000 To Gather Here This Summer For Battle Reunion," *The Gettysburgian*, 3 June 1938; "Many People Visit College During Celebration," *The Gettysburg College Bulletin* 28 (October 1938): 1. On Huber Hall, officially considered a former capitol of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, see "Gettysburg to Be Capital," *New York Times*, 22 June 1938.

⁶⁰Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," 3.

⁶¹Gettysburg College Board of Trustees, Meeting Minutes, 4 June 1938, in Special Collections, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 June 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives. Veterans poured in from 47 states and the District of Columbia; only Rhode Island did not provide a participant. See Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 43. These trips were made at no cost to the veterans; H.R. 9265 in the United States House of Representatives, introduced on 31 January 1938 and amended and passed on 21 March 1938, provided for the Secretary of War "to pay each veteran attending a sum equivalent to the cost of the railroad fare." Two contingencies were enforced: the veteran had to submit a physician's certificate averring that he was stable enough to make the trip, and the veteran had to provide proof of attendance at the reunion. The legislation also allowed the federal government to assume, in the event of a participant's death, funeral expenses. This included the cost of a "suitable casket." For a copy of the legislation, see H.R. 9265, 21 March 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Acts & Bills" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁶⁴Charles Albert Earp, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg: My Interviews with the Veterans* (Linthicum, MD: Toomey Press, 2003), 1; Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 34-35; Annette Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion," typed reminiscences, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁶⁵*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 June 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁶⁶Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 34; "Motor Police to Keep Order at Battle Reunion," *Gettysburg Times*, 13 May 1938.

⁶⁷*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 June 1938, in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁶⁸Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion," typed reminiscences, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 1 July 1938, clipping in folder V11-62-C, "Berns Scrapbook Items," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁷¹"Scouts Serve at Gettysburg," *New York Times*, 26 June 1938; *Scouting* 25 (September 1938), untitled clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; "200 Scouts Will Set Up Camp Monday; 29 From County," *Gettysburg Times*, 25 June 1938.

⁷²Robert Fortenbaugh, Jr., telephone interview conducted by Stephen Kaiser, 25 April 2007, Gettysburg, PA.

⁷³Angelo Barraco as quoted in Brett Lovelace, "Meeting the men who fought at Gettysburg," (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 27 June 1999. Lovelace's original notes from his interview with Barraco are retained in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁷⁴*Gettysburg Times*, 4 July 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁷⁵Mary Phillips, "Eight Days in a Tent," letter, 8 October 1993, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary

& Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; Earp, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg*, 6.

⁷⁶ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 July 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁷⁷ Unnamed veteran, as quoted in "Gettysburg Farewell: The Blue and Gray Light an Eternal Flame," *Newsweek*, 11 July 1938, in folder 11-62, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion of 1938," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁷⁸ This figure is proffered by Bob Kunes, "1950 Veterans Assemble For Last Reunion Here," *The Gettysburgian*, 15 September 1938. Kunes contends that there were 1,355 Union veterans and 595 Confederate veterans in attendance. He also reports that there were 1,325 male attendants and 625 female attendants with these veterans.

⁷⁹ Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion," typed reminiscences, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁸⁰ (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 2 July 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁸¹ Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion," typed reminiscences, in folder 11-62b, "75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁸² See Sara Gideon Black, 1938 Reunion Scrapbook, scrapbook 33, Adams County Historical Society.

⁸³ Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion."

⁸⁴ "Mrs. Earle Will Be Hostess At Anniversary; Associates Are Mrs. Rice, Mrs. Hanson," *Gettysburg Times*, 13 April 1938; (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 1 July 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁸⁵ See 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg Program Booklet, original in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Booklet" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁸⁶ Messages in the book included phrases from Govs. Cochran (Nebraska), Blood (Utah), Hoffmann (New Jersey), Davey (Ohio), Tingley (New Mexico), Peery (Virginia), Martin (Oregon), and Cross (Connecticut).

⁸⁷ Earp, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg*, 29-32; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 28 June 1938, clipping in folder V11-62-C, "Berns Scrapbook," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁸⁸ Newspaper reporters wandered through the camps to observe and listen to the veterans the first two days of the reunion. They recorded their observations of more notable veterans — including 93-year-old, five-gallon hat donning George M.D. Garner, the second cousin of Vice-President John Nance Garner — in their work. On these conversations, see especially the (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 30 June 1938 - 5 July 1938, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 June 1938 - 5 July 1938. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 July 1938, clipping in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, is the source for the gin rummy games. Also indispensable are the interviews collected by Charles Albert Earp, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg*, 13-27. Although in many cases Earp simply provides a cursory biography of the veteran he spoke to in 1938 as a young boy, without illuminating anecdotal evidence, one can sense the excitement and drama he must have felt traveling from tent to tent on John Rice's wooden sidewalks.

⁸⁹ "75th Anniversary Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray" program, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society; Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 91-92.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ John S. Rice, remarks, 1 July 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Speeches, June - July 1" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ See the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 July 1938, and the (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 2 July 1938,

clippings both in "1938 Reunion of the Blue and Gray at Gettysburg, PA" scrapbook, Laclan Krebs Collection, Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

⁹⁴ "75th Anniversary Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray" program, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society; Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 91-92.

⁹⁵ Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 101-106; "75th Anniversary Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray" program, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁹⁶ Ibid.; John S. Rice, transcript of introductory remarks, "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Speeches, July 2, 1938" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ "Program, Third Sunday After Trinity," 3 July 1938, Christ Lutheran Church, Gettysburg, PA, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society; "Christ Church Plans Special July 3 Program," *Gettysburg Times*, 25 June 1938. John S. Rice was on the Church Council at the Christ Lutheran Church at the time.

⁹⁹ "75th Anniversary Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray" program, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society; (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 5 July 1938.

¹⁰⁰ (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 5 July 1938; "Gettysburg College Acts As Host to the Nation," *Gettysburg College Bulletin* 28 (October 1938): 15.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.; (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 2 July 1938.

¹⁰² Ruth Fortenbaugh Craley, telephone interview conducted by Stephen Kaiser, 27 April 2007, Gettysburg PA.

¹⁰³ John S. Rice and George H. Earle, transcript of remarks, 3 July 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Speeches, 3 July 1938 (Dedication)" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹⁰⁴ For Roosevelt's remarks, see the *Washington Times*, 4 July 1938.

¹⁰⁵ *Philadelphia Record*, 4 July 1938, clipping in folder V11-62-C, "Berns Scrapbook," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives.

¹⁰⁶ (*Hanover, PA*) *Evening Sun*, 5 July 1938; Cohen, *Hands Across the Wall*, 44.

¹⁰⁷ "75th Anniversary Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray" program, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Program Pamphlets" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹⁰⁸ *New York Times*, 3 July 1938.

¹⁰⁹ *Christian Science Monitor*, 11 September 1935, as quoted in Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, vol. 4, *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 446-447.

¹¹⁰ *Harrisburg Telegraph*, 5 July 1938, as quoted in Ibid., 448-449.

¹¹¹ Sylvester Flummer and Bessie M. Grosvenor to John S. Rice, letter, 20 July 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society. Mr. Flummer was later featured in a Council Bluffs newspaper, where he continued to sing the praises of the reunion. See unidentified newspaper clipping, [July 1938], in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder.

¹¹² Elizabeth R. Fausett to John S. Rice, undated letter, in Ibid.

¹¹³ Flora Stersh to John S. Rice, letter, 22 July 1938, in Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion."

¹¹⁵ John W. Harris and John M. Claypool to John S. Rice, letter, 13 July 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹¹⁶ Charles A. Shaffer to John S. Rice, letter, 22 July 1938, in Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Major General J.K. Parsons to John S. Rice, letter, 11 July 1938, in Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Lt. Col. Paul R. Hawley to John S. Rice, letter, 31 July 1938, in Ibid.

¹¹⁹ A.A. Schechter to John S. Rice, letter, 5 July 1938, in Ibid.

¹²⁰ "Alas! A Great Exception," editorial, *Baltimore Sun*, 11 December 1939.

¹²¹ Rice was so successful in his political work for the reunion that a bipartisan group of state senators urged him to run for reelection. Initially, Rice had announced that he would serve only one-term; however, after he moved to the forefront of reunion activities, these senators enthusiastically endorsed a second campaign on the basis of Rice continuing work and seeing the reunion through successfully. See *Gettysburg Times*, 5 March 1936. This elevation of Rice's stature among other senators also helped him succeed Warren R. Roberts of Bethlehem as the Senate Majority Floor Leader. Roberts, elected the Commonwealth's auditor, had vacated his senate seat and the leadership post. Rice defeated Sen. Edward J. Thompson in a vote of 16-12. See undated newspaper clipping in "Pennsylvania State Senate 1932-1940, Newspaper Clippings" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

¹²² "John S. Rice portrayed as 'gentle,' 'anchor of faith,' 'statesman-prophet,'" *Gettysburg Times*, 8 August 1985. Stuempfle bought the ring and married his girl.

¹²³ Ibid.

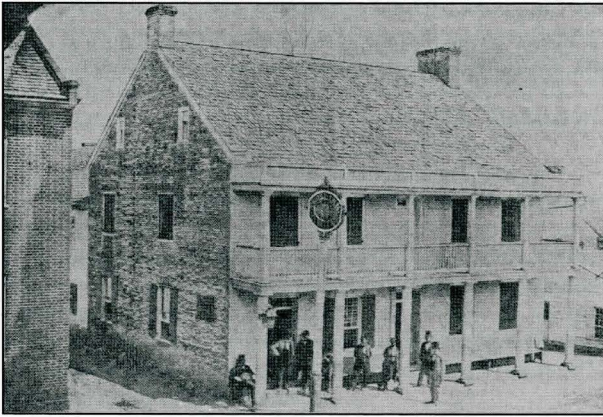
¹²⁴ Charles A. Shaffer to John S. Rice, letter, 22 July 1938, in "75th Anniversary, Blue & Gray, Correspondence 1936-1939" folder, John S. Rice Collection, Adams County Historical Society.

John Charles Wills: Reminiscences of the Three Days Battle of Gettysburg at the Globe Hotel

By Benjamin Kerr Neely

INTRODUCTION

John Charles Wills left the fullest account of what happened at and around the Globe Inn in the borough of Gettysburg during the Battle.¹ In July of 1910, the *Gettysburg Compiler* interviewed Wills and printed a short story of his observations and experience during the Gettysburg Campaign entitled, "Battle Days at Globe Inn." In September of 1915, Wills once again shared his memories of the Battle of Gettysburg, this time in greater length. Fifty-two years had passed since the battle occurred and Wills was approximately 77 years old. The 1910 and 1915 reminiscences are remarkably similar indicating perhaps a good memory or years of re-telling the same stories. Wills does not offer an introduction to his account nor comment on any limitation of his memory. He



Globe Inn, York Street,

Courtesy of the Adams County Historical Society (ACHS)

drifted outside of the timeline of his story on occasion; some of his stories can be refuted, while others cannot be substantiated with any evidence. Wills refers to certain homes and businesses in his account using them as landmarks. It would be easy to assume that his references are to the Gettysburg of 1863; however, several of these places mentioned did not yet exist in 1863 but were contemporary landmarks in the Gettysburg of the early twentieth-century.

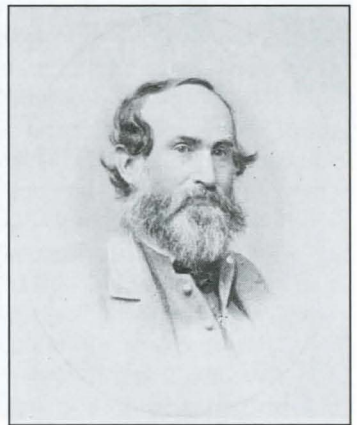
Wills' reminiscence joins several other significant first-hand accounts of events during the Confederate occupation of Gettysburg. Historian Robert Bloom summarized very well the importance of the accounts of local residents, "Whatever the shortcomings of other eyewitnesses as observers, their bias as reporters, or their faulty memories later as to details, outside of some unimportant discrepancies regarding minor events there is a general consensus as to major occurrences – how civilians responded to what they saw and heard, the prevailing atmosphere of unbelief, tension, fear, confusion, and relief in that order. Their collective testimony gives us today a generally reliable picture."² Several published histories have quoted from Wills' two accounts. Historians have

used Wills' reminiscences in narrative histories to document certain facets of the Battle such as how locals prepared for and fared during the invasion as well as how civilians interacted with soldiers of both armies.³ Wills' account recently served as a source in Margaret Creighton's book, *The Colors of Courage*, as part of an argument regarding issues of masculinity and femininity in Gettysburg. Creighton noted that Wills filled his recounting of the Battle with references to emotional responses of women terrified by what they witnessed during the Battle. Conversely, Wills highlighted the bravery of the men of Gettysburg, including his own. In this way, his account is a relic of Victorian culture. Wills' memory is not alone among the men of Gettysburg who remembered themselves courageously moving about while women cowered in basements. However, there are many accounts left by women recalling their active participation in events surrounding the Battle of Gettysburg.⁴

This will be the first time his reminiscence will appear in full since Ruth Wills, daughter of John Wills, donated the typed manuscript of her father's account to the Adams County Historical Society in the 1940s.⁵ This work is an edited and annotated version of his 1915 account. There are endnotes to alert readers to differences from the 1910 article from the *Gettysburg Compiler* interview. The endnotes also expand upon Wills' account. Occasionally, the notes were written to correct inaccuracies in his recollections. Had Wills' original manuscript been in his own hand, not one character would have been changed. However, Wills spoke while someone else typed for him; therefore spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing errors are not his own. The text of the account was edited for readability. Editing was restricted to correct spelling, breaking up long sentences, punctuation, abbreviations, and inserting quotations when Wills was recalling dialog. Any additions to the text appear in brackets. The paragraphing remains unchanged to preserve the essence of the unedited manuscript.

REMEMINISCENCES OF THE THREE DAY BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG AT THE GLOBE HOTEL⁶

Several days before the coming of General [Jubal] Early and his troops, we heard of Confederates being seen in South Mountain and in considerable numbers as citizens on elevated places could see their campfires burning at night. Citizens rode up the Chambersburg Pike to [the] foot of the mountain and reported having seen Confederates. Those trips were made on the morning of several days. On the last one of those trips, they came down the pike at full speed and reported seeing Confederate bushwhackers who fired on them. Now, when they heard of those Confederates in large forces were moving into Pennsylvania and in that direction there was a general stampede of the farmers from that section of country. While standing in front of the Globe Hotel it was a sight, at night in the moonlight to see them going through the town with



Major General Jubal A. Early, C.S.A.,
Courtesy of the Library of Congress
(LOC)

horses, with teams a number of the wagons being loaded with goods a number of them going southward a majority of them going eastward to York County and into Lancaster County, to places of safety. After the Battle, when they returned, they told us that many of them made their expenses with their teams and their own work by helping those farmers to do their harvesting and haymaking. Several days before the raid by General Early took place there came to town a Philadelphia City Troop⁷, which it was said was commanded by Captain Samuel Randall. They made their headquarters at the McClellan Hotel, now Hotel Gettysburg, in the open space adjoining and in the rear of the Weaver Store Building. In the morning, they could be seen waxing and combing, having fine soaps and combs wearing white cuffs and collars. They had fine horses and equipments they were dandy looking soldiers. In the morning, they would ride up the Chambersburg Pike and returned to headquarters in the evening. On the morning of their last trip up the pike, General Early[’s] troops were moving down the east slope of the mountain in the direction of Gettysburg, when this City Troop came down the pike at full speed straight through the town, and down the York Pike never stopping.⁸ We heard no more of them.⁹

THE EMERGENCY TROOPS



26th Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment, courtesy of ACHS

Now during this time a regiment was being recruited, called the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Troops.¹⁰ They were due at Gettysburg on the evening of the 25th of June, by rail, but on account of the engine leaving the track about six miles east of Gettysburg, they were compelled to encamp there for the night and march on feet to Gettysburg in the morning.¹¹ On the 26th of June, at daybreak, I heard talking and noises in front of the hotel. I arose quickly and opened up the house. Here were troops lying all over the pavement and up against the doors taking a rest. Among them, I found some of my old acquaintances from Hanover, McSherrystown, and Conowago. They marched out the Chambersburg Pike west and northwest of the town, about three miles to Marsh Creek. Here they met General Early’s troops, who were moving toward Gettysburg. Both parties opened fire, when our men retreated going as far north as Bridgeport, at the Susquehanna River. When the Confederates came into town, coming in to the hotel, they asked what kind of troops were those we met, saying they must be green men when ask[ed] why, and what was wrong about them, they said they didn’t know how to shoot, saying, “They shot too high their shots went over our heads.”

When we heard of Early coming into town I

went up to the corner of the Diamond at Weaver's Store, and watching the maneuvers, on the Diamond, the first company came up Chambersburg Street at full speed with carbines up, as if ready to shoot. They halted on the crossing between Eckert's Corner and the bank building, the officer in command rode around the Diamond looking out each street he gave a command, moving them to the center of the Diamond. Here he divided them into three squads; the first went out Carlisle Street the second out York



George W. and Diana A. Sandoe,
courtesy of ACHS

Street and the third out Baltimore Street. Those Confederate squads gave chase, out each street, to squads of our home guards called Bell's Cavalry.¹² The Confederates going out Baltimore Street were distanced by two of the Bells' men, when the third man rode off the Pike into the thickets where he was caught. When he refused to surrender they shot him. This was about one mile from town and near his home his name was Sandoe¹³, the first man killed at Gettysburg, one of the Homeguards was at Culp's Blacksmith Shop, having some shoeing done when hearing of the Confederates coming, and in his haste to get away, he mounted his horse forgetting to untie the rein, when he drew out his knife and cut it off, this piece of rein left flew into the forks of the tree and could be seen up to within two years ago. The tree has since been cut down. It should never have been done, and no amount of money would have bought it from me. Now quite a number of our citizens being frightened, with bundles of clothing left their homes, going out the streets, were caught by these Confederate squads

who brought them back. When we explained to them why they left their homes and who they were, they were told to go to their homes. They would not be molested.

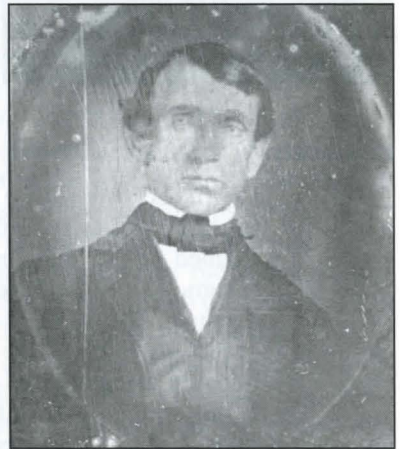
I remained on the Diamond until the second company rode up Chambersburg Street to the Diamond. At the head of it, rode a large man with long grey hair a man of striking appearance. The minute I saw him I recognized him. I went toward the hotel. On my way, I met my father at the back, coming from the hotel. Pointing to the man, I said, "Father do you recognize that man as the man who stopped at the hotel three weeks ago?" During this time, he watched us looking at him. Father and I were satisfied he was the man. I stepped out on the street near to him to speak to him, when he deliberately turned his face toward the other side of the street. This man came to the hotel about three weeks before the Battle, about noon o'clock in the morning. He ordered his dinner. After dinner he, while standing at the counter for about one hour he was trying ostensibly to sell me a recipe for fixing the taste of liquors. He then commenced inquiring about the condition of the farms, the crops, and the condition of the farmers financially in the valleys of Littlestown, Hanover, and in the Cumberland Valley from Hagerstown down to Harrisburg. I told him as well as I know. He left the hotel and returned late in the evening for supper. He retired to his room at an early hour. He occupied the room next adjoining mine. I retired about eleven o'clock. The partition between his room and mine

was of old fashioned folding doors, which were closed up for many years, consequently they being dried in and the hinges having fallen out caused very large cracks. While preparing for bed I noticed a light in his room. I looked through these cracks. He was sitting at a stand engaged at writing. At about two o'clock, I became awake and noticed a light yet burning in his room. I again looked through the cracks and he was yet engaged at writing. I could not determine what to do, whether to call him or not. I thought as he was a traveling man he might be making time, and in my quandary I fell asleep.

With General Early came a man familiarly known as "Jim Furley" a former citizen who removed to Virginia and joining Early's forces, acted as pilot for Early through this section of country.¹⁴ He came into the hotel where he greeted his old friend Harvey D. Wattles, the former landlord of the Globe Hotel, with a large book under his arm. He said, "I wish I could have gotten a hold of your telegraph apparatus. I would have fooled your men – but it was gone." Our railroad ticket agent and telegraph operator, Hugh D. Scott had removed the apparatus to Hanover Junction, which is twenty-eight miles east of Gettysburg.

Whilst the Confederates were moving out York Street and down the York Pike to camp, on the south side of the York Pike on the farm known as the Milk Man Wolf's Farm and about one mile east from town, there were yet a large number of Confederates in and about town until late at night. Early had placed a number of guards on the curb around the Diamond to keep citizens off the Square. The Confederates agree with me as [to] the time of their coming into town, which was about two o'clock [in the] afternoon.

General Early, previous to his coming, having sent a note to the Burgess of Gettysburg notifying him of his purpose to call on him and make a requisition, he came up the Diamond at about four o'clock and inquired for, using his own words, "the mayor of your town." Word was at once sent to his residence, northwest corner of the Diamond. Mrs. Martin answered the call saying that the Burgess, Robert Martin and the Councilmen had left town. We reported this to General Early. He then inquired for, using his own words, "the Commissioners of your town." Knowing that Mr. Kendlehart was at home, we directed him to the residence of Mr. David Kendlehart, president of the town council, now the residence of Hon. William Hersh Esq. No. 110 Baltimore Street. I remained standing on the Diamond and seeing a crowd of men and boys with some excitement following General Early at the crossing of Baltimore Street and the Diamond. I went up Baltimore Street and stood nearly in front of General Early's horse. A few feet south, there were three ladies standing on the stone sill at the hall door who at this writing are yet living in the town. Mr. Kendlehart was standing directly in front of Early's horse. Two aids were close to Early. The other one was a few feet south of him. Here General Early made his requisition for flour, sugar, potatoes, coffee, salt, hats, caps, shoes, clothing, and money. Mr. Kendlehart replied it would



Robert Martin, Burgess of Gettysburg at the time of the battle, courtesy of ACHS



David Kendlehart, President of the Borough Council of Gettysburg at the time of the Battle, courtesy of the United States Army Military History Institute (USAMHI)

be impossible to comply with his demands, that when hearing of your coming, merchants shipped their goods away to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other places for safekeeping, and that it would be impossible to get the money. Then General Early said, "I know where there are one hundred and fifty sacks of salt." Mr. Kendlehart replied, "I know nothing of that amount of salt being anywhere." While standing there my attention was arrested by an aid and because of this I took little interest in what Early was saying. He looked at me and I looked at him. Apparently, there was a smile and recognition I kept my eyes on him until I was satisfied where I had seen him. By [the] time I started down [the] street leaving Early and the aid at the Kendlehart residence, I crossed over, went down the west side of Baltimore Street to the pump in front of the McClean residence near the Square, where I was hailed by this same aid, who asked me, would I pump some water for his horse. I replied I would do so with pleasure. While the horse was drinking, he leaned forward on the neck

of the horse, and smiled. I said to him, "O. I know you. I have seen you before." He laughed as he replied, "So you think you have seen me before?" I replied I did. He said, "Where do you think you saw me, and are you sure it was me?" I said, "I am quite sure it was you." I said, "If you will admit it I will tell you how I know you." Pointing in the direction of York Street I said, "Three weeks ago you came to the Globe Hotel and ordered your dinner. When you came to pay for the meal you handed me a silver quarter. I hesitated a moment whether to tell you the price was thirty-five cents but concluded that the silver quarter was worth more than thirty-five cents in shinplasters usually received at that time and also when you came to order your dinner my attention was drawn to the suit of clothes you were wearing. A clothing house suit of black cloth entirely too large for you and you had the same hat on your head that you have on now." The aid would not deny the story and laughing said, "Well my friend, General Early is going to leave and I must go I will see you again" and rode up street to General Early. In the meantime, a large number of his forces were moving down the York Pike to camp. General Early, upon leaving the Kendlehart residence with the aids, came to the Diamond stopping at the northeast corner of the Diamond and York Street where several citizens greeted him and while there a lady came around the Diamond dressed in a calico wrapper and a sun bonnet which was drawn close in front I could not recognize her. Walking near to Early, she handed up to him a large cake. After thanking her, he handed it over to one of his aids saying to him, "You can have this. I don't want it." After General Early, having made his requisition of the Town Council later that afternoon, the President of the Town Council, Mr. David Kendlehart, called a meeting of the Town Council to consider and determine what to do in the case. They met in the office of Hon. William A. Duncan Esq. After deliberating and each member having given his opinion, it fell to the last

and the youngest member, Mr. William Chritzman, to give his opinion. He said, most emphatically, "No, not one cent will I consent to give!" When Mr. Duncan said, "Well, they might burn us" but Mr. Chritzman replied, in most vigorous terms, "Let them burn and be ----- I have as much to lose as any of you members!" The meeting adjourned and nothing was done. That afternoon there was standing on the railroad track at the warehouse, now Wolf's Warehouse. An individual car was run by George Strickhouser to and from Baltimore hauling freight and goods for merchants and citizens as also for the Globe Hotel where he was boarding. We had in that car, for the Globe Hotel, six barrels of whiskey, forty bushels of potatoes, three barrels of sugar, one barrel of syrup, and one tierce of hams and shoulders of cured meat. We called on General Early and asked him to give us a guard while we were getting these goods out of the car and removing them to the cellar. He kindly furnished them, saying, "We will protect private property." After having removed the goods from the car, they set fire to several company freight cars, which were standing on the tracks, and run them down the track, to Rock Creek where the trucks lay for several years. Now these Confederates remembering well where we put the whiskey, late in the evening a Confederate officer with three Confederate privates came to the Hotel and compelled my father to open the cellar doors and roll out three barrels of whiskey. They left taking the whiskey with them to camp. The officer saying he would return later and pay for it. About eleven o'clock that night the officer came to the Hotel and drew up an order on the Confederate government which father refused to accept saying "I want good money." The Confederate replied, "In two months our money may be better than yours as we may remain in your state an indefinite time." The order was all he got.¹⁵ That evening about twilight, there came to [the] corner of York Street and the Diamond in front of the Judge Wills Building, a Confederate band playing several "Southern airs" among which were "Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag," "Away Down South in Dixie," and the "Stars and Bars." As there was much comment made as to their clothing, I will say I saw many with good clothing, some with ordinary clothing, and some with white goods, which appeared to me, like underwear. By [that] time, all of Early's forces moved down the York Pike to camp, and all was quiet.

On Saturday morning, the 27th of June, about daybreak, Early's forces began the march by way of the York Pike to [the] City of York, Pennsylvania, while a portion of the troops moved out the Bonneauville Road by way of Hanover to York City. When we heard of Early's troops leaving, several citizens and myself went down the York Pike near Rock Creek Bridge to see them off. When their rearguard, who were going through the gate at the gatehouse, they saw us, and turning their horses around they called to us and told us to go back, when we very quickly turned and went to town. Now in the meantime, between the time of Early's leaving and the coming of General Lee and army, my father took the precaution to save some of our supplies and eatables. Late at night, none of the family knowing it, with our colored help, we removed sugar, hams, and shoulders, some potatoes and boxes of groceries to a loft above the rear of the building. Then we dug a trench in the garden into this we put two barrels of each, whiskey, brandy, and gin. On this, we placed boards and covered over with ground, then we planted this all over with cabbage plants.¹⁶ On Sunday at daybreak a Regiment (28th Penn. Regiment) [sic] of Union Cavalry came in the Emmitsburg Road through town and down York Street to Culp's Field East of town, where they remained until about ten o'clock the next morning, when they left camp going up York Street and out Baltimore

Street supposedly reconnoitering through this section looking for Confederates who had left the day previous to their coming.¹⁷

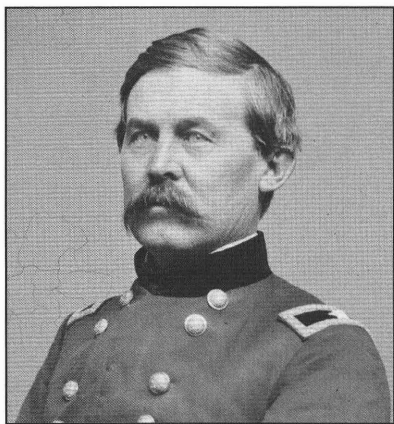
WEDNESDAY, JULY 1st

Now on Wednesday morning, July 1st, when we heard of the Confederate Army moving down the East slopes of mountain in the direction of Gettysburg. The Union troop were coming in from the South, and moving out North and west of town. The town and hotels were soon filled with Union soldiers, and while selling whiskey by drinks, I had two men carrying whiskey in kegs drawn from the barrels in the cellar and filling canteens as fast as we could handle them, until an officer came to the hotel, and after giving us a severe lecture about selling whiskey to the soldiers ordered us to close the bar. In a short time there were soldiers begging for whiskey and offering large sums of money, saying "There is a fight ahead, we will need the whiskey and may never have any use for the money." I closed the bar, and went down



Eagle Hotel, courtesy of ACHS

to the corner of Chambersburg and Washington Street opposite Eagle Hotel. While standing there, I saw long trains of artillery coming in Washington Street and going out Chambersburg Street. There were six or eight (that morning General Buford was in the hotel) prominent officers, on horseback directly in front of the Eagle Hotel. After the artillery had left, they rode out Chambersburg Street but two or three turned and rode out the Mummasburg Road. I then went to the Diamond where I met a friend. We walked down Carlisle Street to the Railroad. We went up on Sheads & Buehlers Hall to look over the fight, which had just began. Soon we heard the whizzing of bullets very close. We very quickly went down. I went over to the Washington Hotel [on the] corner of Carlisle Street and Railroad, Proprietor [David] Yount and family were yet in the hotel. While standing there wounded soldiers were coming in on the railroad track. The first wounded man who came limping on one foot had the whole heel end of one of his shoes shot off and the blood was running out of the shoe. Now there



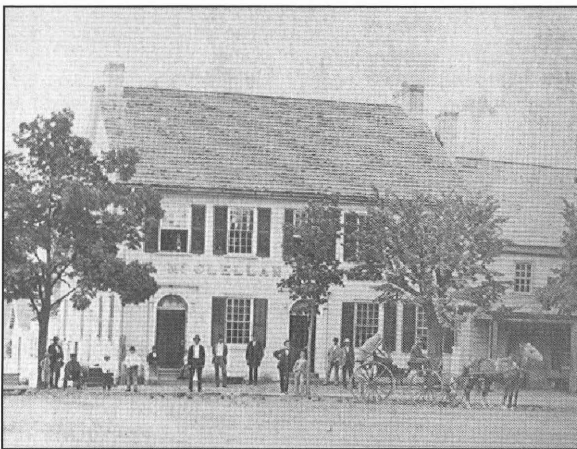
Brigadier General John Buford,
courtesy of LOC

were women at every window of the hotel looking out West in the direction of the fight. When they saw this wounded soldier, they all commenced crying. The second wounded, man a very tall man, came along with his face turned up. He was squirting streams of blood from his throat.

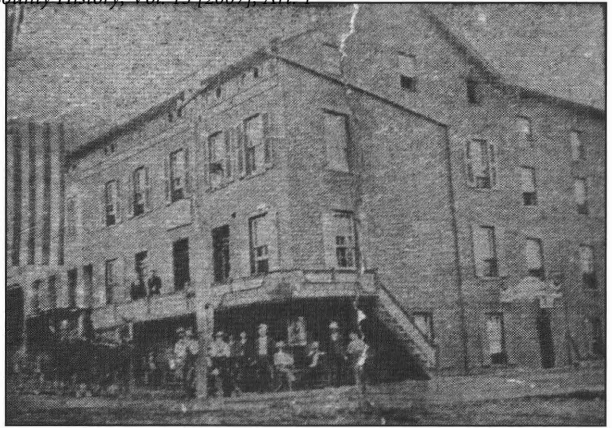
The women yet crying when he turned his face toward them he said, "Ladies don't cry. We are doing this to save you people." When they commenced crying with screams at

the height of their voices. I walk out the railroad to where I could see a large body of cavalry going up towards the woods on Seminary Ridge north of the Railroad Cut, but they were ordered to move northward before they reached the woods. I concluded it was not a safe place and returned to the hotel. On the morning of the second day, Yount and family moved out and the hotel was used as a hospital.¹⁸

When the retreat of the Union Army commenced, the Union soldier[s] ordered the citizens to go into their cellars that the Confederates would soon be in town. My mother and three sisters with a brother's wife and child and myself all went to cellar.¹⁹ Looking out of a cellar window, I saw the Confederates coming up York Street after the Union troop[s]. I heard the Confederates going into our garden and into our chicken house. After it was all over and quiet restored, we came up out of the cellar. It was then about twilight. I first saw a dead horse lying in the gutter with head and shoulders up on the pavement directly opposite the Globe Hotel and in front of the David



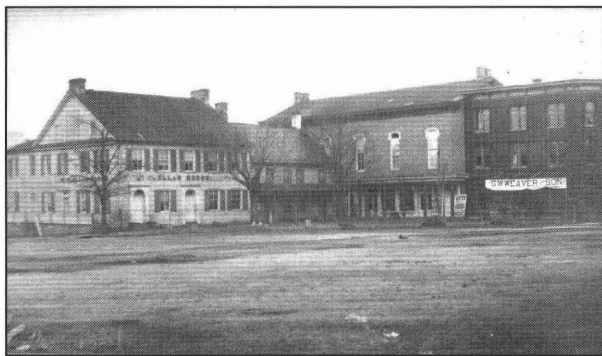
McClellan House ca. 1890, courtesy of ACHS



Washington Hotel ca. 1900, courtesy of ACHS

(Troxell) property.²⁰ I went up to [the] square. I determined to go out Carlisle Street to see what could be seen of the first days fight on the crossing at the Corner of McClellan House, now Hotel Gettysburg.²¹ I met a prominent citizen in company with a Confederate officer. We walked out Carlisle Street taking the middle of the street, as there was yet several dead men lying on the west side of the street from the Chinese Laundry down to the Washington Hotel, not all having been removed as yet.²² We walked out to near where the

Preparatory Building now stands. While standing there a Confederate soldier came to us from the side of the road. He advised we two citizens that we had better return to town, that possibly the Union troops might force the Confederates back through the town and we might have some difficulty in getting to our homes that night. I immediately left my companion and returned to the hotel. Going into the hall, I heard some talking in the cellar. I went down to the cellar. Here I met my sister with a Confederate lieutenant, she was giving him something to eat and drink. In conversation with him, I asked him "Why is it that you Confederates all gathered up here to the Globe Hotel? There are other hotels here and none of you go there." He replied the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia knew of the Globe Hotel long before they came into Pennsylvania. Now the next morning of the second day the Confederates occupying the town there were many riding and driving up and down the streets. Early in the morning large groups of Confederate officers gathered in front of the hotel. They inquired if they could have breakfast. They were told they could. Our tables, the "old fashioned long ones," seated comfortably 42, closely seated 46. That number we had for breakfast, dinner, and supper whilst they occupied the town. Those men were principally of Early's Division whose line lay from Baltimore Street, down East Middle Street, and around south to Cemetery Hill, and this street being parallel to York Street made it near and convenient to Globe Hotel. Now, we raised the price of whiskey from 5 cents per drink to 10 cents and the price of meals from 35 cents to 50 cents. While they were eating their first meal, father and I discussed what we should do if they offered us Confederate money in payment. He said take a stand and go inside of the dining room door and collect the money and if they cannot pay in good money tell them we will close the dining room. When the first man left the table coming up to me, he said, "Do you collect the money?" I said I did. He asked, "How much is it? I replied "50 cents." To my great surprise, he pulled out large rolls of brand new U.S. Government greenbacks he said, "Is that money satisfactory?" I replied it was. After he had paid me, he said, "If you prefer this kind of money," pulling out of another pocket a large bag filled with gold, "I will willingly pay you in this kind." It was a bag of brown material buckskin or brown leather and out of this money; they paid us in cash for every meal. That morning the dead horse was yet lying in the gutter and there were six or eight dead horses lying in different parts of the town. Fearing that this dead horse would become offensive, I proposed to [a] friend of mine, as no means could be had, we would



McClellan House and Weaver's Store; courtesy of ACHS

borrow a warehouse rope and get men to help drag it away and have it buried, but failed to get the help.²³ I inquired of the Confederates for a team. I was directed to a Confederate officer setting on a horse in the open space between the Hotel McClellan, now Hotel Gettysburg, and the rear of Weaver's Store building, [on the] corner [of the] Diamond [and] York Street, I hailed him. He turned around and

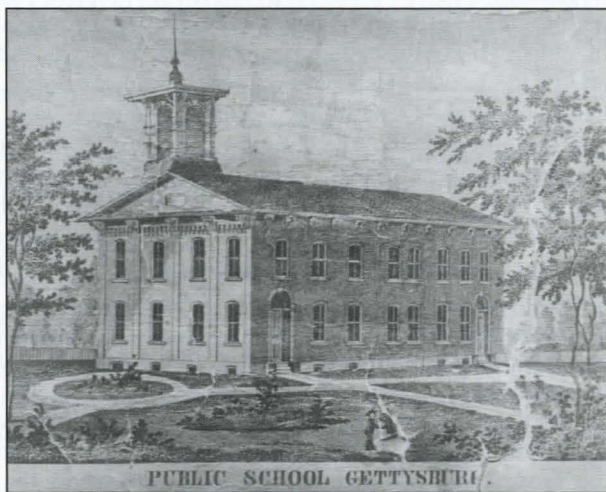
said, "What do you want?" I asked him to lend me a team to haul the dead horse away and there were eight more dead horses lying in different parts of town saying, "I will pay your price." He said, "You people up here are Very Nice. Why didn't your men help us to take away the dead from our doors at Fredericksburg?" With that he turned and rode away those dead horses were all removed the following night. I did not see it done nor did not know by whom. On that day before noon father noticed a Confederate riding around the Diamond on one of our farm horses. He called upon a Confederate officer and told him. [The officer] ordered him to return the horse to the stable. Father then called upon General Early and made complaint to him. General Early relied he would allow none of his men to molest any citizen in his person or property. Then Father asked him, the General, if he would give him a guard at the stable for both day and night, which he kindly furnished. Now those guards, whilst they guarded the stable all right, they only knew how to show other Confederates how to get into the cellar at night by a cellar window at the rear of the house and help themselves to whiskey. On that morning, a Confederate doctor who attended the sick and wounded at the Confederate Hospital came to the hotel and engaged a single room. He asked me if I would allow him to take into his room with him a friend, a Confederate lieutenant. I said, "Doctor, as you are paying for the room you can take in with you who you please." The Confederate doctor brought with him and put into the hotel stable a fine blooded sorrel horse. They all remained with us until the retreat of the Confederate Army on Friday night. Now, we had at the same time boarding with us at the hotel two Union doctors and I could not understand at that time, how and why could those men of the two opposing armies be allowed together. But, since having learned from Union soldiers that doctors who were attending on the sick and wounded in hospitals in either army could not be taken prisoners of war. Now, on the forenoon of that day, Mrs. Catherine Wills, my brother's wife, was standing on the balcony at rear end of the hotel and saw a shell drop into the garden quite near to her and sink deep into the ground.²⁴ After the battle, it was dug out by some of the men about the house. On the morning of the second day, the Confederates broke into a liquor store, which was conducted by a man from New York state named Eaton; in one of the two store rooms which was next to the Judge Wills Building on York Street.²⁵ This man had closed up his store and left town. The Confederates after helping themselves to whiskey neglected to turn the spigots properly. While standing at the hotel door I could hear the whiskey dripping through the floor into the cellar. This man, Eaton, returned after the battle and remained until the following spring 1864 when he sold out and left town.

On this day, the Confederates also broke into a grocery store on the lot adjoining and which belonged to the hotel property. It was leased and conducted by Joseph Gillespie who left town and remained until after the battle, when he returned to find his store completely gutted out. The Confederates picked out the best of the goods and trampled the remainder under feet.

I had an experience of my own on the afternoon of the second day. Walking about to see what could be seen, I came to the hotel and when I determined to go up on the roof of the hotel to the trap door and look over the battle. I was standing on a stepladder I was up out of the roof to my waist. While looking at a Confederate battery on Benner's Hill firing in the direction of Culp's Hill or East Cemetery Hill. I was also looking at [a] Confederate battery at the west end of the barn on the farm well known as the "Milk Man Wolf" Farm south of York Pike. They were also firing in the direction

of Culp's Hill or East Cemetery Hill. While standing there, I heard a call saying, "get off that roof!" I looked out around me. I heard it several times; finally, I located it. A Confederate soldier was standing in an open space between the Kendlehart property and Culp's Blacksmith shop on East Middle Street with his gun resting on a paling fence pointed at me. I asked him who he was talking to. He said, "I am taking to you, and I want you to get off that roof!" I saw him turn around and say something to two other Confederates who were standing behind him at that moment. I stepped down lower so that the comb of the roof would hide me from his view. I then looked out north in the direction of the Mummasburg Road, between the Mummasburg Road and the red barn on the Judge Wills farm. A Confederate battery was firing over the town in the direction of Culp's Hill or the cemeteries. In a few moments, there was a call in the yard at the rear end of the house. Here was a Confederate officer on horseback, with a revolver in his hand. He said, "General Early wants to see you, now if you will come down peaceably you will not be hurt. If you will not, my orders are to take you off that roof and bring you up to General Early." My mother and two sisters were on the balcony being very much frightened they begged me to "Come down." The officer said, "Come down now, you shall not be hurt." I decided it be best to come down. When I came down to him, there were the barkeeper with three men going into the rear door. He said, "Who are those men?" I told him; he said, "Bring them along." As we were coming out of the alley and reached the front pavement, Mr. J. Cassat Neely, Esq., an influential citizen and a prominent member of the bar in the Adams County Courts, who was a boarder at the hotel had just come to the front door of the hotel. I called to him and explained to him the trouble I was in, and asked him would he go with me and use his good offices in my behalf to General Early. He kindly consented to do so. We went through the yard of the Troxell property and the then vacant lot where the Methodist Church now stands on Middle Street.²⁶ He took us up before General Early who was sitting on marble slabs at John Cannon Marble Works, at rear of the lot [on the] corner of Baltimore & Middle Street where the line of General Early's division lay during the battle. General Early asked me what I was doing on the roof. I replied, "I was looking over the battle." He asked me what I had seen, I told him I was looking at a Confederate battery on Benner Hill firing in the direction of Culp's Hill or Cemetery Hill, and also at a Confederate Battery north of town, on Seminary Ridge between the Mummasburg road, and the red barn on the Judge Wills farm firing in the direction of Culp's Hill or East Cemetery Hill. He asked me if I was the proprietor of the hotel? I replied, "No! My father [is]." He asked, "Where is he?" I replied he had gone out to his farm on the York Pike, to look after his property as he had been informed that his tenant had left, and the Confederates were occupying the house and barn.²⁷ He then told me that I might have been picked off the roof by Union sharp-shooters on Cemetery Hill. He said, "Your people are on the streets; they are at their garret windows and on the roofs. I sent guards from door to door on your streets to tell them to go into their cellars or at least to remain within their houses, the only safe place for them. If you people would but take my advice, I want to save your people," he ended by saying, "you can go home and attend to business," and that no citizen should be molested in his person or in his business and that they would protect private property. Then Mr. Neely and General Early fell to talking. When I stepped back I heard Mr. Neely reply to General Early, "Yes, General I am a member of the bar here, and General, I understand you are a member of the bar." General Early replied, "Yes; I am a member

of the Lynchburg Bar.” After some conversation between Mr. Neely and General Early, we took our leave. The Confederate officer who had taken us up to Early walked with me down to the corner of Middle and Stratton Street and seated at the curb we began talking about the war. He gave as his opinion and as that of other Confederates, that if they had hung about a dozen of men at each end of the country both North and South before the war, this war would never have taken place. I took it for granted he meant the Abolitionists of the North and the Fire-eaters of the South. I have heard that opinion expressed by Union soldiers and private citizens of the North. While sitting there at once there was excitement. Officers were walking up and down the street looking up at the windows of the High Street School Building one of their men in the line of Confederates who were lying on pavement with their heads and shoulders up against the paling fence was struck in the head by a bullet coming from that direction. The officers were sure the ball came from that window, as they said those shutters were closed all day until now there is one open. I told them as the school term was closed there could be no person in the building, and that I could not believe that any citizen of



Engraving of the public school building from the 1858 map of Adams County, courtesy of ACHS



Matilda Gillespie,
courtesy of ACHS

Gettysburg would be guilty of such an act and it must have been a random shot. They placed this man on a cot and carried him down to the Confederate hospital. Now Father returned late in the evening from the farm and reported finding the tenant gone! The house and barn full of Confederates. On the morning of the 3rd there was little of interest going on as there were a less number of Confederates on the streets and in and about the hotel. We were told there was a hard fight ahead that afternoon. Cannonading was likened to a continuous roll of thunder. A lady living directly opposite the hotel, Miss Tillie Gillespie was left entirely alone by her brother, Joseph Gillespie who had left his store adjoining the hotel and left town. She being very much frightened, she sent word over to me to come over to her. I went over and brought her with some other ladies over to the hotel and placed them in dining room so as to have them protected by two brick walls in case shot or shell should strike the house. That evening those two Confederates and the two Union doctors who were boarding with us, came together

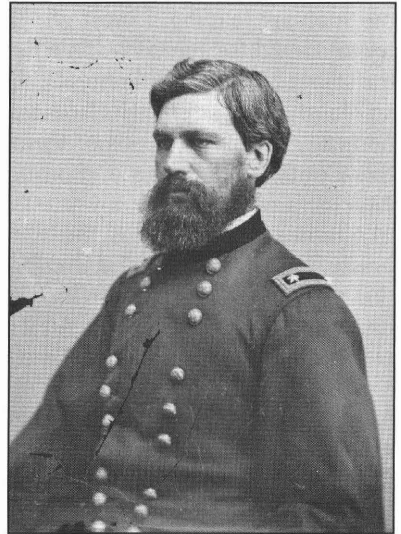
into the barroom. They fell to quarrelling and coming to pretty hot words and fearing that it would come to a fight I went to them and begged of them to stop, as there were women in the next room and were very much frightened. They said, "With due respect for the ladies, we will stop, but we settle this matter somewhere else in the near future." Late on this Friday night, the Confederates began their retreat. My wife, who was then single, living opposite General Early's headquarters, saw the commanding officer riding along the line with horse's feet muffled or by some other means could not hear the horse's hoofs on the street, and in a low voice urged his men to their feet, saying, "We must get out. We are losing entirely too many men." She said it was a sight to see those men, in ranks abreast, from curb to curb, with their bayonets glistening in the moonlight, marching out West Middle Street and out of town.

SATURDAY, JULY 4TH

On every morning whilst the Confederates occupied the town we found the floors of the dining room, the reception room and the parlor lying full of Confederates, they having gained in entrance by lifting out the sash of the dining room window. We could not see that they had taken or disturbed anything in these rooms, but they gained an entrance to the cellar where they helped themselves to liquors by taking the barrels off the racks, breaking in the heads, and leaving the spigots dripping making a complete wreck in the cellar. On that Saturday morning, I was awakened by noises and much excitement outside in front of the house and on the street. I arose quickly and stepping out on the front porch, saw a company of Union troops on the Diamond. I went to the room of the Confederates to inform them of the fact when I found the room vacant and that with all their baggage had left. I went quickly to mother's bedroom door and told her. She said, "Captain Simpson, the doctor, before daylight called at my door and said, 'Mrs. Wills our men are leaving, I must go. Tell your son to take care of my horse. If I live I will try and send for him if I don't I guess he will belong to him.'" I immediately went to the stable congratulating myself upon owning a fine blooded horse. Upon going into the stable my spirits fell. His horse and our two family horses were gone with bridles and harness. We never heard of them afterward. Later that morning a citizen had arrested this Confederate doctor and brought him back to town. Whilst I was sweeping off the pavement with my back toward them I did not see them at the same time a corporal guard of Union soldiers came to the hotel they asked me if there were any Confederates in the house.²⁸ I told them of the Confederates who were boarding with us and of their leaving that morning, when a boy who was sitting in front of the hotel jumped up and never saw him afterward said, "Yes! A citizen and a Confederate officer just now went into the alley." They at once arrested me for harboring Confederates. I said to them "this is all a mistake and if you will allow me to see your superior officer I will explain the matter satisfactorily to him." They said, "As you are a citizen and if you can do that we will grant you the privilege." They took me up to the Diamond and left me in charge of a German lieutenant who had in charge of a company of German soldiers. They were wild with excitement. When I tried to explain the matter to him, he said to me, "Keep quiet and stay here. I can't control my men." A heavy shower of rain commenced, when this German company all ran over to the McClellan House, now Hotel Gettysburg, and got

under the big trees, which were then there. The whole space of that corner was crowded with Union soldiers, citizens, and people from the country. While standing there this same corporal guard came to me and here goes our colonel down Carlisle Street. I said, "Go and stop him." They hurried through the crowd to hail him. I made hard steps and very short ones so that placed me far in the rear. When they turned the corner I stepped back through the crowd ran down the alley in the rear of the hotel and down alley to the Globe Hotel went to my room and changed my clothes from a suit of linen to [a] suit of black cloth, went to barber shop had my moustache and goatee cut off. Went out, and on the crossing between the Weaver store corner and the Judge Wills Building I met this same corporal guard and they did not recognize me. Now, it became known to the Union soldiers by some means that the proprietor of the Globe Hotel had liquors buried in his garden. A German lieutenant came down to [the] hotel and was going to confiscate the liquors. I remonstrated with him, when father went up to the Provost Marshall's office and told him saying to him "Captain, if you need any liquors for your sick and wounded you are welcome to it free of charge but I don't want your men to steal if from me." The Captain, thanking father for his kind offer, said "it shall not occur again." In a moment a guard came down arrested [the German lieutenant] and took him up the Provost Marshall office. Those liquors when taken up, which were buried, were ruined by being water soaked. We disposed of it by selling some off cheap, and giving it away and throwing some out.

Now, the Confederate troops having left the town, we saw them moving over the Seminary Ridge west of town by way of the Chambersburg Pike, the Fairfield Road, and some through the fields. Their rearguard cavalry was at the railroad cut. Now, some of our very patriotic citizens, who in their excitement or want of good judgment, proceeded to barricade the streets by filling hogsheads and barrels with ground taken from their lots placing them across the streets.²⁹ On West Middle Street, West Chambersburg Street they took our farm wagon with the hay carriages on from the hotel yard and placed it, turned up on edge across Chambersburg Street they placed railroad ties across Carlisle Street, they placed lumber across York Street. Now some of our citizens in their excitement attempted to fire on them. As a very reliable citizen told me he had on that morning taken his cow out to pasture, as he usually did before the battle, to the field at the foot of Seminary Ridge south of the Fairfield Road. Whilst standing there he saw a Confederate standing there who was struck by a shot, which was fired from town. The Confederates at once sent word to town that if any of the citizens fired on them again they would shell the town. Several of the prominent citizens with my father went to them and remonstrated, saying, "You are inviting the destruction of the town, and that you should rather be glad that the fight is over, and that they are gone."



Major General Oliver Otis Howard,
courtesy of LOC

On Sunday morning, we were reported to General [Oliver Otis] Howard charged with harboring Confederates when we received notice from the Provost Marshall to come up to his office. Mr. Neely Esq., who was boarding at the hotel, at once went up to the Provost Marshall's office and invited him down to the hotel. Upon his arrival we directed him through the house; he found no Confederates; we then directed him to the cellar, where we pointed out to him the destruction of barrels, liquors, and goods and the wreck left in the cellar; we told him of our loss of two farm horses and harness taken from the stable, also of the loss of the crops, wood, and fencing on the farm. We told him as the spirit of feeling was high between the two political parties this charge was brought against us through political enmity; he said, "I am convinced there is political feeling between you people. Come with me to my office. I will report to General Howard." When we arrived at his office, by time he said to me, "You can go home. Your father will remain here until I hear from General Howard"; at four o'clock [in the] afternoon, the Provost Marshall received orders from General Howard to dismiss those people and let them go home. We knew we were censured for entertaining Confederates; why! It was our business and we entertained them the same as we did the Union soldiers, before and after the battle or any other people who had the money to pay for it and they paid us in U.S. Government greenbacks and gold and they had plenty of it.³⁰

Now there were four hotels other than the Globe Hotel in town and they could have entertained the Confederates as well if they had wanted to. The only reason I could assign for their not doing so was because they hated them, as those hotels were conducted by Republicans.³¹ Every evening whilst the Confederates were in town among others four Confederate chaplains visited my sisters regularly and during all the time those Confederate officers went in and out of the house, to their rooms and to their meals no one ever went into the barroom to drink liquors. I heard no improper language on the contrary, their deportment was most gentlemanly.

After the battle, the Union troops again occupying the town and the hotels being filled with soldiers there much [was] drinking and consequently there was much disorder. An officer came to the hotel and ordered me to close the bar and proceeded to give me a lecture about selling too much whiskey to the soldiers. When I proceeded to tell him what I thought by telling him among other things that if I would not sell it them they would take it and that if he did not want them to drink in here he should be kind enough to place a guard at the door and keep them out and that I was tired of the whole business; from the manner in which he turned and looked at me, when he left, I was convinced that I had better be absent from the house for the remainder of the day; I went down street and remained away until five o'clock in the evening, when I returned to the hotel. I met father and Mr. Neely in the hall, when they said to me, "John, hereafter you will have to be more careful as to where you go and what you say to those officers. We have again saved you from trouble and it will be the last time, and said we were glad you were not here for dinner as there were three soldiers who came in here with drawn sabers going around the dining room table and through the house looking for you."

In the evening, the hotels were filled with soldiers and much drinking was done. They, as usual, would become disorderly. Orders came to the hotel to close the bar; after a short time we would again open up the bar, and again orders came to close the bar. As the spirit of feeling was high between the two political parties I surmised that those orders did not come from the proper source, but that they came from the Eagle Hotel,

Republican Headquarters as this thing had been kept up for some time. I sent out a spy to see if the bars of the other hotels were open and when the report came in that they were. I ordered them to open up. One morning, when the hotel was crowded with soldiers and there was much drinking, an officer came to the hotel and gave us orders to sell liquor to no one excepting commissioned officers. From the number of soldiers who came with uniforms on I thought every man in the army was a commissioned officer. I went up to the Provost Marshall and told him he said, "Sell no soldier liquors without my order and signature." Again, I thought every soldier in the army had the Provost Marshall order with his signature. I again went up to his office with one of those orders. He said, "That is not my signature." He then gave an order with his signature in his hand writing that put a stop to that trick! Now, after General Early had taken some of our liquors I had taken the precaution to save a good supply of our whiskies and wines by storing them in a closet up on the second floor. Now, I noticed that Mr. Neely Esq. evidently had quite an extended acquaintance with the prominent officers of the Union Army as so many were calling on him at the Globe Hotel. As Mr. Neely was my benefactor on whom I invariably called whenever I got into trouble, and who just as often got me out of it, seeing a number of those officers in the hall talking to him, I invited him and his friends up to a private room where I set out a table and fixing it up with good whiskies and wines. I said, "Mr. Neely, this belongs to you and your friends and you are welcome to all that is in that closet while it lasts." They came on horseback, in squads of six and seven. When the last party were around the table they offered me money saying, "This is too much for kindness alone." I, thanking them, said, "Don't mention it! This belongs to Mr. Neely and his friends and you are welcome to all I have."

After the battle was over, and the town and hotels being crowed with soldiers, citizens were coming in from all sections of the country, and as the Confederates had burned many cars and torn up the railroad tracks, the Government took possession of the railroad. They repaired the tracks and furnished the cars when train after train, day and night, came in loaded to their full capacity from every northern state from Maine to California. The majority being women who came to look after their friends, the sick and wounded, to have them cared for and when it was possible to have them taken home and also to have their dead taken up and the bodies embalmed preparatory to shipping them home. We had no lodging room for men. Some sat up all night, some slept on the hayloft in the stable, some walked about the town; the women occupied all the beds also we placed blankets and pillows on the carpets in the parlors and reception room; they were



David Wills House ca. 1890, courtesy of ACHS

occupied by women. There were two embalming rooms in town, one was in the room on York Street adjoining the Judge Wills Building.³² The other was in the Brick School House on the Mummasburg Road. At that time, a number of our citizens made quite a good thing out of this gruesome business of taking up the dead for those people and assisting them in preparing them for shipment to their homes. Men who were engaged in this work bought whiskies in large quantities, to prevent sickness in their work. I discovered that a number of them were buying all the pint and quart flasks in town and having them filled with whiskey and were taking them out and selling them to soldiers at extortionate prices. I at once stopped that trick! This work had been going on for about one month when, in order to prevent sickness, the Government issued orders to stop the taking up of the dead until fall, when freezing weather would commence.

Now by reason of Confederate General [Richard] Ewell's corps at the retreat of the Union Army passing over our farm east of town to Culp's Hill, our crops, our hay, and straw our wood and fencing, our liquors were destroyed and taken. Our two farm horses and harness were taken. My father estimated his loss at two thousand dollars, and as to spies, from the number of spies who went through here from about three to four weeks before the battle I was convinced they were pretty well acquainted with this section of country. There were ten of whom I knew of, two stopped at the Globe Hotel, one it was said stopped at McClellan House, now Hotel Gettysburg, during the time of the battle. When in conversation with him he talked as a good Union man. One was caught on the Emmitsburg Road standing at a fence looking toward Seminary Ridge taking notes. He was arrested and sent to Harrisburg. Three were at the Eagle Hotel who were suspected by the proper authorities and arrested and sent to Harrisburg. The third one was walking around as a cripple with one leg drawn up and bandaged. Whilst this business was going on with the two former men, he quietly limped out of the hotel, down Chambersburg Street to a distance of two blocks. When our men spied him, and seemingly, to them there was something not quite right about his movements, they decided to give chase to him. When he saw them coming, the bandage disappeared from his leg. He distanced them and ran out Chambersburg Pike into a cornfield where they lost him. One morning an ardent Confederate sympathizer hailed me, he said, "Did you notice those three men walking up around the Diamond?" I said I did not and asked him who they were. He said, "They are Confederate officers. They were dressed in citizens clothing. They walked up Baltimore Street to the corner of High and Baltimore Streets they turned west down High Street to a house where they lodged that night. Late that night the man with whom they stopped came to the hotel and asked my permission to bring them down to the hotel take them into the side room where they could meet friends and by locking the doors no outsiders could see them. I sternly refused him and said, "As the feeling of spirit is high between the two political parties we have trouble enough now and I don't want to get into any more, and if you want them to meet friends, take those friends up to your house and have them meet them there." There were eleven men of whom I knew being former citizens who had left this town and county and went south and joined General Early's Troop and were in this battle. One was from York, Pennsylvania, one was from Conewago [in the] lower end of this county, one from Littlestown, one from Emmitsburg, Maryland, three from this town, and four from the South Mountain. When those men from the mountain were marching down the Chambersburg Pike toward Gettysburg with the Confederate troops and in their Confederate uniforms while passing

a hotel they saw the landlord sitting on the front porch, an old acquaintance and neighbor they called him saying "Hello George, how are you?" but he did not know them. They told him of it when they returned home, the one from Conewago who [had] gone to Richmond, Virginia several years before and joined the Confederate Army. When he came here with the Confederate troops, he went down to Conewago and remained with friends until the fight was over. After the Battle, he came to Gettysburg to meet his old friend who had his room in the old McClellan House, now Hotel Gettysburg. They were sports together in their younger days. Colonel John McClellan, the old colonel, was sitting in front of the hotel when his old friend came up to greet him. He was honest in informing him what he was and how he came here. The Colonel refused to shake hands with him saying, "You are a traitor to your country! I want nothing to do with you!" turned his back to him and left him.

Now as to the money they had and where they got it, some years after the battle I met an ex-Confederate near Cemetery Hill; in conversation with him I asked him where they got all that money they had. He said many of the Confederates of Virginia and other southern states had friends and relatives in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, who sent them money before they came into Pennsylvania and also at Frederick City and York, Pennsylvania, and other large towns in Pennsylvania. I said, "You could not have gotten it by mail." He replied, "Oh no, we got it through other channels." A few days after I met another ex-Confederate on the Baltimore Pike below the cemetery. I asked him the same questions and he gave me the same answer. Now there have been different stories told as to the amount of money received by General Early at York, Pennsylvania. Now, I am personally acquainted with an old gentleman, a reliable and prominent business man in Gettysburg and a former citizen of York, Pennsylvania.³³ Who upon hearing of General Early moving toward York, Pennsylvania, went to York and after General Early had made his requisition, he while standing near to him saw checks, notes, [and] orders for goods contributed by merchants handed to General Early amounting in all to between seventy one and seventy two thousand dollars. As to the Louisiana Tigers, several years after the Battle, one day I was standing on East Cemetery Hill, I noticed two men coming up from the foot of the hill along the stonewall to where I was standing. In conversation with them, I ventured the remark, "I take it for granted that you are ex-Confederates?" "Yes," they said, "We are and as we are getting old we determined to see this battlefield once more and we determined while on this tour to walk up on the same ground that we made our charge up this hill." I asked them, "Were you both in this charge upon this Hill?" They replied "Yes we were" continuing, they said "we were in [Harry T.] Hays' Brigade, and no doubt you have heard that our regiment in that brigade was called the Louisiana Tigers." "Yes," I said, "We called you that when you were here." He said, "From the time our regiment left home by that name until we arrived here, through the loss of many being killed and through the reorganization of our commands their was only about twelve or thirteen left of us when we were here." Three years ago there came this town on a visit to this battlefield an ex-Confederate cavalryman whom I met in one of the hotels. We made arrangements to meet near my home at one o'clock the next day. We met accordingly. We walked up on East Cemetery Hill. During our conversation and while looking out to the Cavalry Shaft where the great cavalry fight took place he said, "I was a cavalry man under the Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart" he said "we cut and slashed back and forward through and through each

other. We fought with all the nerve and strength that was in us and we could not get one foot nearer to Gettysburg, when we were compelled to give it up and retreat." I said, "Well you were very fortunate in getting out of that fight alive." He said "Yes, but I had a horse shot under me, and I was shot through my ankle, but that has healed up nicely and has given me no trouble since." I said to him "When you retreated, what direction did you take?" Pointing in the direction of Hunterstown, he said, "They drove us down there several miles to a town where a number of our men dismounted and went into a store to get something to eat from there we took a straight course, never stopping, for home." When the Confederate troops came into Pennsylvania and coming down all along the route in the Cumberland Valley and seeing the bountiful crops and coming down through the towns of Shippensburg, Chambersburg, and Carlisle, and seeing the many able-bodied young men standing on the streets looking at them and seeing the many able-bodied young men coming out of the shops at quitting time, they were disheartened. One officer said to his fellow officer, "What was the use of us coming over here to fight those people? Why, they could raise another army again as large as they now have and feed them too."

About one month before the Battle of Gettysburg, two men, dressed in the garb of Quaker Preachers crossed the Potomac River at Williamsport, Maryland, passed down through Hagerstown and down the Cumberland Valley to a point where they turned north to Chambersburg Pike. They came up the pike eastward to the top of the mountain to a hotel, "The proprietor and landlord was George Cornwall."³⁴ Being ostensibly engaged on a mission of church affairs, and traveling entirely incognito they asked permission of the landlord to sleep in the barn, where they would not be noticed or disturbed by strangers. The landlord readily granted their requests. Being footsore and tired, they asked for a bucket of water to bathe their feet. The landlord then took them to the barn, placing straw in a horse stall and upon the straw placing blankets. Here they slept that night. In the morning, they went to the hotel, paid their bill, and resumed their journey going down the pike eastward to Cashtown. Here they stopped a very short time at a hotel, which at that time was conducted by a landlord named McCleary. While there, they took particular notice of a large man standing in front of the hotel near the door. This man, as you will see, later one of them remembered well. This man was the owner and proprietor of the hotel property and the farm adjoining the hotel and his name was Jacob Mickely, familiarly known in this section of country as "Jocky Jake Mickely." Those two men dressed in the garb of Quaker preachers who were Confederate officers and acting as spies through this section of country were General Taylor of General Lee's staff, and one General Jackson but not Stonewall Jackson, as there were several Confederate officers named Jackson in the Confederate Army.³⁵

About seven years after the Battle of Gettysburg, General Taylor made a trip to Gettysburg and over the field and determined to travel entirely unknown. He stopped at a hotel and requested of the landlord, that his desire was not to register and that the landlord should not mention his name to any person during his stay here and that he be furnished a private team to go over the field. The landlord granted his request saying "General, I have a private team of my own, and if that is satisfactory so as to insure privacy I will take you myself." He was taken to that barn where he was shown the team. The General replied that was satisfactory. The next morning they started out the Confederate Avenue on Seminary Ridge to a point from where General Pickett made

his charge. He asked the driver to stop here. He walked up to the stonewall and looked for some length of time over and in the direction to the "High Water Mark," returning to his team he said, "Well, I don't wonder that we could not take that position." He then, asking the driver to stop a minute, he walked westward a short distance down in the woods to a large tree here, with his cane, he stirred around in the leaves awhile. He called to his driver come down here. When the driver came to him, he said pointing to a stake close to the large tree, "If that is not one of the stakes that held General Lee's Tent, I am greatly mistaken." From here they returned to the hotel. The next morning he said to the landlord, "This morning I wish to take a longer trip up the Chambersburg Pike, no matter how much time it will require. If you will take me, I will pay your price." They started on their trip up the pike. As they drew up in front of the hotel at Cashtown General Taylor looking up, seeing a man standing in front of the hotel remarked, "Why there stands the same man who was standing there when we came down the mountain to this hotel that morning about one month before the Battle of Gettysburg." And that was the same man "Jockey Jake Mickley." They resumed their journey up the pike to the hotel on the top of the mountain. Here they stopped for some time at the hotel. They went to the barn, when General Taylor pointed to the driver the horse stall in which he "General Taylor and General Jackson," slept in that night as Quaker preachers one month before the Battle of Gettysburg.

On May 19th 1862, when the Union troops were moving south they were warned that if they attempted to pass through Baltimore City they would be attacked but they paid no attention to this and continued marching on.³⁶ Immediately upon entering the city, they were attacked by a large and furious mob. [They were] repulsed and completely routed. Now, out of this grew an excitement for the people of Gettysburg. Several days after this occurred and on account of reports coming in that raids were being made by the Confederates into Maryland and into Pennsylvania in the South Mountains and that many strange and suspicious persons were seen in and about town. The authorities of the town called a meeting of the citizens to assemble at the Court House that evening to devise ways and means for the better protection of the town and its citizens. They decided to organize a patrol by placing two men at the entrance of the town on each street and to whom were given strict orders to arrest any person who was seen on the street after night and to compel them to give their name and what their business was and also to take all horses that were hitched to posts and no one in charge. The men on patrol got a great deal of fun out of it by compelling many a poor fellow, to give his name and telling them what he was doing in there when caught coming out of the house of his best girl. They also took charge of several horses at late



Fahnestock Store on the northwest corner of Baltimore and Middle Streets, July 1863, courtesy of LOC

hours found tied up on the street whilst the country beau was spending the time with his best girl. The patrol were instructed to take all such horses down to the Fahnestock store, now the Trimmer Ten Cent, and be tied to the long hitching chain opposite the courthouse. Now, when leaving his best girl, the country beau would go on the hunt of his horse when the patrol would take him to the courthouse where two or three men were appointed to sit at night to hear reports of the patrol and to attend to other business pertaining there to. Here they were compelled to give a proper account of themselves before they were released and their horses restored to them. That night whilst the citizens [were] meeting was in session a number of men on a handcar came up the railroad from Hanover to Gettysburg with all possible speed giving the alarm. They came directly up to the courthouse and into the door of the courtroom 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 courtroom being crowded I was sitting on the windowsill on the north side along Middle Street. 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!" We had a military company here their captain quickly called them out. They went down York Street double-quick. Other citizens ran down York Street in crowds armed with all kinds of weapons. It was a most amusing sight to see the girls running up and down the streets and the crossings grabbing 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." But they broke loose from them. Down the street, they went double-quick. When they reached the end of York Street they reconnoitered for some time. Finally, when no rebels could be seen they returned to town, rather crest-fallen by the joke played on the citizens of Gettysburg by some of the Hanover wags; I have always believed it was that, and nothing else.

Now during the excitement of this evening citizens rode on horse out the country roads giving the alarm to the country people when farmers came riding into town from all directions armed with all kinds of arms ancient and modern. At this time, an amusing incident occurred on Carlisle Street. One of my neighbors on York Street took his father's old horse and with an old horn road down Carlisle Street and out the Mummasburg Road giving the alarm and blowing his horn all the way. The patrolman stationed on Carlisle Street at the run was an old Dutchman and when he heard this man coming down Carlisle Street blowing his horn, he thought it was one of the rebels and being very much frightened he crawled on the foot-log in hiding. When this 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!" His weapon consisted of an old broomstick with an old rusty bayonet stuck on the end of it.

On the morning of the third day's fight, Jennie Wade was killed while "baking." Several days before that she was called out from her home on Breckenridge Street to attend on her sister Mrs. Lewis McClellan [Georgia Wade], who was lying in the front room with a child, which was seven days old, on the day she was killed, and who with her husband occupied the house as tenants.³⁷ The picket line of Union troops were advanced as far down as the "Jennie Wade House" and down to the intersection of Steinwehr



Georgia McClellan, a friend Maria Comfort, and Mary Virginia Wade, courtesy of ACHS

Art with Baltimore Street. The Confederate picket line extended out south from town as far as Breckenridge Street and eastward around to [the] foot of East Cemetery Hill. The firing was drawn from both parties. Jennie Wade was standing over the dough tray behind the middle room door, which was wide open and the outer door, north side, was closed. The bullet passing through both doors struck her low in the back passing through her heart and out through the breast bone. The people who were living on the other side of the house, with the assistance of a number of the soldiers who were about [the] house it being too dangerous to take her out on the north side of the house on account of the bullets coming in that direction from the Confederate lines.³⁸ They took her up the rear stairway and through an opening in the petition which was made

by a shell passing through the eaves of the roof and over both platforms and lodged in the timbers on the other side. They enlarged this opening to admit of the body passing through. They took her down on the other side of the house, they wrapped the body in a blanket carried her down, and laid her in the cellar until the battle was over when it would be more safe to take the body out and bury her. Now when the battle was over and the Confederates had retreated, on Saturday morning they called upon a prominent citizen and who was a carpenter and contractor to secure a coffin and have it brought out and have the body placed into it preparatory for burial.³⁹ Now there was a prominent citizen who was a prominent manufacturer and dealer in furniture and whose residence and furniture shop was situated on Baltimore Street south of and adjoining the courthouse. The carpenter went to him and asked permission to go to his shop and make a coffin. His request was granted. Now, the Confederate lines of General Early's division was on East Middle Street and that of General [Robert E.] Rodes Division was on West Middle Street. A number of those Confederates were gathered in and around the open space in front of the courthouse. They took possession of this furniture shop and were making coffins to place their dead into. Now, those Confederates had cut out a coffin of walnut wood for the purpose of placing into it the body of a North Carolina Confederate colonel or general to be shipped to his home. Those Confederates unexpectedly to them, being compelled to retreat on Friday night this coffin was left in its rough and unfinished state. The carpenter going into the shop and looking around for material he came across this unfinished walnut coffin. He took it, dressed up the material, [and] completed the job. He took it out to the house and placed into it the body of Jennie Wade, they then took her to the rear of the house and buried her in the garden. As soon as possible, a lot was secured in the cemetery of the Reformed Lutheran Church in town of which denomination she



The final resting place of Mary Virginia Wade located in the Evergreen Cemetery, courtesy of ACHS

and her people were members. They then disinterred her body and removed it to this cemetery and interred it there. Subsequently Mr. and Mrs. McClellan removed to the west, to the state of [Iowa].⁴⁰ Mrs. McClellan having joined an organization called the "Ladies Relief Corps of the Grand Army, an Auxiliary to the Grand Army," the story of her sister's—Jennie Wade's—death being published throughout the country, this organization appointed a committee to collect funds and they, with a large number of their members, came to Gettysburg, where they removed the body from the cemetery of the Reformed Church to the citizens cemetery of Gettysburg where they re-interred the body and placing a handsome monument with a statue of a handsome female figure placed on top of it to her memory. Her age was 20 years and no months.

During and after the battle, the churches, the public buildings of the town, the warehouses, and one hotel were filled with sick and wounded soldiers as also many of the citizens threw open their doors filling their parlors and halls with the sick and wounded, where the members of their families could nurse them and minister to their wants. Also the ladies of the town could be seen going in and out of these hospitals night and day carrying lint which they had made assisted in dressing their wounds and ministering to their wants and writing letters for them and having them mailed to their homes and doing all in their power for their comfort and happiness and I was an eyewitness to this good work going in and out of those places myself. And now we must not forget the "Good sisters of Charity" those angels of mercy could be seen among those sick and wounded soldiers night and day doing all in their power in relieving them of their wants and sufferings. The soldiers as well as the citizens could never find words adequate to fully express their love and admiration for those good women for their patient and untiring devotion for the good and welfare of those sick and wounded soldiers.

Now, it is a well-known fact that all along the line from east to west in each and every bordering county there were many Confederate sympathizers. And I know that Adams County had its full complement. And I think as many others do that the

sympathy and encouragement the Confederates received from that class of people in those counties and the sympathizers in other sections of the north, with the large amounts of money they received from various sections of the North that this was a considerable factor in prolonging the war.

Now, it was said that no citizens were seen on the streets of Gettysburg during the three days fight. This is positively not true. General Early warned the citizens as well as myself personally when I was taken up before him that we should take our women and children and go into our cellars and if we could not do that conveniently to at least stay within our houses and upon no occasion let them go out on the streets as that would be most dangerous to them. He also said, "You people are on the streets, you are at your garret windows, you are on the roofs of your houses," and said, "I have sent a guard up and down your street every day to warn the citizens to keep of the streets and stay within their houses. My desire is to save you people if you would but take my advice, and I advise you of the fact that if at any moment your sharpshooters had spied you, you might have been picked off." But, many of the male citizen did not take heed to his warning; no women were seen on the streets; and many men as well as myself went about in many different places of town to see what could be seen. As for myself I had no fear or thought of danger.

In the year of 1862, in order to fill our quota of men allotted to Adams County for the army, and on the day when those men who were drafted came to town for examination necessary there to consequently the town and hotels were pretty well filled with people.⁴¹ On that day there appeared on the streets of town a number of men of very suspicious looking characters who it was said were a lot of thieves from Baltimore. On the afternoon several of those characters were coming up Chambersburg Street when in front of the College Church they met a number of ladies of our town to whom they made improper remarks. The ladies, being very much frightened, ran up on the College Church steps, when those men followed them up on the steps where they again insulted them. The ladies screaming for help attracted the attention of citizens who ran to their aid when they quickly disappeared. The news of this incident soon spread over the town. Now we had in our town in those years seven or eight men whom we generally called upon when in trouble of that kind. Now, a number of prominent citizens, with my father, called upon our boys and made arrangements with them to catch those toughs give them a good beating and drive them out of town. That evening after supper, one of our dining room girls came to me saying, "Please come out to the dining room there are two men out there insulting the girls." I quickly went to the dining room. When I reached there they had disappeared through a rear door. While standing there under a bright gas light one of the girls said to me, "You had better not stand there in this bright light. There are two of them outside watching you through the window." I immediately went out. Late that night after closing the house, I went down to a café on Carlisle Street. Here were the same two men, one of them tried to insult me when the proprietor seeing this said to me, "Don't pay any attention to that, I will attend to that." The proprietor then said to me, "Now I will close the house and if you wish to go home you had better go now. And if not you are welcome to go back to the rear room and sit with my folks." I replied, "I will go home now." During this time, our boys had been in the back yard where the proprietor had a pile of hickory brace wood, of which our boys were making clubs, which they put up in their coat sleeves preparatory for business. As I stepped out

on the pavement here, one of our boys had one who he had struck down and was upon him stamping him with his heels. The man cried for mercy, when stopping his cries and lying quiet as feigning death when our boy left him moving up the street looking for another victim, when he suddenly turned going back to him and said, "I guess you are playing possum. I had better give you a little more." when he again commenced stamping him. When the tough again cried for mercy, he left him. Now, I heard an excitement on the Diamond, I quickly went up here one of our men had one down who he had almost beaten to death when one of our prominent citizens and my father went to them and took him off saying, "We don't want you to kill this man." He had beaten this man so badly that we removed him to the Alms House where he was attended to for two weeks by the Alms House physician, until he was sufficiently recovered to be sent home. The next morning whilst I was in an alley with the farm team loading some goods on the wagon, here came along the same tough who had insulted both me and the dining girls the evening before. After some remarks, he asked me, "What has become of the man of our party who was so badly beaten last night by your men?" I told him where we had taken him to and that he was in the care of that institution and the Alms House physician when he said "You people have in your town the most bloodthirsty set of men we have ever met." I said, "Yes we have several bad men here and today they are making preparation so that if they catch one of you in town tonight after the lights are turned on they will kill every one of you and by that time we could see or hear nothing of them."

When at the retreat of the Union troops at the battle of the first day's fight, the Confederates were driving the Union troops up Chambersburg Street and at the same time, there were Confederates coming in on the Diamond from Carlisle Street and York Street. Now there were already many wounded Union soldiers in the basement floor and on the second floor of Christ's Lutheran College Church. Now, Reverend Horatio Howell, chaplain of the 90th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment who had just come out of the basement floor and was about ascending the steps to go up into the second floor. Confederate bullets were coming thick and fast from both ends of the street. He was struck by one of those bullets and instantly killed. Now this is corroborated by a Union soldier who was here on a visit to the battlefield and who was one of the Union troop who was chased up that street by the Confederates, and said he ran around the corner of Dr. [John L.] Hill's residence into that Church yard, to shield himself from the rain of bullets, from where



Christ Lutheran Church, ca. 1900, courtesy of ACHS

he saw the chaplain fall. Now the tablet at the foot of the steps says he was ruthlessly shot down while kneeling in prayer. You form your own conclusion.⁴²

P. S. This union soldier he was an eyewitness to incident and was wounded on the second day.

My brother, who had just arrived home at the close of the battle on Saturday morning, he went out over the battlefield. Seeing many horses straying around, being crippled and wounded and he noticed the government stamp on them he thought that meant that they were condemned cast out and unfit for further use and as some were slightly injured. He thought by proper care and attention they could be made pretty good horses. He accordingly commenced gathering up some of them he brought them home and placed them in the Globe Hotel stable. He immediately started out on his second trip to get more horses but in the meantime, the Government had placed guards over the field. Now on his second trip they came upon him and arrested him. He explained to them his entire innocence and having no thought of doing wrong and seeing this mark on them he thought they were cast out and of no further use. "Well," they said to him, ~~"as you are a citizen and don't realize or understand what you are doing we will release you with a warning not to attempt this again."~~ They said to him "If we caught a man doing this on any battlefield in Virginia we would hang him to a tree." One of those horses, a young horse and of splendid frame, he kept one year and sold it for two hundred dollars. The others he sold immediately for what he could get.

On the evening of the 18th day of November 1863, Abraham Lincoln arrived in Gettysburg and was entertained by Judge David Wills, on the southeast corner of York Street and the Centre Square. On that evening, when President Lincoln appeared on the front steps of the Judge Wills residence to make an address, the "Marine Band" occupying the middle of the street the crowd of people was so great that I could get no closer to him than the curb stone on the opposite side of the street. I could not hear a word he said. He made a very short address.⁴³

On the following morning, the 19th day of November 1863, the procession marching out Baltimore Street to the National Cemetery, the Marine Band [was] leading. Then came President Lincoln on horseback riding alone followed by the prominent visiting officials, the military and civic organizations. They had secured the services of a select choir of singers from Baltimore City on that occasion, who when they arrived here invited Miss Martha Eleanor Martin a noted alto singer in her day also Miss Matilda Gillespie a noted musician and organist both of whom were leading members of the St. James Lutheran Church choir to assist them in singing the Dirge.⁴⁴

Miss Martha Eleanor Martin is now Mrs. John C. Wills of Gettysburg both of whom are now at this writing, September 1st 1915, living in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

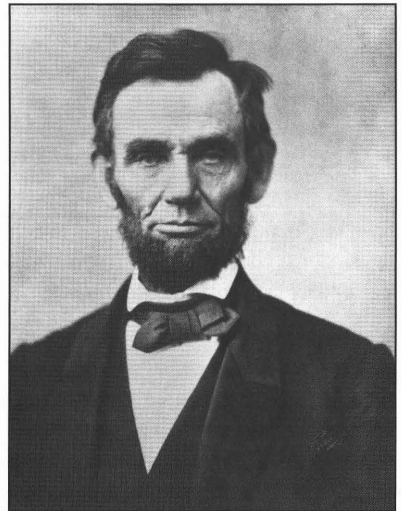


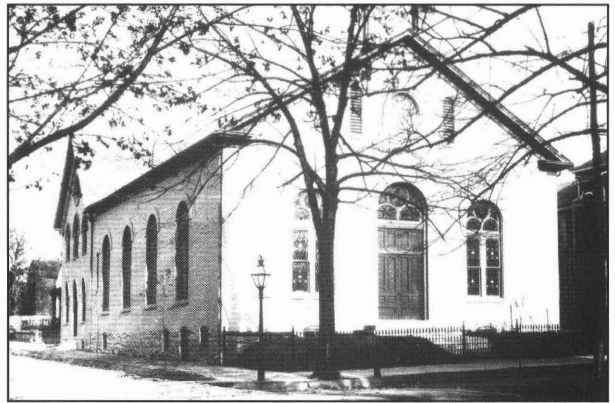
Photo of Abraham Lincoln made on November 8, 1863, courtesy of LOC



Abraham Lincoln and other dignitaries on the speaking platform during the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, courtesy of ACHS

and who have now in their possession this same copy of music "the Dirge." The procession moved to the stand in the National Cemetery where the Hon. Edward Everett delivered his grand oration and where President Abraham Lincoln delivered his famous speech, when and where the dedication and consecration of this ground took place as a last resting place for our dead heroes of the Civil War, who fell at the Battle of Gettysburg. Now on the evening of this day, the pastor and prominent

members of the Presbyterian Congregation appointed a committee to call upon and invite the President to attend a religious service being held in their church that evening. He promptly accepted the invitation. It was then when the "Hero John Burns" went to the Judge Wills residence and walked arm in arm with the President, to the church and took his seat in the pew with the President, during the services. There is now a proposition in the near future to remodel and otherwise beautify the interior of the church and they have decided and determined to keep this pew intact just as it was when President Lincoln and the "Hero John Burns" occupied it as a memorial of this event.

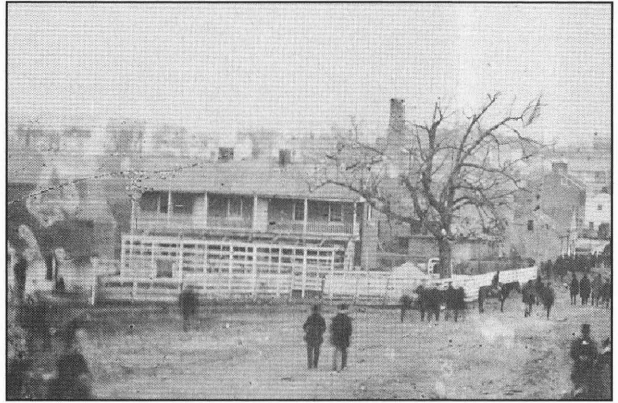


Gettysburg Presbyterian Church, Baltimore Street, ca. 1900, courtesy of ACHS

On the second and third day of the Battle the Confederate picket line occupied the position on south Baltimore Street down in the hollow of that street at the run where the whitewashed board fence is pierced with bullet holes. Their line left extended east around the foot of East Cemetery Hill, their right extended west up Breckenridge Street to Washington Street. Now on the west side of Baltimore Street and directly in front of their right line was a large tannery conducted by John Rupp. There were large brick buildings, large bark sheds & those Confederates gathered around those buildings and up on the bark in those sheds to shield themselves from the rain of bullets coming from the direction of the "Jennie Wade House" and from in front of the old hotel, now Battlefield

Hotel. During the fight, John Rupp and family remained in the house, going down in the cellar in daytime, and coming up at night three or four Confederates came up in the garden at the rear of the house. The house being close to the tannery John Rupp called out to them through the kitchen window to please not shoot toward the house and not to come into the house. They said to him "We will not come in we don't want to come in. You people stay in your house and don't be alarmed we will

not harm you." After the fight, John Rupp and family came out and looking around the buildings, they found a lot of finished leather was taken. They also found up in the barkshed a fine belt with the letters on C. S. A. Also a fine scabbard apparently belonging to an officer. John Rupp then came to the front of the house where he saw a Union soldier lying behind a large tree, which was standing a short distance south of the house. He supposing he was dead, went to him he found he was still living. He called to one of his hands who remained with him. They found him so badly wounded they could not get him on his feet. They went to the spring and got some water, which they held to his lips to drink. They then carried him into the house and called a doctor who said he was so badly wounded he could not live. He died a short time after. They took his body across the street and buried him inside of the board fence, then Solomon Welty's garden lot.⁴⁵ It is an almost incredible story of a soldier who would venture out so far from his command to get behind that tree in order to get an advantage of those Confederates. It was three times the distance from his line to the tree as it was from the tree to the Confederates who were just behind the house. There were here at the fiftieth anniversary Union soldiers who said they fired from in front of the "Jennie Wade House" seventy rounds at the Confederates at the tannery buildings without stopping.



John Rupp's house and tannery on Baltimore Street, November 19, 1863, courtesy of ACHS

OLD AND PROMINENT BUILDINGS

Within the last two years, year 1913 tourists are asking how old certain prominent buildings are. The old stone house on the corner of South Washington Street and the Emmitsburg Road, now Steinwehr Avenue was built in 1776 by Reverend James Dobbins, a Presbyterian minister and conducted to him as a college the first college west of the Susquehanna River. The Lutheran Seminary was built in 1828. The Pennsylvania College now Gettysburg [College] was built in 1832 but there was for several years a college conducted prior to that year in the old brick house on the corner of Washington and High Streets, which was a nucleus to the building of this present Gettysburg College.

The “Jennie Wade” House was built in 1827 or 1832. It is the nearest we can get to it at this date. The Judge David Wills building was built in 1814. The Christ Lutheran College Church was built in 1835. The land belonging to the Reverend James Dobbins House at that time extended north down to the Battlefield Hotel on the west side of Steinwher Avenue on the west to Seminary Ridge on the south a short distance to [the] hill on Emmitsburg Road, on the east to the National Cemetery which was the orchard of that farm and I, John C. Wills, assisted in cutting down the old apple trees and grading the mound in the circle preparatory to converting that lot into a national cemetery.

It was a question among battlefield guides, and citizens generally, as to where Lincoln wrote that famous speech. In the month of September or October 1915 there was published in the “Philadelphia Inquirer” in a space used to publish the words of our prominent men in national and military affairs. In that article, it was stated that Mr. Nicolay, President Lincoln’s Private Secretary, said to John Hay that whilst Mr. Lincoln was making preparations to go to Gettysburg he, Mr. Lincoln, handed to him a paper containing that famous speech saying, “Take care of this and see to its safe arrival to Gettysburg.”

A prominent battlefield guide went to Judge Wills and inquired of him concerning this matter. Judge Wills replied, “When Mr. Lincoln retired to his room he asked for writing material.” Judge Wills furnished it and sent to his room, and it was the opinion of Judge Wills and that of many others that he wanted the writing material to do some revising or making notes & & c.

Endnotes

¹ John Charles Wills did not leave a deep footprint in history; however, census records provide some information about his life. He was born in Conowago Township in Adams County, Pennsylvania to farmer Charles Will and his wife Margaret about 1838. In 1860, Charles Will purchased the Globe Inn and moved the family, which included John, his three brothers, and three sisters, into the inn. The family was still running the Globe Inn when the Battle of Gettysburg occurred; Wills was 25 years old. The 1880 census indicates that Wills was married to Martha E. Martin, lived in Gettysburg with their six children, and worked as a steward at Pennsylvania College. As the nineteenth-century ended, Wills worked as a brick maker. By 1910, Wills was retired but full of memories from the summer and fall of 1863. He died suddenly of kidney trouble on March 14, 1918, but not before he shared some of those memories. Although he was born as “John Charles Will,” he eventually went by the last name “Wills.” It is difficult to determine exactly when John Will begins to use the name “Wills.” When Wills’ New Years Eve marriage was announced in the *Adams Sentinel* on January 5, 1863 his name does appear as “Wills.” In the January 4, 1863 edition of *The Compiler* the marriage announcement reads “Will.” Will does appear as “Wills” in tax records beginning in 1869. The reason for the change remains a mystery. It is not uncommon to find a surname altered by different branches of a family. There is a letter in the Adams County Historical Society archives, written in 1939, from Jennie Wills Quimby, daughter of Judge David Wills, to James McConaghie at the Gettysburg National Military Park. In this letter, Quimby details the surrounding properties to her father’s home in 1863 and a few lines concerning Abraham Lincoln’s stay at the house. She also took the opportunity to mention another “Wills” family of Gettysburg to McConaghie. Quimby wrote, “There is a family living in Gettysburg by the name of Wills but they have no connection whatsoever with our family and if at any time you care to have information in regard to our home I am sure I as a daughter of Judge Wills will be able to give you the most authentic account.” At this same time Ruth Wills, daughter of John C. Wills, is corresponding with Quimby through postcards featuring the David Wills House. Was John C. Will’s name change simply an evolving surname, a convenient way to appear closer to the famous Wills family, or some other explanation? Without any further documentation, any conclusion is purely historical conjecture.

For additional photographs of the Globe Inn building see William A. Frassanito *Early Photography at Gettysburg*. (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1995), 100-101.

² Robert L. Bloom, “‘We Never Expected A Battle’: The Civilians at Gettysburg, 1863,” *Pennsylvania History*, no. 55 (October 1988): 163.

³ These works represent a portion of the histories that reference the Wills account. Bloom, “We Never Expected a Battle”; William A. Frassanito *Early Photography at Gettysburg*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1995, 100-101.; Gerald R. Bennett, *Days of “Uncertainty and Dread”: The Ordeal Endured by the Citizens at Gettysburg* (Littlestown, PA: by the author, 1994).

⁴ Margaret S. Creighton, *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg’s Forgotten History, Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War’s Defining Battle* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 203.

⁵ The Gettysburg National Military Park also has a copy of this manuscript.

⁶ Wills refers to the Globe as “Globe Hotel” which was the name of the building at the time Wills gave his accounts. The building was called “Globe Inn” from the late 1830s until 1890.

⁷ First Philadelphia City Troop Independent Company Cavalry arrived on Sunday, June 21, 1863 as cited in Robert G. Harper, *The Adams Sentinel*, June 23 1863, 2.

⁸ State historian Samuel P. Bates published the following account of the Philadelphia City Troop in 1869. “No sooner had the news of the second invasion of Pennsylvania by Lee, in June, 1863, reached the city, than the Troop proceeded promptly to Harrisburg, and tendered their services on the 16th of June; they were accepted on the 18th, and ordered by Major General [Darius]

Couch to Gettysburg, to impede and observe the movements of the approaching enemy. They were driven from South Mountain and Gettysburg on the 26th, and the next day from York to Wrightsville. After a slight skirmish, they retreated across the Susquehanna River to Columbia. On the same day, Captain Samuel J. Randall was appointed Provost Marshal of Columbia, where the Troop remained on duty until the 4th of July, when they proceeded to Harrisburg. On the 2d of July, Sergeant Robert E. Randall was ordered to cross the river with thirty men, and to follow and watch the movements of the retreating rebels, which was continued until they reached Gettysburg on the night of the 3d of July. They did not, however, take part in the battle. On the 31st of July, 1863, they were, by order of General [George] Cadwalader, relieved from duty." Samuel P. Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5, Volume 1* (Harrisburg, PA: B. Singerly, State Printer, 1869), 243.

⁹ Major Granville O. Haller reported to Major General Darius Couch dated July 21, 1863, "Lieutenant-Colonel Green, commanding the York Battalion, Captain Bell, of the Adams County Cavalry, and Lieutenant Randall, of the City Troop, faithfully obeyed their orders." as cited in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 Volumes in 128 parts (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), series 1, vol. 27, part 2, 998-999. (Here after cited as OR, followed by appropriate volume and part, all series 1 unless otherwise noted.)

¹⁰ The 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia Regiment was organized to defend against the Army of Northern Virginia's invasion of Pennsylvania. The men were mustered in at Harrisburg on June 22, 1863 and mustered out July 31, 1863. Students from Pennsylvania College (now Gettysburg College) and the Lutheran Theological Seminary volunteered for this ninety-day service; their company (company A) earned the nickname "College Company."

¹¹ The train carrying the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia Regiment was derailed after running over a cow as cited in Robert G. Harper, *The Adams Sentinel*, June 30/July 7 1863, 2.

¹² "Bell's Cavalry" was also known as "Adams County Cavalry." They were a six-month militia unit organized as the 21st Pennsylvania Cavalry, Company B. Captain Robert Bell commanded them at Gettysburg.

¹³ Private George Washington Sandoe, a member of the Adams County Cavalry, is generally considered the first Union soldier killed in the Battle of Gettysburg when he was killed on June 26, 1863. Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, PA: Adams County Historical Society, 1992), 190.

¹⁴ In a 1910 interview Wills stated that Jim Furley "had learned the backsmith trade with Adam Doersom as cited in William A. McClean, "Battle Days at Globe Inn," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20 1910, 2. For more information about Jim Furley leading General Early into town, see William A. Frassanito's *Early Photography at Gettysburg*, 371.

¹⁵ Wills told a slightly different version of the Confederate confiscation of the whiskey in 1910. Wills recollections appeared as follows: "That night three Louisiana Tigers came to the hotel and ordered my father to roll out three of the barrels of whiskey and my father refused to do it. They drew their sabers and compelled him to open the cellar doors. They took three barrels saying they would pay for it, with money better than ours. They took it to camp down the York pike. Col. Harry Gilmore [sic], of Baltimore, came to the hotel next morning and gave my father an order on Confederate Government. He told him he wanted good money for it, but all he got was the order." as cited in William A. McClean, "Battle Days at Globe Inn," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20 1910, 2. Harry W. Gilmore held the rank of major during the Gettysburg Campaign. He was assigned to the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion and reported to General Ewell during the Battle of Gettysburg. See Colonel Harry Gilmore, *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864), 92-95.

¹⁶ This story of hiding liquor at the Globe Inn also appears in Samuel P. Bates, *Martial Deeds of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, PA: T.H. Davis & Co., 1875), 1081-1083.

¹⁷ The Union cavalry that arrived on Sunday, July 28, 1863 was actually a brigade of Michigan

cavalry under the command of Brigadier General Joseph Tarr Copeland. Copeland was relieved of command and replaced by Brigadier General George Armstrong Custer before the Battle of Hanover which occurred on June 30, 1863 as cited in Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1979; repr., New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 127 (page references are to the reprint edition); Regimental History Committee, comp., *History of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, Sixtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, In the American Civil War 1861-1865* (Philadelphia: Franklin Printing Company, 1905), 251.

¹⁸ In the original manuscript, this sentence appeared in the right hand margin, running from bottom to the top of the page.

¹⁹ Wills' sisters were Sarah, Marie, and Mary. There is no documentation as to which brothers still live at the Globe Inn in 1863 therefore the "brother's wife and child" cannot be identified.

²⁰ The David Troxell property Wills refers to is most likely the name of the person living on that property about 1915.

²¹ In his 1910 recollections, Wills states that he came up from the cellar near dusk and met a Dr. Goldsborough, a brother of Dr. Charles E. Goldsborough of Hunterstown who was serving in the Union Army as a surgeon, and Henry J. Stahle; the three of them then went out Carlisle Street together as cited in William A. McClean, "Battle Days at Globe Inn," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20 1910, 2.

²² The Chinese Laundry Wills refers to was not there at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg. Hop Lee's Chinese Laundry was located opposite the Hotel Gettysburg in the early twentieth-century.

²³ The friend was identified as George Eckenrode in Wills' 1910 interview. See William A. McClean, "Battle Days at Globe Inn," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20 1910, 2.

²⁴ This brother is probably Jacob Will, who does appear to have taken the name "Wills" as well. Jacob Wills' wife name is "Kate."

²⁵ A tavern license notice appears in the paper in 1864 and lists J.J. Eaton, who may be the "Eaton" Wills refers to as cited in Robert G. Harper, "Tavern License," *The Adams Sentinel*, January 5 1864, 3.

²⁶ The Methodist Church no longer stands today.

²⁷ William Frassanito identified the tentant as James Warner in *Early Photography at Gettysburg*. Additionally, Albert Ambrose Hemler, who was a boy in 1863 living in Straban Township, recalled for the April 30, 1942 edition of the *Sundance Times*, in Sundance, Wyoming, that Charles Will and his wife joined his family on Hemler's farm during the Battle. Wills' account indicates that his father and mother were not away for all three days of the Battle.

²⁸ A corporal guard is a general term for an insignificant force or a small detachment.

²⁹ For more information about these barricades see William A. Frassanito's *Early Photography at Gettysburg*, 105 - 107.

³⁰ The July 18, 1863 edition of the *New-York Times* noted the material losses of Charles Will as well as a statement that Confederates "knew no distinction between one party and another."

³¹ The four other hotels that Wills refers to are probably the same as those that appear in Boyd's Business Directory 1860. The directory names four other landlords George McClellan (on the Diamond – McClellan House), B. Shriver (on South Baltimore Street), John L. Tate (on West York Street), and Israel Young (on Carlisle Street near Depot – Washington Hotel).

³² This building is where the Cannonball Old Tyme Malt Shop is today.

³³ In General Jubal Early's report, dated August 22, 1863, he states that he requisitioned 2,000 pairs of shoes, 1,000 hats, 1,000 pairs of socks, \$100,000 in money, and three days' rations of all kinds from authorities in York. His army received from this requisition between 1,200 and 1,500 pairs of shoes, all of the hats, socks, and rations, but collected only \$28,600 of the money as cited in *OR*, vol. 27, part 2, 466.

³⁴ The landlord was George Corwell. Corwell was the landlord at the Union Hotel as cited in D. J. Lake, *Atlas of Adams Co. Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, PA: Worley & Bracher, 1872; repr., Gettysburg, PA: Adams County Historical Society, 1994), 30 (page references are to the reprint edition).

³⁵ The only "Taylor" on Lee's staff was Colonel Walter Taylor. Taylor never rose to the rank of general. Additionally, while there were other General Jacksons in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, there was not another General Jackson in the Army of Northern Virginia during the Gettysburg Campaign.

³⁶ The date was actually April 19, 1861 when the 6th Massachusetts Militia was attacked by a mob of angry citizens while marching through Baltimore on their way to Washington though the Confederate point of view regarded it as butchery upon Baltimore citizens and cited in O.R., vol. 2, chapter IX; Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania 1700 – 1990*, 193.

³⁷ The baby was born on June 26, 1863. The Georgia McClellan gave birth to a boy, he was named Louis Kenneth McClellan.

³⁸ The family in the south side of the house were the McLains.

³⁹ The wood was taken from Henry Garlach's shop and taken to Daniel Culp's furniture shop where Culp built the coffin. See Cindy L. Small, *The Jennie Wade Story: A True and Complete Account of the Only Civilian Killed During the Battle of Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1991), 66.

⁴⁰ Wills' original manuscript left blank the state to which Georgia Wade McClellan had moved as cited in "Mrs. Harry Wade Visits Field," *The Star and Sentinel*, January 2 1907.

⁴¹ This event would have taken place in October 1862.

⁴² For more about the death of Horatio S. Howell see David G. Martin, *Gettysburg July 1* (Combined Publishing, 1995; repr., Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003), 454-455 (page references are to the reprint edition).

⁴³ Henry Jacob Eyster published Lincoln's brief address, "I appear before you, fellow-citizens to thank you for the compliment. The inference is a fair one that you would hear me for awhile, at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. the most substantial of these is that I have nothing to say. (Laughter.) In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say foolish things. (A voice: "If you can help it.") It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. (Laughter.) Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg you to excuse me from addressing you further." as cited in Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Lincoln's Gettysburg World-Message* (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1919), 61-62.

⁴⁴ Martha Eleanor Wills (nee Wills) has a story of her own printed in Joseph Baer Baker, *History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church of Gettysburg, Penna. 1775-192, Volume 1* 1921; repr., Gettysburg, PA: Times and News Publishing Company, 1969), 195 - 197 (page references are to the reprint edition).

⁴⁵ John Rupp wrote a letter to his sister-in-law, Anne, in Baltimore on July 19, 1863 in which he wrote that the he stayed alone in the house after his family left with his father on the evening of July 2, the Confederates did not know he was in the home, and makes no mention of finding a mortally wounded soldier for whom they provided care as cited in John Rupp, Gettysburg, PA, to Sister Anne, July 19, 1863, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA. Despite the differences in Rupp's letter and Wills' recollections, Wills' version is worth consideration. Wills and Rupp are brother-in-laws, as Wills married the sister of Rupp's wife, Caroline. The two families were probably close as Wills married Martha E. Martin at the home of John Rupp on December 31, 1863.

⁴⁶ The dormitory edifice on the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg was built in 1832.

No Small Influence . . . on the Intellect, the Morals, and the Temporal Prosperity of Our Town: Gettysburg College and Its Community

By Charles H. Glatfelter

The following is the text of the address which Director Emeritus Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter delivered during the monthly meeting of the society on April 3, 2007. Held in the College Union on the campus, this meeting was the contribution of the historical society to the 175th anniversary of the founding of Gettysburg College.

This coming Saturday – April 7, 2007 – will mark the 175th anniversary of the day in 1832 on which Governor George Wolf signed 19 bills recently approved by the Pennsylvania legislature. One of those measures, known as Act 142, provided that “the Gettysburg Gymnasium [located in Gettysburg, Adams county, in this commonwealth] be, and hereby is erected into a College, for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts sciences and useful literature.” It was the tenth college founded in Pennsylvania.

It took little time and effort to transform the Gettysburg Gymnasium, which was an already functioning school, into a degree-granting institution, which was named Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg. It was formally organized three months later, on July 4. Instruction began four months later, on November 7, 1832. The classroom doors which opened on that day have remained open ever since. This cannot be said of every similar institution. Gettysburg is one of the fifty oldest colleges in this country today.

We may not know why the founders chose July 4 for the formal organization, but we do know that the orator of the day, Judge Calvin Blythe, who was president of the board of trustees, began his address by declaring that “the day on which we are assembled, makes it not only proper, but indispensable that we should recur to the scenes of the revolution.” In a wide-ranging address Blythe expressed his high regard for the leaders of the struggle for independence, placing them among “the most illustrious of the human family”, but he insisted “it must always be remembered that to the great body of the people, are we indebted for our revolution.” Now that it has been won, “the success of our free institutions, which all so much value,...depend upon the general intelligence of the people – an intelligence, that will enable them to judge of both men and measures.....To them belongs as well the right to decide, as the consequences of decision, on questions of the last importance.”

Having gained their independence, as Blythe realized, Americans found themselves possessed of a rarity in the world; an established and working republican society. Not surprisingly, one of the legacies of the revolution was the urge to provide more educational opportunities for more people, not simply because it was desirable, but because it was seen as indispensable. In his first annual message to Congress in January 1790, which was brief and contained few recommendations, George Washington declared that nothing merited the support of Congress more than what he called “the promotion of science and literature.” Knowledge is nowhere more important, he declared, than in a country such as ours, where “the measures of government receive their impressions so

immediately from the sense of the community.” He left it to the Congress to determine whether “this desirable object” was best promoted by aiding existing institutions of learning, establishing a national university, or pursuing some other course.

Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), a Philadelphia physician and one of our founding fathers, was also convinced of the indispensable role of education in a successful republic. In 1787 he published an essay in which he proposed public support of elementary education in the state, establishment of four colleges in its settled parts, and having a university in Philadelphia, where among other things law, medicine, and theology could be studied. Five years earlier, he took the lead in founding one of those colleges west of the Susquehanna river, in Carlisle, where he hoped it would attract young men from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families which had been among the bulwarks of the revolution. The legislature chartered Dickinson College in 1783, the second in the state. It opened its doors three years later.

Rush hoped the political and religious leaders of the many Germans in Pennsylvania would actively support Dickinson College. This explains why there were four leading German pastors and four well-known German laymen, from different parts of the state, among its first trustees.

When it became evident that any support from them would be at best minimal, in a long letter published in Philadelphia newspapers in 1785, Rush urged the Germans to establish their own college. This they attempted to do. In 1787 the legislature chartered Franklin College. It was organized with considerable fanfare in Lancaster in that year. Lacking the financial resources similar to those Rush and others were attracting to Dickinson, Franklin College never granted a baccalaureate degree and within two or three years ceased to offer a college-level program.

Measured by the number of congregations, the two largest churches in Pennsylvania in 1800 were the German Lutheran and Reformed. Each had about 190 congregations. The oldest had been in existence since the 1720s. Both churches were committed to having a learned clergy, to pastors trained in the liberal arts and sciences, and then in theology. Many of the pastors who served these congregations in the colonial period were trained and ordained in Europe. Many were not, and each passing year the commitment to a learned clergy was increasingly put to a severe test. Had Franklin College succeeded, it would have been able to offer a significant part of accepted learning for a native learned German clergy in the American republic.

The chief founder of Lutheran theological education in the United States was Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873). Born in Hagerstown in 1799, he moved to York when his father became Lutheran pastor in 1809. Young Samuel entered the York County Academy and then the University of Pennsylvania. When at last – it took a while – he decided upon the ministry as a career, he enrolled in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Princeton.

Theological seminaries were then new educational institutions, only recently developed in the United States for the training of ministers. While Schmucker was a student at Princeton during 1818-1820, there were fewer than twenty of these new institutions in existence. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Congregationalists were among those having one or more.

Years later Schmucker stated that upon leaving Princeton he had three goals in mind: translate a German theological work into English, found a theological seminary, and found a college.

Properly ordained, Schmucker took charge of four congregations in western Virginia. Here he soon began preparing several young men for the ministry and also began urging several young ministerial colleagues in the area to join him in an effort to establish a Lutheran theological seminary. To achieve this, they needed some time and a synodical organization which would assume responsibility for the new school. In 1825 the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod, in the United States of North America voted to move to "the immediate organization of a theological seminary" and named a committee to locate it at the place which offered "the greatest advantages."

Significantly, neither Philadelphia, Reading, nor Lancaster was a candidate. The three sites the committee considered were Carlisle, Gettysburg, and Hagerstown, all within the field in which Schmucker and his colleagues had been working. On the second ballot the committee decided that Gettysburg has made the best offer: the gift of \$7,000 in cash plus free use of the publicly owned Adams County Academy building, which was not then being used, until the seminary could build its own building.

The seminary was formally organized and received its first students in September 1826. It may seem strange to us that a seminary came first, to be followed by a college, but this was the order in Schmucker's plan, as well as in that of the Lutherans' sister German church, the Reformed. The German Reformed seminary began operating in 1825 under an agreement with Dickinson College and on its campus. A similar arrangement was made available to the Lutherans, but they chose not to accept it.

When the seminary opened in Gettysburg in 1826, Benjamin Rush's dream of a system of public education in Pennsylvania extending from the elementary school to the university remained just that. There were few if any public schools at any level. The supporters of American theological education assumed that students entering their seminaries had satisfactorily completed all or most of a college-level curriculum. Several of Schmucker's earliest students were graduates of Dickinson or Jefferson College, but it took him and the seminary board less than a year to decide that, in order to meet the standards he shared with other American seminary educators, he needed to make immediately available a program of preparatory work.

In June 1827 the Gettysburg Classical School opened, with one instructor, David Jacobs (1805-1830), and with the announced purpose of preparing young men for admission to college or of simply offering them what was called "the higher branches of an English and Scientific Education." Two years later, in 1829, a second instructor, Michael Jacobs (1808-1871), was engaged to teach mathematics and science. The Gettysburg Classical School had become the Gettysburg Gymnasium. It began offering most of the then-standard college curriculum.

The new school quickly succeeded in attracting students, some preparing for the ministry and some for other lines of work. By 1831 Schmucker was ready to reach for his third goal, which he decided would be obtained by converting the Gymnasium into a four-year college. First, he needed to obtain a charter of incorporation from the legislature. Five years earlier, it took a committee to choose the site of the proposed seminary. Now there was no doubt. The site of the college was going to be Gettysburg.

Ever since 1826 Schmucker had been asking Lutheran pastors and laymen to help him support the seminary. Now, as its new building on the west end of town was being constructed – its cornerstone was laid on May 26, 1831 – once again he was asking the same people for help.

When it came to a college, he needed to turn somewhere else. Thirty years later, using the third person to refer to himself, he wrote that late in 1831 "he called a meeting of a half-dozen of the principal citizens of different denominations at the Bank in town, and invited their co-operation in the effort to obtain a charter from the Legislature for a college."

Nowhere in his account were the "principal citizens" identified by name, but they were almost certainly the six local men who were later among the early college trustees: two merchants, one newspaper editor, one bank cashier, one tanner, and General Thomas C. Miller, who was a member of Fairfield's founding family, former county sheriff, and long-time militia officer.

At this time the legislature usually met about four months each year, from December through early April. Schmucker asked his friends in all parts of the state to obtain signatures on a petition urging the lawmakers to grant a charter. He and General Miller went to Harrisburg to present their case in person.

Once in the capital, Schmucker learned that he was expected to prepare a draft of the bill which would, if passed, be the college charter. Securing copies of some of those the legislature had already approved, he lifted sentences and paragraphs which served his purpose. His final draft demonstrates fully that he understood the differences between a theological seminary and a college. The word Lutheran does not appear in the document. What does appear is a clear statement of purpose. The college, it read, "promises to exert a salutary influence in advancing the cause of liberal education, particularly among the German portion of our fellow citizens." And by liberal education he meant "the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences, and useful literature."

My use of the sources over half a century or more has convinced me that, while the many Lutheran pastors and laymen who supported Schmucker for a decade before 1832 were opposed to slavery, they were not abolitionists. Recently the claim has been made that they were. If ever credible and pertinent sources demonstrate otherwise, of course old conclusions can be expected to change.

The new college was no more than in operation before its supporters began looking for the funds needed for a much larger structure than the academy building. Since the state had long been making occasional grants to most of its colleges, they decided to make their appeal to the legislature. The appeal to the 1832-1833 session failed at the last minute. When they tried again in the 1833-1834 session, they were joined by another Gettysburg resident, Thaddeus Stevens, who was then beginning his first term representing Adams county in the lower house. Given the state's demonstrated willingness to support colleges at this time, Stevens' powerful address was certainly not decisive in the outcome, but Schmucker called it "a speech of consummate legislative tact and most commanding eloquence."

Before adjourning, the legislature approved grants to Gettysburg and three other colleges and, for good measure, chartered another college and passed Pennsylvania's first public school law. Before the year was out, Stevens began his 34 year tenure as a college trustee, another in a long line of valuable trustees drawn from town and county. Which brings us to the next question. What was the effect of lifting up the Gettysburg Gymnasium, transforming it into a college, and then dropping it down into the middle of the county of Adams?

In 1832 Adams was one of the smaller Pennsylvania counties, with about 22,000

residents, about one fifth of its present population. Most of the earliest settlers were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, with names such as McClellan, McConaughy, McGaughy, McPherson, Scott, and Gettys. During the colonial period these people had contributed more than their share of the political and cultural leadership of the parent county of York.

The earliest German settlers lived in the easternmost parts of the county. By the time Thomas F. Gordon published his gazetteer of Pennsylvania in 1832, the county's ethnic composition had dramatically changed. "The population is principally composed of the descendants of Germans," Gordon wrote, "the prevailing religion of the county is Lutheran, and there are many churches of this denomination throughout the county." By many he meant about 13, scattered throughout the county. Until about 1950 there were more Lutherans in Adams county than members of any other denomination.

In 1832, while the gazetteer identified about 15 towns and villages in Adams county, there was only one borough. It was Gettysburg, founded in 1786, the county seat since 1800, and with a population of about 1,500. In the 1770s a Presbyterian minister named Alexander Dobbin began an academy or classical school in his new house, which is still standing and now within the borough. Together with one in Carlisle begun a few years earlier, it was one of the first two such schools west of the Susquehanna. No attendance records survive, but there is good evidence Dobbin had numerous students. After his death, countians obtained a charter for what was called the Adams County Academy, which began operating in its new building about 1814. Insufficient financial support forced it to close its doors in the mid-1820s. This was the building used to attract the seminary to Gettysburg in 1826. The seminary began operating here in that year, as did the college in 1832. When the court ordered the sheriff to sell the building in 1829 to raise money to pay the academy's debts, Schmucker bought it and called upon his Lutheran friends to help pay for it. This building still stands, is in private hands, and is in excellent shape.

In 1832 Adams county, and especially Gettysburg, was an ideal spot for a college. Its catalogue announced that the town was healthful, its inhabitants moral, and the living cheap. It was located close to the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore, which was an advantage, but not very close, which was also an advantage. Early college catalogues informed parents that Gettysburg College was actually located a short distance from the village, which until after the Civil War it certainly was. Roads led to and from Gettysburg in all directions. Once the railroad came to town in 1858, the catalogue proudly announced the fact, without making clear that it reached town from only one direction, the east, and did not extend westward from it.

The college began in 1832 with five faculty members, three of whom remained for the long term. Samuel Simon Schmucker was a professor for only one year, but he was an active trustee until he died in 1873. Michael Jacobs taught until ill health led to his retirement in 1866. Henry Lewis Baugher became president in 1850, but continued to teach, and died in office in 1868. Their combined service came to 111 years.

All three men became integral and valued townsmen and countians. They were among the chief founders of Christ Lutheran Church in Gettysburg and often occupied its pulpit. All three died in Gettysburg and were buried in Evergreen Cemetery. Schmucker was often called upon to participate in cornerstone layings, dedications, or anniversaries in county churches. When the college moved to its present campus, he

joined eight other townsmen, including Stevens, in obtaining a charter for the Gettysburg Female Academy, which operated as a high school for girls until after the Civil War.

In a town which long celebrated Washington's birthday, the local militia unit, the Gettysburg Guards called upon him to deliver the oration on February 22, 1839. At the militia's request it was published. From its text we hear echoes of Washington, Rush, and Blythe: "A republic is a beautiful edifice, but it must rest on firm pillars, or it cannot long resist the shocks to which it is exposed. These pillars, in the judgment of the wisest statesmen, are national industry, national intelligence, and national virtue." In this I hear echoes of Abraham Lincoln about the same time.

In 1864, when there was a serious dispute over control of Evergreen Cemetery – should power rest with its stockholders or, as the founding document prescribed, eventually with the lot-holders? – those who wished to take control from the men who had exercised it up to that time searched for a widely respected person to become president and lead in transferring power. Schmucker was elected president in 1864. Two years later, the desired change having occurred, he yielded office to a successor.

For some years the weather records kept by Michael Jacobs were published in a local newspaper. He was one of the chief advocates of using gas for lighting and in 1860 was elected president of the Gettysburg Gas Company. Remaining in his house during the battle, he was a careful observer of what occurred. His Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg came out in October 1863 and should be considered the first published history of the battle.

Henry L. Baugher was called upon to deliver the benediction during the dedication of Soldiers' National Cemetery on November 19, 1863. A year later he was elected a vice president of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association.

These early faculty members and their colleagues could be counted upon to participate in local societies promoting such causes as temperance and opposition to slavery.

The evidence should be sufficient to establish that the activities of these three first college faculty members constitute a pattern for their successors to follow.

The history of the college has been closely linked with the battle of Gettysburg and what followed. President Harvey McKnight was also a member of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. The college had a part to play, sometimes a central one, in all six major battle anniversaries, from 1888 to 1988. President Henry W. A. Hanson was one of the chief founders of the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania in 1938. Faculty members have served as directors and officers ever since.

When the Adams County Historical Society was reorganized in 1939, Robert Fortenbaugh began a record of faculty participation in its direction which persists to this day. Robert L. Bloom prepared the first scholarly history of Adams county, which was completed and published by the society in 1992, after his death.

There have been a number of major town and county anniversaries since the Adams county sesquicentennial in 1950. Robert Fortenbaugh and later faculty members have been involved in all of them.

The interest of Michael Jacobs and his successors in the Gettysburg Gas Company can perhaps be found again in that of Dave Cowan in the Adams County Electric Cooperative.

Likewise, there is a trace of Luther Croll's assistance in surveying Gettysburg's

new streets long ago in Sam Mudd's time and energy in keeping those streets free of litter in our day.

A member of the Class of 1877 remembered that in his day it was common for students to join townspeople in frequent walks south on Baltimore street to the national cemetery and then return. Having new students retrace the students' walk to the dedication of Soldiers' National Cemetery on November 19, 1863 is a worthy recent practice, but certainly not something hitherto unknown.

Dean Wilbur E. Tilberg spent a half century of his life, from 1927 until his death in 1977, in Gettysburg. He was one of the chief founders and longtime supporters of the York-Adams Area Boy Scout Council and received national recognition for his work. He was chairman of the committee which organized the Gettysburg Community Chest, now the United Way. His yeoman service to that organization is remembered by the W. E. Tilberg Outstanding Volunteer Award given annually to the person who best represents the spirit of the United Way.

Dean Tilberg can be used to recall the many ways in which college faculty and administrators have entered into the life of the town and the county. We include churches, school boards, service clubs, and task forces. There has never been a faculty member or administrator elected a county commissioner, but the first woman commissioner, chosen in 1979, was the wife of a faculty member.

In a college town such as Gettysburg, residents, faculty, and students over the years have had their own points of view as they have gone about ordering their lives together. Residents may think students do not know how to behave themselves and act as though they own the place. Students may think residents do not know how to treat young people who have their own ideas, to which they are certainly entitled. Faculty may think that no one ever properly respects them.

Over 175 years we could find examples of these and similar views which contributed to tensions in and around Gettysburg. We could also find others which contributed to warmth and friendship. There is much evidence to support the conclusion that the relations between the Gettysburg town and campus have been generally good, to mutual benefit.

In September 1856 Samuel Simon Schmucker wrote an obituary of his old friend and fellow townsman, Samuel H. Buehler, whose drug and bookstore on Chambersburg street was widely patronized for almost a century. The two men had known each other since York days. Buehler came to Gettysburg in 1819.

Buehler "took a prominent part," his friend wrote, "in securing to our borough the location of the Theological Seminary and thus of the College which grew out of it – Institutions which have exerted no small influence for a quarter of a century past on the intelligence, the morals, and temporal prosperity of our town, and to the value of which our citizens generally are not insensible."

Let us give the last word here to the man who wrote the words "salutary influence" into the college charter of 1832. Let us say that Gettysburg College has exerted a salutary influence on the intelligence, morals, and temporal prosperity of the county of Adams for 175 years and that the citizens generally are not unaware of that fact. Let us hope that influence may continue for at least 175 years more.

The Eisenhowers at Twilight: A Visit to the Eisenhower Farm, 1967

Edited by Michael J. Birkner

INTRODUCTION

Dwight and Mamie Eisenhower relished life in Gettysburg. As he often remarked to friends, in retirement Ike sought to secure a piece of property that he could leave in better shape than he found it. The purchase in November 1950 of the 189-acre Redding Farm on the Millertown Road, only a short distance from Confederate Avenue, was the outcome. Of course the Eisenhowers could have purchased a sizable farm in any number of locations. A Gettysburg address was predicated on their warm memories of a six-month sojourn in the borough in 1918 and recognition that Gettysburg was a convenient location for access to major cities. Lobbying by the Eisenhowers' friends George and Mary Allen, who owned an 88-acre farm four miles south of the square in Gettysburg, along the Emmitsburg Road, also influenced the Eisenhowers' pursuit of a Gettysburg property.¹

At the time that the Eisenhowers bought the Redding farm, they had been living in New York City in housing provided by Columbia University—this following two years in Washington where Ike served as Army Chief of Staff. Never completely comfortable as a city-dweller, Ike looked forward to living in a rural setting where his main use of firearms might be to blast away at marauding crows or groundhogs whenever he felt like it. He also had a long-standing desire to retire in a small-college environment. Gettysburg clearly fit the bill on all counts.

The farm and buildings the Eisenhowers purchased needed a substantial overhaul to satisfy the General, then serving as President of Columbia University in New York—and soon to become 34th President of the United States. It took roughly four years to rebuild the farm house to the Eisenhowers' specifications. During the White House years, it would serve primarily as a weekend and holiday retreat from the pressures of Washington. In the Fall of 1955, however, the farm morphed into something larger—an



Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall chats with the Eisenhowers at their farm in November 1967, when the Eisenhowers formally conveyed their property to the federal government as a national historic site.

alternative White House, as Ike's place of convalescence following a serious heart attack he suffered while vacationing in Denver, Colorado. For several months the farm (and to a lesser extent, presidential offices in town and on the Gettysburg College campus) proved the focal point for affairs of state, with frequent visits from administration officials, Congressional leaders, and other Washington political notables. Once Ike was feeling fit again, the Gettysburg farm returned to its role as a family retreat.²

In January 1961, at the close of the Eisenhowers' eight years in the White House, they took up full-time residence in Gettysburg, making it their main retirement home. As a rule they spent roughly eight months each year in Gettysburg, packing up after Christmas and taking the train to Palm Desert, California, where they were based during the cold-weather months.³

In Gettysburg during his retirement years Dwight Eisenhower led a rich and varied life, which has been much commented on but never comprehensively accounted for. It was, at bottom, a working life. Based at what is today the Eisenhower Admissions building on the Gettysburg College campus, Ike produced three volumes of memoirs, two of them about his presidency, the third covering other aspects of his life, including his growing up years in Abilene, Kansas. From his college office, in what had been the home of presidents Walter C. Langsam and Willard S. Paul, respectively, Eisenhower played the role of senior statesman.⁴ He was often consulted about affairs of state by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, notably about difficult choices to be made in Cuba and Vietnam, respectively. As archival



A view of the west wing of the Eisenhower House.
The site has been open to the public since 1980.
Courtesy of the Eisenhower National Historic Site.

materials and recent biographies make clear, Eisenhower was not reluctant to express his candid views to each of his successors in the White House.⁵

During the Gettysburg years, Ike was active in Republican Party affairs and met frequently with GOP leaders ranging from his former Vice President, Richard M. Nixon and 1964 presidential nominee Barry Goldwater, on down through Adams County political activists. At the farm during his presidency and later, he hosted a number of foreign leaders and former military associates from World War II, including one rather exasperating visit to Gettysburg by British General Bernard Montgomery.⁶ The Eisenhower complex was a beehive of activity, with many family gatherings, and evenings spent with such close friends as the Arthur and Ann Nevins and Henry and Peg Scharf. In such spare time as he had, Ike spent many hours on the minutiae of running a farm, breeding angus cattle that earned numerous honors. He played golf regularly at area courses, delivered many formal and impromptu speeches on public affairs, and participated in the governance of Gettysburg College as a trustee. He also read widely,

often in history, and enjoyed quiet evenings with Mamie playing scrabble and watching favorite programs on television. In his “Florida Room,” a comfortable glassed in porch, Ike spent many hours at the easel producing a remarkable number of original paintings, most of which he gave as gifts to friends and associates. During the retirement years, Ike also launched a major editorial project relating to his public papers. As he noted in a letter to a U.S. Senator whose invitation to speak to a publishers’ convention he declined because of the demands on his time, his retirement was “proving more hectic than ‘active duty.’”⁷

By his mid-seventies, however, Eisenhower was increasingly beset by heart problems. He began quite deliberately to wind down his affairs, including his cattle operation.⁸ He also planned for the future. Cognizant of his historical importance and grateful to his country for the free education at West Point that launched his storied career, Eisenhower decided to will his home and property to the National Park Service. When he spoke of this plan to President Lyndon B. Johnson, all the necessary steps by the federal authorities were taken to make this possible. For his part, Eisenhower worked closely with local Gettysburg attorney Charles Wolf to refine the terms of the deed of gift.⁹

When all this work had been finalized, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was dispatched to Gettysburg at President Johnson’s behest, to observe the presentation of the deed. The only onlookers besides Mamie Eisenhower and members of the Eisenhower staff were a couple of reporters and Horace Busby, a relatively junior member of the Johnson White House team.¹⁰ Busby’s letter to the president describing what took place is a poignant document, and it is printed in full below. It captures the scene on a wind-blown post-Thanksgiving day, near the close of the president’s active life. Busby not only provides a distinctive window into a significant episode in the Eisenhower story, he demonstrates empathy for Ike and Mamie as they looked beyond their life together to their prospective resting place in Abilene, Kansas—and their place in history.

November 29, 1967

Memorandum for the President ¹¹

[From Horace Busby]

Re: Trip to Gettysburg

I thank you for the mission on Monday to Gettysburg. Unexpectedly, it produced a memory to last a lifetime. You and Mrs. Johnson both will, I am sure, be interested.

Our helicopter landed at the Eisenhower farm in mid-afternoon. While the sun was shining, the wind was biting and the General had been asked to remain inside. The state of his health is all too obvious and the concern of his staff for his well being is not misplaced. He emerged, anyway, to greet Secretary [Stewart] Udall and to inquire if I were the son or grandson of his West Point classmate named “Busby.” We went with him to the Eisenhowers’ lovely glassed porch retreat where the two of them had, as Mrs. Eisenhower explained, been “observing Quiet Hour” – she, playing solitaire and watching television; he, painting with his oils.

Our conversation was cordial and simple, no ceremonies, no signing, no

onlookers. The calm, I soon learned, was deceptive. For both of them, it was an emotional moment, most especially for Mrs. Eisenhower. I felt uneasy, as though Secretary Udall and I were men from the bank foreclosing on the Farm. The General conversed with Udall, talking most of his friend, Alton Jones, who did make a notable contribution to purchasing the lands adjacent to the Farm (from \$688 to \$935 an acre) to prevent promotional development. Jones had willed the land he owned to the Government and, obviously, was responsible for the General wanting to do the same.¹²

Mrs. Eisenhower talked mostly with me and mostly about the meaning of the Farm for her. Repeatedly, her eyes welled with tears as she talked. She had not, as the General said, wanted to sign the deed. Her explanation to me: “After 51 years of doing it, I thought I was through, but now I am back in a Government house again.” Her emotions of the afternoon, however, ran more deeply; it was very clear to me that heavy on her heart and mind was the question whether, after they departed the following day for California, they would ever return together.

Mrs. Eisenhower associates the porch on which we were seated with the General’s recovery from his illnesses while President. After his heart attack, she had called the architect from Denver and arranged to have the porch enclosed so there would be a sunny and cheerful place for recuperation on the first floor. Later, after his second illness, the General had again spent most of his recuperation at the Gettysburg Farm. “My son tells me,” she said, “the Farm and the porch have lengthened Ike’s life twice already”—and, she added very softly, “I don’t suppose you could ask for more.” On the trip westward, by train, she and the General have planned to visit Abilene to see the site where they are to be buried at the chapel which has been built at the Library. She told of this with emotion again and recounted in some detail how, three years ago, she had removed the body of their first son from the original grave for reburial in the plot at Abilene, “so we can all be together again.” She also said that when the General was a first lieutenant, he told her, “Mamie, I don’t know where or when I’ll die, but I want you to promise me that wherever you bury me, it won’t be Arlington Cemetery.”¹³

After awhile, all the things she had to say to someone were said, so she quieted and for awhile longer we listened to the General recount with extraordinary affection various stories about his friend, “Pete” Jones. Then there were photographs, Secretary Udall took the deed, we toured the very handsome rooms of the house and that was all. As we left, the General decided to walk us to the helicopter, even without his coat and hat.

After I sensed the situation and their personal feelings, I told the General and Mrs. Eisenhower of your call and of the personal interest you had expressed in the fine thing they were doing, knowing that someday you and Mrs. Johnson might face the same decision. Your personal thoughtfulness had meaning for them both, and the General commented about how considerate you were of them, observing rather apologetically that, “The President always wants us to use his 707 to make trips like this to Palm Springs, but she”—gesturing towards Mrs. Eisenhower—“says no, we are going to stick to the train.” Mrs. Eisenhower laughed and said, “I have had my time on that; just let me ride the train.”

As I said, it was a quiet but unforgettable moment. I appreciate the opportunity to have gone.

W *M* *J*
HORACE BUSBY

EXECUTIVE

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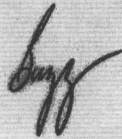
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Endnotes

¹ Helpful background on the purchase of the Redding Farm is supplied in Dwight D. Eisenhower, *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co, 1967), pp. 355-358. For the details, however, one needs to consult Edward C. Bearss, "Eisenhower National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study and Historical Base Map, Eisenhower Farm, 1763-1967," bound typescript produced for the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, copy in research collections of the Eisenhower National Historical Site, Gettysburg, Pa. The deed was formally transferred to the Eisenhowers in January 1951. Mary Allen's relations with Mamie Eisenhower during World War II led to the friendship that developed between Ike and Mary's husband George (1896-1973), a Washington lawyer and confidant of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. A natural comic, George Allen made Ike laugh, either with stories he told or his antics, and he gradually became one of the president's more intimate friends, as biographer Stephen E. Ambrose has noted. See *Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect, 1890-1952* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), p. 477. There is no substantial study of Allen, but a good starting point for understanding his character and Washington connections is Ronald W. May, "George Allen: Presidential Crony," *Washington Post*, March 15, 1959, p. 3. Allen's amusing memoir, *Presidents Who Have Known Me* (2nd edition; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), is noticeably reticent about his personal relationship with the 34th president. On Mary Allen's friendship with Mamie, there are brief mentions in Susan Eisenhower, *Mrs. Ike* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1996), pp. 187, 221, 257, 330; and Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Mamie Doud Eisenhower: The General's First Lady* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), p. 109.

² The best accounts of the farm's operations can be found in oral histories, notably those conducted with General Arthur Nevins, who managed the farm for many years. See, for example, Nevins interviewed by Ed Edwin for the Columbia University Oral History Project, April 23, 1970; and the transcript of his interview by Edward C. Bearss for the National Park Service, May 21, 1973, copy in the archives of the Eisenhower National Historic Site. Nevins's memoir, *Gettysburg's Five-Star Farmer* (New York: Carlton Press, 1977), is valuable for information and anecdotes available nowhere else. The editors of the Eisenhower Papers, Louis Galambos and Daun Van Ee, chose and interpreted numerous documents relating to the farm's operations in volumes 15-21 of their invaluable documentation of the 34th president's activities and correspondence.

³ On the annual train ride to California and life there, see, among other sources, Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 647; and Robert J. Donovan, *Confidential Secretary: Ann Whitman's 20 Years with Eisenhower and Rockefeller* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988), pp.161-162.

⁴ Gettysburg College President Willard S. Paul served under Eisenhower in Europe and later in the Eisenhower Administration. He owed his new job to President Eisenhower's recommendation in 1956 to the Gettysburg College Board of Trustees. For good accounts of the process that produced the memoirs, see John S.D. Eisenhower interview by Carol Hegeman, January 26, 1984, transcript at the archives, Eisenhower National Historical Site; William B. Ewald, *Eisenhower the President: Crucial Days, 1951-1960* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), pp. 5-7; and Michael J. Birkner interview with Ewald, October 7, 2007, notes in Birkner's possession.

⁵ Eisenhower's complicated relations with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have been suggestively limned in Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President*, chapters 28 and 29; but the full story remains to be told. For a valuable case study, see Fred I. Greenstein and Richard H. Immerman, "What Did Eisenhower Tell Kennedy About Indochina? The Politics of Misperception," *Journal of American History* 79 (September 1992): 568-587.

⁶ Among other sources, *ibid.*; Nevins, *Five-Star Farmer*, pp. 130-150; Nevins oral history, COHP, pp. 31-86; Jerold S. Wikoff, "Eisenhower at Gettysburg," *Gettysburg Alumni Magazine* 78 (January 1988): 198-22; Anna Jane Moyer, "Eisenhower at Gettysburg," in *To Awaken Fond Memory:*

Moments in the History of Gettysburg College (Gettysburg, Pa: Gettysburg College, 2007), pp. 85-90; and Michael J. Birkner, "Eisenhower of Gettysburg," lecture to the Winston Churchill Society, September 24, 1999, copy in author's position. Eisenhower's correspondence with Willard S. Paul may be followed in the post-presidential files of DDE in the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, and also in the papers of the Eisenhower Society, Musselman Library Archives, Gettysburg College. On the Montgomery visit in 1957 and the waves it caused, see Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President*, p. 392; and Glenn LaFantasie, "Monty and Ike at Gettysburg," *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 8 (Autumn 1995): 67-73.

⁷ Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President*, p. 669; Nevins, *Five-Star Farmer*, p. 140. Eisenhower's remark about how busy he was can be found in a letter he sent to U.S. Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, April 20, 1963, in Cooper's unprocessed papers at the University of Kentucky Special Collections. A useful compendium of Adams County citizens' personal testimonies about the Eisenhowers in retirement can be found in T.W. Burger, ed., *A Town and its President* (Gettysburg: Times and News Publishing Co., 1988).

⁸ See Nevins, *Five Star Farmer*, p. 140.

⁹ Charles Wolf shared his Eisenhower stories in many venues, including presentations sponsored by the Dwight D. Eisenhower Society which he headed for many years and to Eisenhower Teacher workshops in Gettysburg in the late 1990s. Wolf's most striking assertion, backed by documentary evidence, has Eisenhower insisting that his deed of gift to the National Park Service must take effect within six months of his death, thereby requiring his widow Mamie to find other accommodations. Mrs. Eisenhower was forced to leave the farm in the latter part of 1969, moving into a Washington, D.C. apartment. She was never happy with that arrangement. Subsequently, the necessary contacts were made to permit her to return to the Gettysburg Farm on a life estate. She remained based there until her death in 1979, whereupon the farm was prepared for its current role as a tourist and education site.

¹⁰ For an account of the deed transfer, see William M. Blair, "Eisenhowers Donate Home to Nation," *New York Times*, November 30, 1967, pp. 1, 36. It is not clear from Blair's article whether he personally witnessed the event. Neither of Mamie Eisenhower's leading biographers—Marilyn Irvin Holt and Susan Eisenhower—mentions her temporary eviction from the farm.

Stewart Udall (b. 1920), an Arizona native, served as U.S. representative from Arizona for three terms (1955-1961), then as Secretary of the Interior under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson from 1961-1969. An ardent environmentalist, he returned to Arizona after his public service concluded and as recently as 2005 was actively practicing law in Phoenix.

Horace Busby (1924-2000), author of the memo published here, was an aide for Senator Lyndon Johnson, and later ran a management consulting firm in Austin, Texas, prior to joining the Johnson Administration as a White House Special Assistant from 1963-1965. He apparently took on the assignment of visiting the Eisenhowers to witness the deed transfer in a private capacity, at the instigation of the president.

¹¹ The original of Busby's memo of November 29, 1967 to President Johnson, can be found in White House Famous Names Series, Box 2, LBJ Library, Austin, Texas. My thanks go to LBJ Library archivist Barbara Cline for re-connecting me with this document.

¹² Alton Jones was a New York City oil executive and one of Ike's most devoted admirers as well as a boon companion at golf and various social outings. (Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President*, pp. 28, 198, 366.) In mid 1954 General Nevins began to purchase in his own name tracts of land surrounding the original Redding Farm property to ensure privacy for the president. These properties were paid for by Jones and later transferred into the latter's name. See, on this, Louis Galambos and Daun Van Ee, eds., *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower; The Presidency: The Middle Way* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), vol. 16, p. 561; Arthur Nevins interview by Edwin Bearss, transcript p. 13; and Nevins, *Gettysburg's Five-Star Farmer*, pp. 109-110, 117. Jones joined a partnership with Eisenhower and George Allen that jointly oversaw

farm operations for several years. Jones deeded his own property surrounding the Eisenhower Farm to the U.S. government prior to his death in a plane crash in 1962, with the proviso that the Eisenhower could make use of his land during his own lifetime. *Gettysburg's Five-Star Farmer*, pp. 131, 135-137.

¹³ The Eisenhowers were laid to rest in Abilene in the small chapel on the site of the Eisenhower Presidential complex in Abilene, next to their young son Ikky, and only a few yards from the home where Ike spent his youth.

The Lincoln Highway: Coast to Coast from Times Square to the Golden Gate

By Michael Wallis and Michael S. Williamson

(W.W. Norton, New York and London, 2007 293 pages includes bibliography)

On May 10, 1869, a crowd gathered at Bringham City, Utah and a ceremonial Golden Spike was driven into the last rail connecting the nation's first transcontinental railroad. While steam locomotives had been part of American life for nearly three decades, it took a Civil War to produce the country's first cross country route for steam engines. With the advent of the car in the early twentieth century it would take far less time for the creation of the country's first connected continental highway.

Wallis and Williamson investigate and detail the creation of the Lincoln Highway (US Route 30). Named for the country's sixteenth president, the idea for this roadway was conceived in 1912, which was only a decade after factory production cars began to make their appearance on American roads. This "hard-surfaced and improved highway" was born out of a system of roadways which in most cases was already present but not yet modernized. Work began in 1913 and eventually the Lincoln Highway ran from Times Square in New York City to the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, California a length of 3,389 miles. It passes through thirteen states and for its entire length pieces of the American life in the countryside and city dot the landscape.

The book is divided into chapters by state following the highway from east to west. It is lavishly illustrated with color images of stops on the journey from the early days to the present. Of course, the roadway in Adams County is today US Route 30 and passes through the borough of Abbotstown to the western end of the county near the Michaux State Forest. Adams County highlights include Hub Cap City in New Oxford and the famous Round Barn built by Aaron Sheely in 1914. Readers will enjoy the images and stories of the roadway so adeptly woven in the tight narrative by the authors. The Lincoln Highway they note, until the creation of the nation's first limited access highway, the Pennsylvania Turnpike in 1940 was the heart and soul of the nation. In Adams County it contributed much to the development of Gettysburg as a tourist destination. Wallis and Williamson make the reader rethink that next trip. Why be in a hurry? Stop and smell the roses. Some of the best part of American culture is still visible off the beaten path. Everyone who reads this work can't help but enjoy it.

Wayne E. Motts
Executive Director

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