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

## **Abstract**

"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. 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 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. [*excerpt*]

## **Keywords**

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Civil War, Battle of Gettysburg, Gettysburg, Civil War Memory, 75th Anniversary, 1938, John S. Rice, Battlefield

## **'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.<sup>1</sup> 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

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.<sup>2</sup> Rice was not present in the hotel's crowded lobby to receive his appointment; however, the news was probably no surprise.<sup>3</sup> 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



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

commemoration.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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."<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.



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"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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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."<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> "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."<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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."<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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."<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup>

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg Earle listened with "keen interest" and recommended the construction of a model of the "modern, tented city."<sup>34</sup> 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."<sup>35</sup> 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."<sup>36</sup>

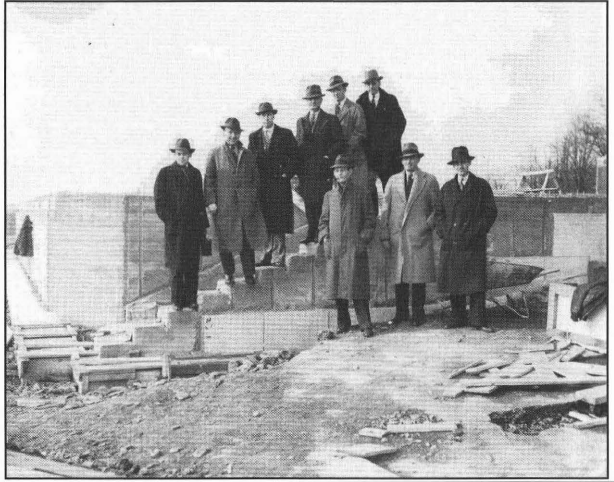
The governor also participated in the first joint meeting of the federal and state commissions, held in Gettysburg on February 6, 1937. Unanimously, in recognition of his diligence and organization as state chairman, Senator Rice was elected chairman of the joint state-federal commission.<sup>37</sup> 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."<sup>38</sup> Six designs were submitted for the joint consideration of the commissions, the National Park Service, and the Pennsylvania Arts Commission.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> In his initial study, Rice suggested placing the memorial on Big Round Top, one of the highest elevations on the battlefield.<sup>41</sup>

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.<sup>42</sup> 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."<sup>43</sup> "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.<sup>44</sup> Rice sent Earle, as well as President Roosevelt, a miniature plaster model of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> Construction was completed by June 1, 1938.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> "There is now arising a veritable city community with living accommodations for 6,000 persons," noted Professor Robert Fortenbaugh on June 15, 1938.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> Fifty telephones were installed in the veterans' camps, necessitating the placement of over thirty miles of telephone lines.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

Rice also worked closely with President Hanson, who again had placed the entire Gettysburg College campus at the commission's disposal without cost.<sup>56</sup> 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."<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> Once again, Pennsylvania Hall was to serve as a hospital.<sup>60</sup> "Gettysburg College has entered wholeheartedly into the preparation for the celebration

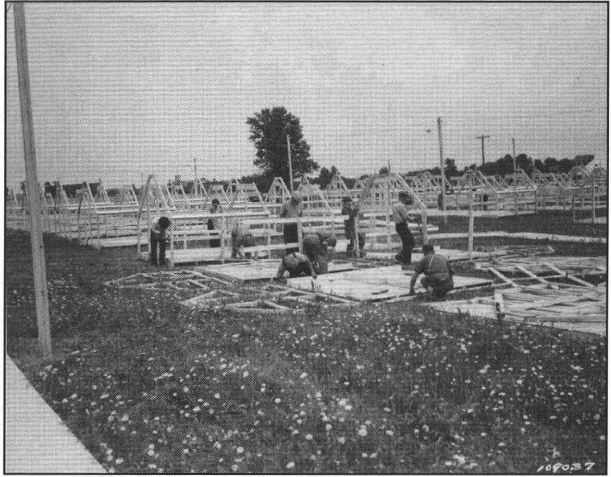


John Rice and the State Commission inspect the site of the Eternal Peace Memorial on Oak Ridge.  
Courtesy of Adams County Historical Society.

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg 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."<sup>61</sup>

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,"<sup>62</sup> 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."<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> "Everything humanly possible has been done to make [the veterans and observers] comfortable," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorialized.<sup>65</sup>

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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

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.<sup>68</sup>

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.<sup>69</sup>

"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."<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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."<sup>72</sup>

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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup> 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

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg were as bad off as this, I'd have brought up some hogs from my smokehouse.'<sup>77</sup> Of course, even with the attendance of 1,950 Union and Confederate veterans, there was no shortage of sustenance.<sup>78</sup>

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.<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup> 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."<sup>81</sup> To conquer the heat, blue and gray fans bearing images of Lee's Headquarters, Meade's Headquarters, and the Lincoln Speech Memorial were distributed.<sup>82</sup> 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."<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup>

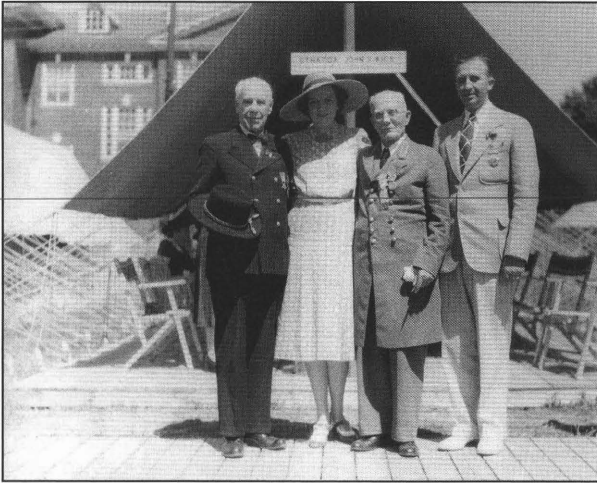
Two additional "unexpected courtesies" were provided for the veterans in the form of souvenirs. First, handsomely bound program booklets were distributed. The three color emblem of the state commission graced the cover of the books, which featured reproduced, handwritten welcome messages from President 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."<sup>85</sup> Short messages were also interspersed from the nation's governors.<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup>

Finally, after two days of rest, conversation, and rounds of gin rummy,<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> "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.<sup>91</sup> Following Chairman Rice's speech, brief remarks were delivered by the governor, whom Rice had extolled in introducing, and Secretary of War Harry Woodring.<sup>92</sup> 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!"<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup>

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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup>

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.”<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> For Catholic participants, a military field mass was arranged in the College Stadium with the pastor from St. Francis Xavier Church.<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg 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]." <sup>102</sup>

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."<sup>103</sup> Roosevelt then spoke of deeds and words immortal abounding over the fields of Gettysburg, and to the new, fundamental challenge of unity and reunion.<sup>104</sup> 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*.<sup>105</sup>

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.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> 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."<sup>108</sup> "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.<sup>109</sup> "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.<sup>110</sup>

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."<sup>111</sup> 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."<sup>112</sup> 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.”<sup>113</sup> 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.”<sup>114</sup> 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.”<sup>115</sup> 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.”<sup>116</sup>

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.<sup>117</sup> 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.”<sup>118</sup> 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. . . .”<sup>119</sup> 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.”<sup>120</sup>

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,<sup>121</sup> 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

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg 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.'"<sup>122</sup> 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!*<sup>123</sup>

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."<sup>124</sup>



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

## Endnotes

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> "Rice Invites State Senators," *Gettysburg Times*, 23 May 1935.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

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

<sup>10</sup> "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.

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

<sup>12</sup> 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."

<sup>13</sup> "State Group Fails to Meet," *Gettysburg Times*, 24 January 1936.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

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

<sup>16</sup> 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.



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

<sup>18</sup> Rice and Mason, eds., *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray*, 19.

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

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

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

<sup>24</sup> "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.

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

<sup>26</sup> 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.

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

<sup>28</sup> "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.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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.

<sup>31</sup> *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.

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

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>36</sup> 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.

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

<sup>38</sup> 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.

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

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*



<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> "\$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.

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

<sup>45</sup> 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.

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

<sup>47</sup> (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.

<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> 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.

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

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

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

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> (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.

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

<sup>56</sup> Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," 3.

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

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.; "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.

<sup>60</sup>Fortenbaugh, "In The Nation's Eye," 3.

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

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>*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.

<sup>64</sup>Charles 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.

<sup>65</sup>*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.

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

<sup>67</sup>*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.

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

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

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

<sup>71</sup>"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.

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

<sup>73</sup>Angelo 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.

<sup>74</sup>*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.

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

Jordan: 'A Beautiful Dream Realized': John S. Rice and the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg & Grand Reunion 1938 - Participant Accounts," Gettysburg National Military Park Archives; Earp, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> *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.

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> 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.

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

<sup>80</sup> (*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.

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

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

<sup>83</sup> Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion."

<sup>84</sup> "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.

<sup>85</sup> 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.

<sup>86</sup> 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).

<sup>87</sup> 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.

<sup>88</sup> 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.

<sup>89</sup> "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.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> 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.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> 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.

<sup>94</sup> "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.

<sup>95</sup> 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.

<sup>96</sup> 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.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> "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.

<sup>99</sup> "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.

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

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.; (Hanover, PA) *Evening Sun*, 2 July 1938.

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

<sup>103</sup> 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.

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

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

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

<sup>107</sup> "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.

<sup>108</sup> *New York Times*, 3 July 1938.

<sup>109</sup> *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.

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

<sup>111</sup> 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.

<sup>112</sup> Elizabeth R. Fausett to John S. Rice, undated letter, in Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Flora Stersh to John S. Rice, letter, 22 July 1938, in Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Tucker, "The Gettysburg Reunion."

<sup>115</sup> 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.

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

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

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<sup>118</sup> Lt. Col. Paul R. Hawley to John S. Rice, letter, 31 July 1938, in *Ibid*.

<sup>119</sup> A.A. Schechter to John S. Rice, letter, 5 July 1938, in *Ibid*.

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

<sup>121</sup> 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.

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

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>124</sup> 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.