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Contested Narratives: The Influence of Local Remembrance on National Narratives of Gettysburg During The 19th Century

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***Contested Narratives:
The Influence of Local Remembrance on
National Narratives of Gettysburg During The 19th Century.***

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**Thesis submitted to the
Eberly College of Arts and Science
at West Virginia University**

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts in
19th Century American History**

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**Keywords: Gettysburg; Civil War; Remembrance; Memory; Narrative Creation; National
Identity; Citizenship; Race; Gender; Masculinity; Veterans.
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ABSTRACT

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Jarrad Fuoss

When the guns fell silent in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania on July 4, 1863, the process of rationalizing and remembering the battle's bloody consequences began. By the end of the nineteenth century, various local groups influenced the development of an idealistic and romanticized story that granted citizenship through participation and engrained Gettysburg into a cornerstone of American historical identity. This thesis examines the process of remembrance through narrative creation following the battle of Gettysburg. It aims to explain how local citizens influenced national narratives of the battle and subjectively shaped remembrance after the Civil War. By examining sources collected from civilians and soldiers alike, this work argues that the civilians of Gettysburg thoughtfully shaped early national narratives about the battle of Gettysburg and drastically influenced who and what those narratives discussed. This work broadens the historical understanding of narrative development following the American Civil War by examining the process of narrative creation for white citizens, women, militia soldiers, and African-Americans.

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INTRODUCTION

On July 20, 1861 fifty-four male “Citizens” from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, gathered to pen an open letter to the people of Adams County. With vigor the men pressed ink to paper and addressed a considerable controversy running through the town. “...A few persons in our midst,” they declared, are “traitors to the Constitution and laws of our country...” This blunt accusation was directed at individuals from Gettysburg who had denounced a patriotic oration delivered by Rev. John R. Warner on July 4, 1861. These men, in the Citizens’ eyes were “Southern traitor and rebels.” During his speech titled, “Our Times And Our Duty: An Oration Delivered By Request Of The Gettysburg Zouaves, Before The Citizens Civil And Military Of Gettysburg And Vicinity, In Spangler’s Grove, July 4th, 1861,” Warner addressed the members of a Gettysburg Militia regiment headed to combat by contextualizing the events of the secession crisis and bringing into question the definition of an American citizen. Although scarcely two months into the American Civil War, accusations of disloyalty burned deep into the conscience of Adams County locals.

For the men of Gettysburg in 1861, citizenship played a key role in defining one’s personal and social identity. Similar to the men who penned the letter of support weeks later, Warner’s definition revolved around the defense of the American Republic. At one point Warner declared, “The duty, therefore, of every American citizen, we regard as at once plain and sacred – to maintain the integrity of the Union, and uphold its Constitution to the utmost limit of his power....”¹ For the Reverend, the defense of “the Divine

¹ John R. (John Riddle) Warner, *Our Times and Our Duty: An Oration Delivered by Request of the Gettysburg Zouaves, before the Citizens Civil and Military of Gettysburg and Vicinity, in Spangler’s Grove, July 4th, 1861* (Gettysburg, Printed by H. C. Neinstedt, 1861), 9, <http://archive.org/details/ourtimesourduityo01warn>.

Government” of the United States was a cornerstone of citizenship and a key aspect of national identity, especially in an era of sin committed by “Southern rebellion.”

Although, Warner’s speech addressed the masses of “loyal citizens,” his words consistently set a narrow definition of what demographic he spoke about. Near the end of his oration, Warner charged “loyal citizens” with the sacred tasks of defending the nation, pleading “Let us see to it, that we perform them like men, like Americans, and like Christians.” With a single phrase, Warner captured the sentiments of a community that defined citizenship through rigid social norms linked to various forms of identity. Within two years, Gettysburg would need to reimagine those socially constructed bounds entirely.

At the end of Warner’s speech, the regiment of Gettysburg militia marched off to an unimaginable conflict, and even while the furious pens of Warner’s defenders wrote about his patriotism, the scene of a major disaster for the Army of the Republic took shape along the banks of Bull Run near Manassas, Virginia. Following that initial bloodshed during the summer of 1861, the war dragged on for two additional years of terror. All the while, the tragic irony of Reverend Warner’s speech rang clearly in the ears of Adams County residents; “No other alternative now is left us than to meet all the evils and horrors of Civil War, which we know full well is no Chimera...”

On the evening of June 30, 1863, nearly two years after Gettysburg sent its loyal citizens to war, a heavy anxiety lifted in the town. In the time that had passed since Warner’s speech, the resolve of the northern United States had stretched to an extreme by numerous military defeats in far away places. Now, after crossing the Potomac River in early June, Confederate soldiers had terrorized the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, sending locals fleeing in every direction and left the so called citizens defenseless against

the rebel advance. On June 26, 1863 the secessionist swept through Gettysburg with dramatic fury, locking local militiamen in their town courthouse, rounding up African Americans as slaves, and confiscating the personal property of white families for the war effort. Finally, on the evening of June 30th, the anxiety seemed to dissipate when friendly cavalry from the Union Army of the Potomac under the command of Brigadier General John Buford trotted through town. Early the next morning, July 1, 1863 sixteen year-old Tillie Pierce remembered “It was impossible to become drowsy... we had no sooner finished our breakfast when it was announced that troops were coming.” Rushing to the street corner, Tillie saw long lines of Federal cavalry soldiers and “wagon after wagon” passing by, headed toward the ridgelines west of town.²

Near 7:30 a.m. the reprieve from anxiety shattered at the sound of artillery fire reverberating through the countryside. The Federal cavalry had encountered Confederate infantry nearly a mile west of Gettysburg and offered a stiff resistance until reinforcements could arrive. Standing at the corner of Washington and Breckinridge Streets, Tillie Pierce and others noticed the sounds of battle growing louder. “Soon the booming of cannon was heard, then great clouds of smoke were seen rising beyond the ridge....” From her home along Breckinridge Street, another Gettysburg resident, Kate Bushman remembered seeing “our poor fellows commanded to fall into line and go double quick and the shells flew over our heads and the officers bade me go in or I might get killed.”³

As the fighting grew the civilians of Gettysburg worried what might come next. By late afternoon the noise of battle echoed from the west to the north and a steady stream of

² Tillie (Pierce) Alleman, *At Gettysburg: Or What A Girl Saw And Heard Of The Battle* (New York: W. Lake Borland, 1889), 33.

³ Alleman, 34.; Kate Bushman as quoted in Brian Matthew Jordan, “Remembrance will cling to us through life’: Kate Bushman’s Memoir of the Battle of Gettysburg,” *Adams County History* 20 (2014): 9.

soldiers rushed onward toward the action. Retiring into his home for dinner, young Albertus McCreary noted that before long he could hear a “racket” outside. Leaving the table, the family piled to the front door to see what was the matter. “The street was full of Union soldiers, running and pushing each other, sweaty and black from powder and dust. They called to us for water...” he wrote, “We were so busy, and the noise and confusion were so great that we did not notice how close the fighting was, until, about half a block away, we saw hand-to-hand conflicts. It was a complete rout for the Union soldiers.”⁴ One Confederate soldier recalled, “It was truly a wild scene, rushing through the town capturing prisoners by the hundreds; a squad of us would run down a street and come to a corner just as a whole mass of frightened Yanks were rushing up another. A few shots made the surrender, and so on until we caught them all.”⁵ In a matter of minutes the horrors of war entirely engulfed Gettysburg.

While the two armies became acclimated to their new positions, so too did the civilians of Gettysburg. For many, the retreat through town had been the most terrifying experience of their lives. Fortunately, some civilians escaped and headed for “safer” places. However, many others hunkered down in their basement keeps. As dusk settled across town, reality sank in that the war had literally come to their doorsteps. Over the next few days, the situation for those civilians remaining became dire as the fighting flooded from the streets and into their homes. During this time, strict societal conceptions of who belonged on a battlefield began to blur.

⁴ Albertus McCreary Account, Vertical File 08-12, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, PA.

⁵ Eugene Blackford, Memoir in Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute. Carlisle, PA

Throughout July 2-4th, Confederate soldiers and the civilians who remained occupied the buildings of Gettysburg together. For three days, an intense fight emerged between the sharpshooters of both sides. Confederate sharpshooters sought cover in the houses and shops, taking the war into the front parlors and bedrooms of Gettysburg's private residences. During those days of terror the civilians in town and the surrounding countryside endured the unimaginable. Fortunately, in the fields surrounding town, the Union Army gained a valuable victory. However when the gunfire ceased a longer battle of Gettysburg began for the residents of Adams County. By the end of July 4, 1863 Confederate soldiers started a dismal retreat through Gettysburg and away from Pennsylvania, "returning the sour looks of citizens with others equally as stern."⁶ Emerging from their basement hiding places, residents like Samuel McCreary found a devastated landscape and the shattered remains of human bodies scattered in his living room, bedroom, and yard. The American Civil War, was no longer a contest waged by soldiers on the battlefield, it was a struggle for survival waged by battle witnesses of every class, gender, and race.

The blood spilled at Gettysburg literally seeped through civilians' floorboards and metaphorically into their lives forever. Of the first tasks completed during the days and weeks following the battle, gathering the wounded for proper medical care reigned supreme. By the end of the week nearly every structure in Gettysburg and its vicinity became an aid station. Wounded soldiers filled churches, homes, and barns. At the farm of George Spangler just south of town, Union soldiers confined six family members to a single

⁶ Blackford Memoir, USAMHI

room of their large farmhouse as every additional space was utilized to care for the wounded.⁷

The next task was that of burying the dead. In three days of combat just over 7,000 soldiers were killed. Although the last of the fighting ended on July 4th, the war continued. Within days both armies drew rations and began a deadly pursuit back to the Potomac River. In their wake, the civilian population of Gettysburg and local militia soldiers inherited the monumental task of cleaning the fields. Albertus McCreary recalled the “stench from the battlefield after the fight was so bad that everyone went about with a bottle of pennyroyal or peppermint oil. The burial of the dead commenced at once, and many were buried along the line where they fought and fell, and, in many cases, so near the surface that their clothing came through the earth.”⁸ The ghastly work of burying the dead continued for decades.

While cleaning the battlefield appeared an impossible task, new questions about the legacy of Gettysburg also gripped individuals across the nation. Even while the fighting raged newspaper reporters scoured the battlefield, questioned the survivors, and at times interviewed the civilians. By piecing together a timeline of the battle, reporters initiated the perpetual evaluation of a narrative about what happened in Gettysburg, what it meant to the nation, and how it would define those who had experienced it. Within hours, headlines proclaimed Gettysburg as the site of a great cataclysm that determined the fate of the Union. Initially the reports described bitter fighting, including the death of well-known Union General John Reynolds. However by July 4th headlines turned triumphant. News of

⁷ George Spangler Damage Claim R-241, RG 92, National Archives & Records Administration; copy at GETT Library & research Center

⁸ Albertus McCreary File V-8, Gettysburg National Military Park

Federal victory spread across the country and the implications of its national importance abounded. On the morning of July 4, 1863 the New York Herald published “GETTYSBURG. ~ A GREAT VICTORY WON!~ ...The Rebels Driven Back Four Miles and the Union Troops Following Them,”⁹ Almost overnight the importance of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania as a key aspect of national identity grew to mythological proportions.

During the years that followed the Civil War, historical narratives of Gettysburg constructed key aspects of national identity that redefined concepts of citizenship for the individuals who participated. Driven by a need to cognitively organize the chaos of the battlefield into a meaningful story, Americans devoured news of the fight from secondary sources and eyewitnesses alike. For those civilians who experienced the battle firsthand the power of social status granted by participation in such a monumental event grew as a critical aspect of personal identity linked to concepts of citizenship and nationalism. As the temporal distance from the battle grew, the subjectivity of perspectives offered by those present and not present at the battle caused debates over its order and meaning to intensify. Aside from the veterans themselves, other groups vied for inclusion in developing narratives of the battle that both defined the nation and those who experienced it. Linked to concepts of identity in American society the power of narrative inclusion created a present yet unspoken hierarchy of experiences defined by ideas of American citizenship. It is the intention of this work to examine the narrative struggle that emerged following the battle of Gettysburg through the experiences of three groups: white citizens who actively shaped national narratives of the battle, militia soldiers that struggled for inclusion

⁹ “The Fighting Commenced. A Battle Near Gettysburg. Longstreet And Hill Attack Meade and Reynolds. Gen.” *Albany Evening Journal* (Albany, New York), July 2, 1863.; New York Herald, “Gettysburg. a Great Victory Won” *The New York Herald* (New York, New York), July 4, 1863.

alongside other veterans, and African Americans excluded from citizenship, the battle's history, and the war's lasting legacy.

Utilizing firsthand accounts from the battle of Gettysburg this thesis strives to contextually examine the civilians of Adams County who worked to propagate the early national narrative of the battle and its aftermath. Through the analysis of diverse sources located in historical archives, written memoirs, and the physical landscape, this thesis brings to light the voices of Gettysburg's civilians and the narratives they fostered about their experiences during the battle. This work also strives to engage existing historical scholarship that previously explored the relationship between Gettysburg's locals and the construction of American memory. One such publication is Margaret Creighton's, *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History : Immigrants, Women, and African-Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle*. Here Creighton explored the incredible experiences and immense contributions of women, immigrants, and African-Americans in Gettysburg during and after the battle. By exploring the exclusion of those groups in remembrance as an extension of the prejudices they faced across the nation, Creighton's work also set a solid base upon which scholarship about race and gender during the battle of Gettysburg flourishes. This thesis builds upon Creighton's argument of exclusion by drawing out the connections between national narrative development and the power that inclusion gave to affirming individuals as American citizens.

Similarly, authors such as Jim Weeks in his work *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* have explored the social-economic aspects of the battle's impact on the local population and how the capital driven business of narrative creation unfolded in the town following the war. For Weeks, the development of Gettysburg as a critical aspect of

American culture came through the commercialization of the battlefield and the influence of reconciliation rhetoric from veterans. Although Weeks appears to challenge the construction of narratives based around concepts of individual identity and citizenship, this thesis complements his work by establishing another side of narrative development. This development is found through the meaning of the narratives created by the civilian witnesses of Gettysburg and the veterans who returned years later.

While engaging focused scholarship about the shared experiences of the battle, this thesis also aims to place the experiences of Gettysburg civilians into conversation with national concepts of narrative development. Thus, this work also creates a dialogue with renowned scholarship such as the David Blight's *Race And Reunion*, about the importance of national narratives about the Civil War and their meaning. According to Blight, "three overall visions of Civil War memory collided and combined" during the final decades of the 19th century to produce a very peculiar rendition of public opinion about the war's meaning leading into the 20th century. For Blight, reconciliation, racism, and emancipation defined narratives of the war and its importance during the late 19th century.¹⁰

By specifically engaging the critical period of narrative development that gripped Gettysburg and the nation between 1863 and the final decade of the 19th century, this thesis works to broaden perceptions of narrative creation. Specifically, this work strives to engage another side of those scholarly arguments by examining the power of narrative creation for local civilians contending for acceptance in remembrance of the battle and as citizens in a newly defined nation. In his work David Blight draws heavily upon the experiences of veterans and their remembrance of the war. According to Blight, "most Civil

¹⁰ David W. Blight, *Race and reunion: the Civil War in American memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 2.

War soldiers did not readily talk or write about their conflicted emotions in the immediate postwar period.” For some, the rationalization of the war and its costs produced deep-seated hatred, and for others a respect for their foe. In all, Blight argues the “seeds” of political, racial, and reconciliatory strife that dominated American culture by the end of the century were present in various post-war writings. However, it was not just the writings and experiences of the veterans that foreshadowed the difficult process of piecing the country back together. The civilians of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania experienced a rather similar journey to rationalize the cost and meaning of the War.

The civilians of Gettysburg also contested with traditional conceptions of patriotism, citizenship, and national narratives that excluded various individuals on the bases of gender, race, and wealth. Similar to the arguments of Patricia West, in her work *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of American’s House Museums*, the act of remembering the past became a powerful tool for individuals to redefine their social standing as citizens. Much like the women who worked to both preserve America’s historic homes in the late 19th century and include themselves into national narratives as a contributing component of those stories, the citizens of Gettysburg did the same. Thus, by expanding the perspective of studies about war remembrance in the period immediately following the battle of Gettysburg, this thesis introduces the voices of those narratives traditionally obscured by white veteran narratives in the later 19th century.¹¹

By engaging scholarship and contextually examining sources collected from civilians and soldiers alike, this thesis will argue that the civilians of Gettysburg thoughtfully shaped early national narratives about the battle of Gettysburg and drastically influenced who and

¹¹ Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

what those narratives discussed. In his 2003 article, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse," historian Francois Furstenberg, examined the implications of "mythologized" narratives that can redefine aspects of remembrance and the culture it supports.¹² This thesis thus analyzes the importance of narrative development in post-war America by demonstrating how individuals often repressed as full citizens of the United States on the basis of race, gender, and wealth actively shaped the narrative of the battle. By the end of the 19th century, those groups had influenced the development of an idealistic and romanticized story that granted citizenship through participation and engrained Gettysburg into a cornerstone of American historical identity.¹³

¹² Francois Furstenberg, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse." *Journal Of American History* 89, no. 4 (March 2003): 1295-1330. *Education Research Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed July 23, 2018)

¹³ Margaret S. Creighton, *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History: Immigrants, Women, and African-Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle*, 1st ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).

CHAPTER 1: Civilian Influence and Narrative Control

Of those groups included in the story of Gettysburg, local citizens engaged with the narrative and at times actively shaped battle remembrance. Through purposefully crafted storytelling, preservation of the battlefield, and early tour guiding private citizens contributed to the creation of Gettysburg's national narrative. Personal accounts of the battle often situated non-combatants either alongside veteran soldiers or in additional capacities that aided the preservation of the Union during America's defining Civil War. Through robust stories, commemoration of the dead, and battlefield preservation the citizens of Gettysburg worked to incorporate their own experiences into the larger American narrative of the battle. At times, those groups exercised various qualities and advantages such as social status and race to gain leverage over the content included in national narratives about the battle. This chapter will focus on the fight for narrative control that erupted during the later half of the nineteenth century and argue that Gettysburg's white citizens held particular power in shaping the battle narrative and its remembrance.

Before examining the ways that Gettysburg's local residents exercised power over national narratives, it is critical to define narrative creation and address the forces that initiate it. For the purposes of this chapter, the phrase narrative creation defines the rational organization of historical events both individually and collectively. Although prevailing historical scholarship such as David Blight's flagship study *Race and Reunion*, address similar concepts utilizing the term collective memory, the calculated

use of “narrative creation” is intended to specifically isolate participants rationally organizing historical events for public consumption. According to other memory historians such as Jürgen Straub historical narratives foster a cultural space for communities and individuals to rationalize collective experiences, and “justify action historically.”¹⁴ In a large-scale traumatic experience such as the Battle of Gettysburg, the necessity to rationalize extreme bloodshed often prompted citizens and soldiers to craft stories that explained their experiences. From heartbreaking letters of battlefield death to orations of grand tactics at commemorations, the narration of Gettysburg both organized and contextualized the ordeal into what Sharon Talley states was “a marker in the lives of Americans.” For the citizens tossed about in the wake of cataclysmic Civil War, the tragedies associated with Gettysburg and the war were “replayed repeatedly.... in an effort to understand what had occurred and why.”¹⁵

Aside from rationalizing the horrors of war, historical narratives also contributed to the construction of identity. By situating themselves within what Straub refers to as the “temporal coherence presented by narrative...”, participants contributed to the development of various forms of identity. For Straub, the creation of historical narratives primarily contributed to the establishment of “subjective identity,” where narrators situated themselves and their community within overarching stories that offered value to their collective experiences.¹⁶ By contextualizing their own personal experiences

¹⁴ Jürgen Straub, *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*, Making Sense of History ; v. 3; Making Sense of History ; v. 3. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 50, 59.

¹⁵ Sharon Talley, *Southern Women Novelists and the Civil War: Trauma and Collective Memory in the American Literary Tradition Since 1861* (Knoxville, UNITED STATES: University of Tennessee Press, 2014), X, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wvu/detail.action?docID=1732055>.

¹⁶ Straub, *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*, 64.

through a collective narrative of the battle, Gettysburg's citizens contributed to both cultural and national identity as defined through patriotic participation in the battle.

Following the Battle of Gettysburg the influence of local citizens also established a hierarchy of narratives that elevated the experience of certain groups over others and continuously evolved as temporal distance grew. Immediately following the battle, newspaper accounts acted as a primary medium for narrative distribution. However, as weeks turned to months, civilians began to pen letters and orations to publish their own narratives, which eventually overshadowed the newspaper publishers. It was during this period that national narratives of the battle engaged entrenched racism and social hierarchy to define aspects of participant experience that situated white citizen narratives above others. This hierarchy often excluded non-white voices and ultimately ceded narrative control to veterans during the commemorative era. Although the civilians of Gettysburg influenced narrative production throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their influence particularly flourished during the period between July 1863 and the development of a commemorative landscape in the late 1880's. During the critical period prior to veteran control and the transfer of battlefield land to the Federal Government, various mediums of information distribution enabled Gettysburg locals to remain heavy-handed in the development of collective historical narrative.

Early Narrative Creation

From the outset of fighting, the citizens of Gettysburg became embroiled in the legacy of the cataclysmic battle. Desperate for some bit of good news in the war-weary

north, newspapers reported feats of battlefield bravery that promoted patriotism and a hopeful outlook on the war. In the rush to publish, writings emerged from correspondents imbedded in the armies themselves. Reports of bravery on the battlefield extended from soldiers to civilians. In the New York Herald, reports of bravery included an “especially honorable mention” for the ladies of Gettysburg who “came out upon the sidewalks, with composed though anxious faces, and offered our soldiers everything needful in the way of refreshments.”¹⁷ Of those initial narratives, the New York Herald offers an intriguing place to initiate examination of civilians in Gettysburg’s story. As the writer of the New York Herald continued in his praise of Gettysburg’s women, “The shot were whistling meanwhile; but they [the women] appeared elevated by noble impulses above the sentiment of fear...”¹⁸ By offering support to the Federal soldiers rushing through the town, the women of Gettysburg earned a space in the writers narrative as noble participants.

Although modest in comparison to accounts published by witnesses many years afterward, the New York Herald’s point about the “noble impulses” that pushed Gettysburg’s women to the streets underscored the role of narrative creation following the Battle of Gettysburg. In particular, the account demonstrated the development of early narratives and revealed the power held by those in possession of information. In the earliest moments following the fighting at Gettysburg, reporters reigned at the height of the narrative hierarchy. From a position of narrative power granted by public demand for information, Northern reporters incorporated patriotic undertones that situated Gettysburg’s civilians as contributors and participants in the battle. Reports of civilians

¹⁷ New York Herald, July 4, 1863

¹⁸ *Ibid.*,

who contributed to the noble and national cause appear in both early newspaper reports and later civilian published memoirs. As historian Donald E Polkinghorne details in his work, “Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness,” “Narrative thinking can serve as a vehicle for reconciling the split between the desire to know what happened in the past and the desire to know the meaning these events have for the present.” In relation to the citizens and soldiers at the Battle of Gettysburg, establishing a cohesive narrative that identified noble motives allowed Americans to rationalize slaughter on the battlefield both during and after the Civil war.¹⁹

As reports of the traumatic battle surfaced, the narratives produced for public consumption designated Gettysburg’s citizens in a peculiar place between witnesses or contributors. For current historians, the place of citizens in the battle narrative teeters a fine line between victim and participant. Analyzed through sources like private letters and damage claims the citizens of Gettysburg exist as passive victims, however, in contemporary material produced for public consumption some citizens emerged as national heroes.

One citizen who gained national fame as a hero after the battle was local resident John Burns. On the morning of July 1st, 1863 Burns heard the sounds of battle raging just over the ridgeline from his home along Chambersburg Street. A veteran of the war of 1812 and a fervent Unionist, Burns grabbed his hunting musket and venture out to the battle. As veteran Federal soldiers rushed into combat on July 1, 1863, few were likely prepared to meet the raged figure of the 69 year old man sporting an outdated musket and volunteering for the fight. With gun in hand and cartridges in his

¹⁹ Donald E. Polkinghorne, “Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: relationships and Perspectives” in Jürgen Straub, *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*, 19.

pocket, Burns joined members of the famed Iron Brigade while they repulsed numerous Confederate attacks just west of town. Unfortunately for Burns, the Confederate onslaught pushed the Federal soldiers from the field and he was wounded in the leg, arm, and chest. After abandoning his musket and burying his cartridges, Confederate soldiers surrounded the old man. In a moment of quick wit Burns supposedly convinced the rebels he was a non-combatant searching the fields for his invalid wife. Burns was later transported back to his home in Gettysburg town.²⁰ Following his grand adventure on July 1st 1863, Burns made national headlines after famed photographer Mathew Brady captured his image for publication. Quickly, the story of Burns adventure spread through the northern press and on August 22, 1863 Harpers Weekly featured Mathew Brady's image of Burns on the front cover with a title that read "John Burns, the Only Man in Gettysburg, Pa., Who Fought at the Battle."²¹

Another Gettysburg resident who gained notoriety following the battle was the twenty-year-old Mary Virginia Wade. Born May 21, 1843 "Jennie" Wade gained national reputation as the only civilian killed during the Battle of Gettysburg. On July 1, 1863 Wade sheltered at her sister Georgeana McClellan's home along the Baltimore Pike on the north side of Cemetery Hill. When the fighting shifted to the south of town, the Wade family did not remove themselves as Georgeana was bed ridden after giving birth to a healthy baby days before. Unfortunately for the Wades, their selected hiding space existed directly between the Federal lines on Cemetery Hill and Confederate troops in

²⁰ Stephen W. Sears, *Gettysburg* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 204; Timothy H. Smith, *John Burns*, 1 edition (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Pubns, 2000).

²¹ Mathew Brady photograph in "John Burns, the Only Man in Gettysburg, Pa., Who Fought at the Battle." *Harpers Weekly*, (New York : Harper's Magazine Co.), August 22, 1863.

the town of Gettysburg.²² Throughout the day on July 2nd Federal skirmishers occupied the orchard around the house causing sporadic rifle fire to sweep the area, however, it wasn't until the morning of July 3rd that the situation became dire. Unknown to both the Wade family and Union soldiers atop Cemetery Hill, trained Confederate sharpshooters had spent the entire night fortifying Gettysburg and creating sharpshooters' nests in nearly every building at its southern extent. Thus when Jennie Wade engaged in household chores on the morning of July 3rd she had little inclination of the true danger she was in. Near 7:30am the Confederate sharpshooters in town nestled into their positions and awaited orders. After identifying a battery of Artillery just a few rods from the home where Jennie was engaged kneading bread dough, the rebels unleashed a torrent of fire against Cemetery Hill. Unfortunately, during this opening attack a Confederate rifle ball cut through two wooden doors and struck Jennie in the back, killing her instantly.²³

Like John Burns, the story of Jennie Wade caught national attention and spread rapidly following the battle. In her work "The World Will Little Note Nor Long Remember' Gender Analysis of Civilian Response to the Battle of Gettysburg," historian Christina Ericson examines the importance of Wade and Burns narratives. For Ericson, both Wade and Burns demonstrated the gendering of narratives following the battle. As the hero and heroine of the battle, Burns and Wade represented masculine and feminine spheres in the greater story of the war. Wade's national narrative demonstrated the feminine attributes of a patriotic woman who perished while baking break and providing

²². Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg--Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill* (UNC Press Books, 2011), 358; Cindy L. Small, *The Jennie Wade Story: A True & Complete Account of the Only Civilian Killed During the Battle at Gettysburg* (Thomas Publications, 1991).

²³ Eugene Blackford Memoir, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pa; Pfanz, 358.

domestic support for her family and the soldiers around her. Meanwhile, John Burns demonstrated ideal masculine attributes when he shouldered his own musket and went to join the soldiers on the firing-line.²⁴

In addition to the gendering of the Gettysburg narrative identified by Ericson, the stories of John Burns and Jennie Wade also acted as ideological tools that supported nationalistic narratives needed as propaganda in the war-weary North. As the war strangled America during the first half of 1863, prospects for a favorable outcome dwindled in Northern States. Plagued by consistent military failure in the Eastern Theater support for the war and subsequently Abraham Lincoln slackened. Even with a major Federal victory at Gettysburg, national morale remained low. On July 11, 1863 ethnic and political tensions in New York City converged over the war and implementation of a national draft led to violence. From July 11 through July 16, a bloody riot raged through New York City. Angry citizens beat and bludgeoned local officials, rival political groups, and African Americans. In response, members of the New York State Militia on duty in Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg Campaign were recalled to quell the riots in their own state. Thus, the propagation of Jennie Wade's and John Burn's narratives arrived at an ideal time for the nation. Not only did their heroic stories define the gendered constraints of Gettysburg's participants but they also typify the ideal American citizen that demonstrated loyalty, patriotism, and sacrifice through the terror of war.²⁵

²⁴ Christina Ericson, "The World Will Little Note Nor Long Remember' Gender Analysis of Civilian Response to the Battle of Gettysburg," in *Making And Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War* ed. William Blair, William Pencak, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001),81-105.

²⁵ Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015).

Although the patriotic stories of Jennie Wade spread nationally following Gettysburg, not everyone accepted those narratives without skepticism. Interestingly, one source of resistance to the construction of Jennie Wade's patriotic story came from John Burns himself. Often depicted as a cantankerous old man, Burns frequently gave his opinions on any matter. Thus in 1867, when author Frank Moore asked John Burns for his feelings on Jennie Wade and her apparent patriotism Burns responded, "I knew Miss Wade very well. The Less said about her the better. The story about her loyalty, her being killed while serving Union soldiers—is all fiction got up by some sensatious correspondent...Charity to her reputation forbids any further re-mention... I still call her a she-rebel."²⁶ For Burns, the narrative of Wade's devotion to her country came across as a convenient and sensationalized news story full of factual misrepresentations. Given the scale of Wade's patriotic narrative nationally it is surprising that Burns was by no means the only Gettysburg citizen to feel this way. Another local, Tillie Pierce, recalled in her memoir after the war that Jennie Wade's "sympathies were not as much for the Union as they should have been."²⁷ When given the opportunity to expose the misrepresentation of Wade's character, it is interesting that both Pierce and Burns declined to comment further. One possible explanation resided in the particular power that national narratives of Wade held. As a heroine of the battle, Wade's personal character became tied to ideals of American patriotism and demonstrated a particular amount of immunity from counterproductive narratives regardless of fact or fiction.

²⁶ John Burns Letter to Frank Moore January 22, 1866 as quoted in *Women And The Battle Of Gettysburg*, GNMP Files 8-27c

²⁷ Pierce, 26; At the time of the battle, Jennie Wade's younger brother Samuel was employed by the Pierces as a delivery boy. When Confederate raiders entered the town and confiscated the families horses, Tillie believed it was Jennie who told the rebels to take the Pierces property because her father was "A black Abolitionist; so black, that he was turning black." See also J. W. (John White) Johnston, *The True Story of "Jennie" Wade, a Gettysburg Maid* (Rochester, N.Y., J. W. Johnston, 1917), 8.

While many individuals declined to challenge Gettysburg narratives, some newspapers publicly rejected portrayals of patriotic and brave Gettysburg citizens. Lorenzo Crouse of the *New York Times* argued that Gettysburg's residents represented the contrary. According to Crouse the citizens of Gettysburg were particularly prone to "craven-hearted meanness," and that their actions were "unpatriotic." Focusing only on their own losses, Crouse accused locals of failing to see the larger picture at stake in the war and unleashed a torrent of unfounded accusations against the citizens of Adams County. Although Crouse and others later argued that Gettysburg's residents were neither patriotic nor brave, their accusations failed to impact narratives of Gettysburg's brave citizens.²⁸

While Jennie Wade and John Burns came to represent two famous citizens from Gettysburg, the practice of portraying locals as active participants with agency in the battle continued throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century. In addition, the context of accounts produced about the participation of locals changed as the temporal distance from the battle grew. In 1864, during a visit to Gettysburg, Isaac Moorhead recalled speaking with one young boy who recounted a tale of searching for his lost dog during the battle, and a woman named Josephine who "went out where they were shooting, and split wood and brought it in to bake bread for the soldiers; and she carried water night and day to the wounded of both armies." Although written a year following the battle, the accounts of the young boy still demonstrated the patriotic duty played by citizens to defeat the rebellion. Comparatively in the 1930s Gettysburg's citizens continued claiming feats of battlefield bravery. For 83-year-old Mary Hindman

²⁸ L.L. Crouse, "Further Details of the Battle of Gettysburgh," *The New York Times*, July 9, 1863.; One later critique of Gettysburg citizens came in James Fulton, M.D., "Gettysburg Reminiscences," in *The National Tribune*, October 20, 1898.

(Wiseman), that included her experience as a sixteen year-old girl running “nearly a half mile through the gun fire, with bullets whizzing around her, to milk the cow...”²⁹ Although similar to the account from 1864, the driving aspect for Hindman’s experience resided not in contributing to the national war effort but simply that she was a brave individual.

As historian Margaret Creighton points out, the Battle of Gettysburg unfolded in three stages; “fight, recovery, and remembrance...”³⁰ During the second stage, the citizens of Gettysburg faced both praise and condemnation for their response to the battle, all while internalizing the hard realities of the battle’s aftermath. For those not primarily engaged in writing narratives of the battle for public consumption, many Gettysburg locals produced accounts of the battle for friends and family members. This differentiation between public and private accounts worked to demonstrate the reality of the battle often untouched by newspapers. On July 19, 1863, Gettysburg local John Rupp wrote to his sister-in-law describing the ordeal he experienced while hiding in his basement near the intersection of Baltimore Pike and the Emmitsburg Road. Rupp recalled, “ Our men occupied My Porch, and the Rebels the rear of the house, and I the cellar. So you can see that I was on neutral ground. Our men knew I was in the cellar, but the Rebs did not. I could hear the Rebs load their guns, and fire them..” When the fighting ended Rupp reported collecting handfuls of lead musket balls throughout his house, a souvenir of the danger he had escaped.³¹

While Rupp and others, did not intend personal letters for public eyes, the narratives they constructed still acted as mediums for processing and organizing their

²⁹ Isaac Mooreheade, “Milked Cow Under Fire At Gettysburg,” Undated newspaper, Gettysburg National Military park Files V8-5.

³⁰ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 153.

³¹ John Rupp as quoted in Emma K., Young, *They Will Remember Gettysburg: A brief history of the Rupp Family and the Rupp House Tannery* (Gettysburg, PA: Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg,).

experiences into cohesive stories that others who did not live the trauma would understand. Farms were destroyed, lives uprooted, and death permeated every aspect of local life. As the days passed and news of the battlefield trickled across the nation, discussion of battlefield gore at Gettysburg permeated newspapers and national narratives. Photographs like those provided by Mathew Brady following the fighting demonstrated the horrific nature of the battlefield, yet personal narratives of the residents tasked with the gruesome duty of caring for the dead and wounded were slower coming. For individuals like Samuel McCreary, charged with removing the lifeless body of a 17-year-old Confederate from his front parlor, or the Wade family tasked with burying young Virginia in her sister's garden, the experiences of July 1863 burned traumatic images into local memory for years to come. One young man remembered until his old age the trauma of helping his father removing the remains of a dead soldier to an open grave. Upon moving the man his "scalp slipped right off..."³² As far as written word was concerned, the national narrative of the battle constructed immediately following the engagement embodied an entirely different reality than the personal narratives of those who experienced the summer of 1863 firsthand.

Spreading A Concise Narrative

Stirred by the publication of harrowing accounts of bravery and romantic tragedy, consumer demand for information regarding the Battle of Gettysburg flourished during the years following the engagement. In response, some Gettysburg residents directly participated in the construction and publication of narratives about the battle. One example of active narrative construction came from local Reverend, John R.

³² Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 150.

Warner. At the time of the battle, Warner lived in Gettysburg with his wife Jennie and their one-year-old daughter Mary. A well-spoken orator at the Lower Marsh Creek Presbyterian Church and a fervent Unionist at the beginning of the war, Warner was well known in Adams County for his thoughts on the national crisis. In 1861, Warner gave a feature oration to the “Gettysburg Zouaves” detailing their patriotic duties and the necessity of meeting the rebels in Civil War to preserve “LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER – ONE AND INSEPERABLE.”³³

Like most of Gettysburg’s residents, Rev. Warner and his family could never have imaged the horror that befell Gettysburg in July 1863. Similar to their neighbors caught amidst the struggle, the Warners hunkered down and anxiously waited for the fighting to cease. Jennie and Mary likely hid in the basement of their home during the battle, however John supposedly watched the fighting from the house above. In the aftermath, the Warners struggled to survive in the desolate and putrid landscape. Sadly during the fall of 1863, Jennie contracted typhoid that spread through town as a result of the fighting and succumbed to its power on September 30th of that year.³⁴ Struck by grief, John sent his daughter away from the horrid landscape while he struggled with his wife’s death. Warner found that organizing his thoughts about the battle and his experiences provided an outlet for his greif. Within months, Warner’s thoughts turned

³³ John R. (John Riddle) Warner, *Our Times and Our Duty: An Oration Delivered by Request of the Gettysburg Zouaves, before the Citizens Civil and Military of Gettysburg and Vicinity, in Spangler's Grove, July 4th, 1861* (Gettysburg, Printed by H. C. Neinstedt, 1861), <http://archive.org/details/ourtimesourduty01warn>.

³⁴ “October 3, 1863: Henry Warner to His Father » Today in the Civil War,” accessed April 28, 2018, <http://civilwar.rosenbach.org/?p=3788>.

into a lecture and by 1864 it was a grand oration. Between January and February of 1864, Warner began lecturing in Philadelphia about the Battle of Gettysburg.³⁵

While John Riddle Warner's oration of the battle became a success across the North, the most important aspect of his lecture was the development of a concise narrative that spread nationally. Although the exact content of Warner's lecture is unknown, reports and advertisements proclaimed it was "exclusively descriptive..." with the ability "to throw a spell over the entire assembly." After the success of his first lectures, Warner received continuous request for his services and at many points churches and other organizations begged him to deliver his "thrilling Lecture" about the battle.³⁶ Touring across the North, Warner eventually caught the eye of notable politicians and in May 1864 he delivered his Gettysburg lecture to the House of Representatives, including Abraham Lincoln in Washington, D.C.³⁷

Warner's contributions to the creation of a Gettysburg battle narrative proved instrumental in the early development of Gettysburg's popularity. At one point the Franklin Repository reported "He should devote his whole time to the delivery of this lecture for some months: and we would advise the citizens of every prominent town throughout the State to request its delivery for them. We have read every thing written on the subject of the great battle that at once rescued a State and Nation, and no one can form any just conception of the great struggle without hearing Mr. Warner."³⁸ As demonstrated via glowing reviews, opinions that Warner's oration represented

³⁵ "The Battle of Gettysburg." *Press*, (Philadelphia, PA), Tuesday, February 09, 1864, 3; "Lecture On The Battle Of Gettysburg" *Franklin Repository* (Chambersburg, PA), Wednesday February 03, 1864.

³⁶ "The Battle of Gettysburg." *Press*, (Philadelphia, PA), Tuesday, February 09, 1864, 3.

³⁷ "From Gettysburg: First Anniversary of the Battle." *Evening Telegraph* (Harrisburg, PA), July 5, 1864, 2.; "An Interesting Lecture- The Rev. John R. Warner," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia, PA) Thursday, February 21, 1867.

³⁸ "Battle of Gettysburg- Rev. John R. Warner," *Franklin Repository* (Chambersburg, PA), Wednesday February 24, 1864, 4.

Gettysburg as a fundamental aspect of American identity emerged during his popular tour.

As Warner's national lecture gained popularity, it paralleled the rise of visitation to the battlefield. In the immediate aftermath, visitors to Gettysburg encountered gruesome sights that did not reflect the patriotic and romantic drama portrayed in newspapers and orations. Instead, early visitors to Gettysburg stumbled across the same difficult scenes that locals persisted through since the fighting ended. In late October 1863, one militia visitor recounted, "When I was last there the fields had the appearance of a vast bone yard... the bodies became so decomposed the heads would drop off the men." Overcome by the stench and the aura of misery, the same visitor went on to recall battlefield litter "clotted with blood" and many "hats and caps besmeared with brains." "The visitor is shocked at every step while passing over the vast charnel house."³⁹

Regardless of the horrific atmosphere, volunteers, grieving families, and curiosity seekers trickled into Gettysburg for various reasons. In particular, the battlefield offered a prime location for macabre relic hunting and early visitors took interest in collecting abandoned materials. According to historian Michael DeGruccio, the material culture of the battle "spoke to Civil War-era Americans" and collecting artifacts provided a tangible expression of narrative preservation.⁴⁰ Even local citizens such as young Alburtus McCreary engaged in early relic hunting on the battlefield. At one point, McCreary remembered how "Visitors soon began to come see the battlefield and all

³⁹ Frank M Stoke, letter to his brother, October 26, 1863. Gettysburg College Library.

⁴⁰ Michael Degruccio, "Letting the War Slip through Our Hands: Material Culture and the Weakness of Words in the Civil War Era" in Stephen Berry, *Weirding the War: Stories from the Civil War's Ragged Edges* (Athens, UNITED STATES: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 29.

wanted relics... we found that a piece of tree with a bullet embedded in it was a great price and a good seller. Every boy went out with a hatchet to chop pieces from trees in which bullets had lodged..."⁴¹ For the time being, the material culture of the battlefield represented a bountiful resource for locals and visitors to collect. As time progressed, those same citizens continued engaging with the battle's physical legacy and new ideas about its preservation emerged.

Although countless individuals poured into Gettysburg following the battle, local efforts emerged to remedy the vast sea of misery and commemorate the horrific loss of life. Structured around the concept of establishing a proper resting place for the battle's fallen Union soldiers, two competing locals petitioned for a Soldiers Cemetery. In late July 1863 lawyers David Wills and David McConaughy submitted separate proposals for the creation of a national cemetery that propagated a physical space for commemorating the battle and initiated narrative over its meaning. As the President of the Board for Evergreen Cemetery, David McConaughy wrote to Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin on July 25th about adding a soldiers' section to the existing burial ground on East Cemetery Hill.⁴²

Known as a fiery and temperamental man in the community, McConaughy's drive to dedicate a sacred place for the fallen manifested through commemorative action. "At once" McConaughy approached landowners atop Cemetery Hill about purchasing property. Unfortunately for McConaughy, his proposal was not accepted, yet he remained in contract with those landowners. The state of New York relief agent

⁴¹ Albertus McCreary, "Gettysburg: A Boy's Experience of the battle," *McClure's Magazine* 33 (May-October 1909): 250-53.

⁴² David McConaughy To Andrew Curtin, July 25, 1863, as quoted by Barbara Platt "This Holy Ground" *A history of the Gettysburg Battlefield, 1863-2009*, Fourth Edition (Gettysburg, PA: The Gettysburg foundation, 2009), 3.

Theodore Dimon, and another local attorney David Wills had already staged a meeting on the same subject earlier in the month and on July 24th, Wills sent his own proposal backed by the relief agent and the Governor of New York to Pennsylvania Governor Curtin, a day prior to McConaughy. Within days, Governor Curtin granted Wills as the agent for the creation of the Cemetery. Officially appointed, Wills first task became the appropriation of land, however, the property atop East Cemetery Hill where Wills desired the new National Cemetery was already promised to McConaughy. After heated arguments and bitter letters denouncing McConaughy's ideas, Wills ultimately proved unable to sway the landowners into breaking contract with his counterpart. Defeated but not disheartened, Wills instead shifted his Cemetery plan to a new location on North Cemetery Hill.⁴³

Moving forward without McConaughy's support, David Wills hired renowned landscape architect William Saunders to design the Cemetery layout, and prompted the creation of a physical space indicative of the battle's meaning. By crafting a physical space for proper burials, Wills and Saunders directly engaged Victorian notions of what historian Drew Foust referred to as "The Good Death." For antebellum Americans, death was a strict ritualized process that consisted of particular stages that allowed the dying and their families to transition from grief to acceptance. Anthropologically, these processes called deathways included the physical act of dying, corps preparation, funerals, mourning, and commemoration; each step necessary to constitute a good death in nineteenth century America. At the beginning of the Civil War, notions of a good

⁴³ Edward Everett and Abraham Lincoln, *Address of Hon. Edward Everett, at the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, 19th November, 1863 : With the Dedicatory Speech of President Lincoln, and the Other Exercises of the Occasion* (Boston : Little, Brown and Co., 1864), <http://archive.org/details/addressofhone3521ever>.

death included a comfortable conclusion surrounded by friends and family, followed by various ceremonies that eased the evolution of grief for those familiar with the deceased. When war swept across the nation, ideas of comfortable and peaceful death were replaced by the harshness of the battlefield and shallow graves. Thus, when Wills and Saunders engaged the creation of a soldier's national cemetery, their efforts worked to right the narratives of men denied culturally accepted deathways and give further meaning to the battle in American history.⁴⁴

Grouped by state and identified by identical stone markers each burial in the Cemetery was arranged in a semi-circle around a grand monument. With officers and their men buried side-by-side, Saunders hoped to communicate equality through the cemeteries simplistic design. For months countless individuals toiled to plan and create Gettysburg's Soldiers National Cemetery. The disinterment, identification, transportation, and re-interment of over 3,354 slain soldiers proved a monumental undertaking for a town crippled by the battle. Through a wretched landscape and soring temperatures the task was completed.⁴⁵

In another influential act of narrative shaping David Wills and the other planners contacted the respected orator Edward Everett about consecrating the ground in late October, however, Everett declared he needed additional time to develop an appropriate speech, thus the date November 19 was selected. Aside from Edward Everett, the Cemetery planners also extended an invitation to President Abraham Lincoln with the request that he deliver a few appropriate remarks. When dedication day

⁴⁴ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (Vintage Books, 2009), 144; Erik R. Seeman, *Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800* (Philadelphia, UNITED STATES: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1.

⁴⁵ Gregory Coco, *A Strange and Blighted Land: Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1995), 122.

came, Gettysburg again descended into a throng of chaotic excitement as nearly 10,000 spectators arrived for the ceremonies. Inspired by narrations of heroic sacrifice and romantic glory on the fields of battle, spectators thronged to hear Everett and the President speak. For over two hours on the afternoon of November 19th, a captivated audience listened to Everett's grand oration describing the source of the war, the summer campaign, and the battle itself. Within his comprehensive narrative Everett continuously related the battle to the greatest military contests of history, including Thermopile and Waterloo. In a thundering conclusion Everett proclaimed the veterans "I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country there will be no brighter page than that which relates THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG."⁴⁶

Following Everett's lengthy lecture, Abraham Lincoln rose to deliver a two minute and thirty second speech that stunned the nation. In roughly 272 words, Lincoln addressed the meaning of the war and the significance of Gettysburg in world history. According to historian Garry Wills, Lincoln "revolutionized the revolution" and "changed the future identity" of Americans when he address the national legacy of the war and the development of "a new birth of freedom." When he concluded, the egger audience stood silent atop cemetery hill, unsure if the President's short and poignant speech was finished. Before long however, a roar of applause cut the tension. Although the initial reactions to Lincoln's words perplexed his audience, its narrative demanded attention

⁴⁶ Everett and Lincoln, *Address of Hon. Edward Everett, at the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, 19th November, 1863*, 82.

and again tied the Battle of Gettysburg to the national identity of the country and the war. For historian Gabor Boritt, Lincoln's speech and the dedication of the Soldiers National Cemetery spawned a "Gospel" that determined "something all-important had taken place at Gettysburg." As a result, Boritt argues Lincoln's address and the dedication of the cemetery substantially shaped American memory about the battle.⁴⁷

Within a year, published copies of the consecration day ceremonies captured the narrative of national importance dedicated on November 19th and demonstrated the power that Gettysburg's locals like David Wills held in crafting the horrid aftermath of the battle into a meaningful narrative of national strength and unity. Although Wills influence on the narrative did not come through grand orations, Wills visionary foresight and organizational skills coordinated one of the largest narrative building events in the aftermath of the battle. As the spectators dwindled away from the Cemetery ground that November afternoon the written narrative published in 1864 remembered fifty "scarred veterans" of the battle who attended the ceremonies and "dropped the tear of sorrow on the last resting-place of those companions by whose sides they so nobly fought, and lingering over their graves after the crowd had dispersed, slowly went away, strengthened in their faith in a nation's gratitude."⁴⁸

A Physical Boundary For The Narrative

In the critical era of narrative development that occurred during the period immediately following the battle, the creation of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial

⁴⁷ G. S. Boritt *The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech That Nobody Knows* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 129.

⁴⁸ Everett and Lincoln, *Address of Hon. Edward Everett, at the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, 19th November, 1863*, 13.

Association remains the most significant contribution to national narrative construction by local citizens. Frustrated from his failed attempt to create a national cemetery, David McConaughy turned his attention to the battlefield itself. In August of 1863 McConaughy declared to local community leaders, “Immediately after the Battle of Gettysburg, the thought occurred to me that there could be no more fitting and expressive memorial of the heroic valor and signal triumphs of our Army on the 1st, 2d, and 3d days of July 1863, than the Battle-field itself...” For McConaughy, the preservation of the field “in the exact form & condition” it presented during the battle represented an opportunity for the placement of “memorial structures as might be erected thereon.”⁴⁹ Acting at once, McConaughy had “commenced negotiations” and secured the purchase of East Cemetery Hill, the “granite spur” of Little Round Top, and “the timber Breastworks on the right” at Culp’s Hill. In his master plan, McConaughy proposed a committee be formed of “the patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania” united “in the tenure of the sacred grounds of this Battle Field.”⁵⁰

In response to McConaughy’s public proposal, twenty-one prominent locals including Professor Michael Jacobs, and Gettysburg College founder Samuel Schmucker responded to the “happy and patriotic conception to commemorate the heroic valor of our national forces...” With incredible zeal the men declared their dedication to preserving the battlefield and shaping a narrative that “these battle fields are adapted to perpetuate the great principles of human Liberty and just government in the minds of our descendants, and of all men who in all time shall visit them.” The carefully chosen words of the battlefield’s early preservation proponents demonstrated

⁴⁹ David McConaughy Letter To Hon. Jos R Ingersoll & Others, August 19, 1863, GNMP Files VII-29b.; Address Of The Gettysburg Battle-Memorial Association, April 29, 1866, GNMP Files VII-30.

⁵⁰ McConaughy to Hon. Jos R Ingersoll & Others, August 19, 1863, GNMP Files VII-29b

the clear intent that the creation of a physical commemorative space was instrumental to perpetuating national narratives of the battle's significance.⁵¹

By spring of 1864, the state of Pennsylvania granted charter to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, and the prospect of acquiring significant tracts of ground for commemoration gained national attention. Donations from across the Union arrived frequently, and prominent newspapers such as Harpers Weekly reported on the progress. During the early stages of planning, David McConaughy acted as the secretary of the newly formed Battlefield Memorial Association, however his fiery temperament often caused friction amongst his supporters and detractors alike.

At times McConaughy devoted energy to various tasks such as a proper survey of the battlefield, and wooing donors by gifting wooden canes made from trees cut near General Meade's Headquarters on the battlefield.⁵² As historian Teresa Barnett explains in her work, *Sacred Relics* "Civil War relics engaged their users at the most intimate emotional level while also binding them indissolubly into the fabric of the nation." Therefore, as a caretaker of the battlefield McConaughy exercised his authority to tangibly connect potential donors to the narrative of the nation. By selecting trees near the headquarters of General Meade, McConaughy tied the relics and their recipients to the highest echelons of the Federal Army and the epitome of national narratives during the war.⁵³

⁵¹ Adams Sentinel, August 18, 1863, GNMP Files VII-29b #901.; Adams Sentinel, September 15, 1863, GNMP Files VII-29b #901.

⁵² Adams Sentinel, May 17, 1864.; Letter from David McConaughy to Henry Baird, May 3, 1864, GNMP Files VII-29b.

⁵³ Teresa Barnett, *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 80.

Within years, the GNMA came to control significant sections of the Gettysburg battlefield, however, this control also encountered resistance from the local community. In Gettysburg the implications of battlefield commemoration were contested when clashing political ideologies disputed the meaning of the battle and the war. In particular, local newspapers utilized battlefield commemoration and preservation as political weapons between town Republicans and Democrats. In particular, the town's Democratic Newspaper the *Compiler*, criticized commemorative events and ideologies. Edited by local H. J. Stahle, the *Compiler* frequently took issue with suggestions (by local Republicans) that the war and its meaning perpetuated patriotism and advanced the rights of African Americans. After the war, the *Compiler* became an outspoken critic and at one point denounced the involvement of African Americans in commemorative events as the ceremonies were meant to acknowledge "bravery of white men alone."⁵⁴ Often Stahle's comments attacked Republican supported efforts to commemorate the battle; including personal attacks against David McConaughy. Inspired by ill feelings fostered during the war, Stahle seized an opportunity in 1865 to attack the Memorial Association when McConaughy decided to run for State Senator.⁵⁵ In a scathing article, the *Compiler* sarcastically proclaimed, "Those who think that an appropriation of thousands of dollars should be made out to the State Treasury for McConaughy's 'Memorial Association' to the exclusion of the hundreds of people who were plundered or burnt out, during the battle here, should vote McConaughy." Although Stahle's comments originated from his personal animosity of McConaughy, the attack on the memorial association and Republican-backed commemorations demonstrated a clear

⁵⁴ "Dedication of the Monument," *The Gettysburg Compiler*, 9 July 1869.

⁵⁵ Marcella Sherfy, *A Study Of Local Newspaper Handling Of The Battle Of Gettysburg* January, 1969 GNMP Library, 4-5.

division of opinion in the community. Unlike Republican newspapers that elevated commemorative efforts as a positive extension of local agency on history, the Compiler's comments situated Gettysburg's residents as victims of the war and McCaughy's schemes.

By debating aspects of the patriotic national narrative promulgated by supporters of battlefield commemoration, political groups gained leverage over local opinion of various topics from elections to African American civil rights.⁵⁶ When an African-American Sunday school was excluded from commemorative events at the Soldiers National Cemetery in 1869 the Compiler rejoiced that the attempt in promoting equality had been stopped as the meaning of the war resided simply in preserving the Union.⁵⁷ Later that same year, the Compiler again lashed out against preservation of the battlefield for tourism saying, "Gettysburg sufferers must suffer again." In response a Republican Newspaper, *The Star and Sentinel* published a pointed and bitter rebuttal stating, "We can understand why Copperheads should be unwilling to have the remembrance of this Battle-field preserved. It is a daily offense to them. It reminds them of a pro-slavery Democratic Rebellion defeated. It reminds them of a National Democratic Party betrayed, beaten, and disgraced. It is prophetic of the progressive growth of the course of Liberty here and everywhere."⁵⁸

Regardless of local efforts to undermine the preservation of the battlefield, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association remained steadfast in its efforts to shape the narrative of the battle through physical commemoration. By 1866 the Association

⁵⁶ "Democratic Opposition to the origins of the GBMA," *Compiler*, September 18, 1865, GNMP Files VII-30.

⁵⁷ Gettysburg Compiler, June 11, 1869, p 2.

⁵⁸ *Star And Sentinel*, May 7, 1869, 2.

was invested in purchasing significant tracts of land and erecting “a number of guide-boards, at important points, indicating the positions of various bodies of troops and the localities of interesting events...”⁵⁹ In the decade following the battle, the GBMA also engaged in land-management concepts like reminding visitors that “cutting bullets from the trees and otherwise defacing the timber and works is strictly prohibited.”⁶⁰ This policy was in strict contradiction with McConaughy’s action of cutting walking canes from the trees around Meade’s Headquarters a year prior. The policies developed in terms of land management demonstrated the comprehensive control exercised by the GBMA over sections of the battlefield and the narrative they wished to preserve.

A New Era of Narrative

Although some citizens pushed back against the preservation of the battlefield, the expansion of tour-able land allowed greater control over narrative creation and drove Gettysburg into a new era of local contribution. While an economic slump struck the GBMA in 1867, popular interest in the battle grew nationwide - including veterans intent on aiding the commemoration of the battle. As early as 1867, the first veteran-placed monuments appeared on the landscape and published literature about the battle reached national audiences.⁶¹ Because of popular interest, visitation to Gettysburg continuously increased, causing the industry of the town to evolve and meet the demands of visitors and curiosity seekers.

⁵⁹ “Address Of The Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association” April 24, 1866, GNMP Files VII-30

⁶⁰ Adams Sentinel & General Advertiser, March 1, 1864.

⁶¹ The survivors of the 1st Minnesota Volunteer Infantry dedicated a monument to their fallen comrades in the Soldiers National Cemetery, near the construction of the Soldiers National Monument. Another monument appeared at the Cemetery in 1872 depicting Major General John F. Reynolds.

In particular, the new era of narrative construction promulgated by local citizens came through battlefield guides. Although local citizens guiding visitors across the battlefield emerged as early as July 1863, the decades after the war saw a surge in the treatment of guiding as a professional business. With increasing visitation due to capitalistic ventures such as the Gettysburg Springs Hotel, demand for guides eventually constituted a substantial local business. One of the earliest professional guides at Gettysburg was 87th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Veteran William D. Holtzworth. Originally from Gettysburg, Holtzworth enlisted at the beginning of the war.

During his military career, Holtzworth survived numerous engagements and horrific wounds, however he was captured at the battle of Second Winchester in June 1863 and ironically did not participate in the Battle of Gettysburg. Although Holtzworth was a member of General Robert Milroy's disgraced command that met disaster and enabled the invasion of Pennsylvania, Holtzworth's prominence as a local veteran gave him credibility as a guide. In 1869, Holtzworth partnered with another local veteran and Andersonville survivor, William T. Zeigler, to establish a livery tour business named Zeigler & Holtzworth. For the remainder of the 19th century, Holtzworth developed an incredible knowledge of the fighting by discussing the battle with eyewitnesses and constructed a concise narrative that demanded the attention of anyone who visited. Throughout his career as a guide, Holtzworth led countless generals, politicians, veterans, and visitors around the battlefield and according to locals Holtzworth was an "honored and respected citizen known far and wide as 'The Battlefield Guide.'" ⁶²

⁶² "William D. Holtzworth: The Gallant Soldier Known The World Over As 'The Gettysburg Battlefield Guide,'" Circa 1895, Gettysburg. Gettysburg National Military Park, VII-34b-1.; "Interview with Mrs. Jacob rumer, daughter of the late William Holdsworth," June 17, 1953, Gettysburg national Military Park Files VII-34b-1.

Aside from William Holtzworth, countless other Battlefield guides established themselves across the town, causing a sizable shift in local industry for accommodating visitors. Stationed in various hotels, guides promoted their tours through callers at the local train station and through published guidebooks that each promised a “true” account of the battle. When business boomed during the later decades of the 19th century, guide produced narratives became sources of both fact and fiction as no limitations existed on who could lead guided tours around the battlefield.⁶³

Alongside the increase of battlefield guides, other visitor services appeared across Gettysburg. Between 1882 and 1884 rail lines connected sections of the battlefield to The Gettysburg Harrisburg Railroad, allowing increased visitor access to larger portions of the field without the need to purchase guides or livery services.⁶⁴ By 1885, numerous relic museums appeared around Adams County, however one of the largest collections was Gettysburg local John Rosensteel’s museum on the slopes of the famed battle area Little Round Top. While aiding burial details immediately following the battle, Rosensteel found the body of a deceased Confederate and a model 1855 Springfield rifle lying across his knees. At this point Rosensteel invested a particular interest in collecting the battle’s relics and by 1885, he constructed his first museum to accommodate the influx of tourism.⁶⁵ As a tangible connection to the battle, relic collections like Rosensteel’s demonstrated a particular ability to attract visitors and allow

⁶³ Luther W. (Luther William) Minnich, *Gettysburg: "What They Did Here ... " Historical Guide Book* ([Mount Holly Springs, Pa., Mount Holly Stationery and Printing Company], 1892), <http://archive.org/details/gettysburgwhatth02minn>; Jacob Hoke, *A Guide to the Battle-Field of Gettysburg* .. (Dayton, Ohio, W. J. Shuey, 1887), <http://archive.org/details/guidetobattlefie00hoke>; Joel Albertus [from old catalog Danner, *Danner's Pocket Guide Book of the Battle-Field of Gettysburg* ([Gettysburg, Pa., 1886), <http://archive.org/details/dannerspocketgui00dann>.

⁶⁴ Platt, 15.

⁶⁵ Kathleen Georg Harrison, “A Brief History Of Civil War Museums And Collections” (1986) Gettysburg National Military Park Files, V-14 #971, 12-14.

some to engage deeper meanings derived from the artifacts. As Teresa Bennett argues, it is clear that Civil War artifacts were vessels through which visitors engaged and “reframed the extreme violence” and meaning of the war on both personal and national scale.⁶⁶

During the period of increased visitation between 1865 and 1888, John C. Bachelder worked with veterans to develop another dimension of the battle narrative. Originally born in Gilmanton, New Hampshire on September 29, 1825 Bachelder held numerous titles throughout his life including “instructor of Military Tactics” at the Pennsylvania Military Institute, Artist, and “Government Historian Of The Battle Of Gettysburg.”⁶⁷ In 1862, Bachelder attached himself to the Army of the Potomac, and as he stated after the war hoped to “wait for the great battle which would naturally decide the contest; study its topography on the field and learn its details from the actors themselves, and eventually prepare its written and illustrated history.”⁶⁸ When the decisive battle never came, Bachelder removed himself from active campaigning, however, news of the Battle at Gettysburg spurred him to the field once again. Arriving just days after the fighting ended, Bachelder toured the battlefield taking extensive notes about the battle area to produce a comprehensive map of the fight that would define the physical events of the battle and pair them with a cohesive timeline. Once completed, Bachelder sent his map to various officers in the Army of the Potomac for verification and by the fall of 1863 the first isometric map was available for public consumption. During the following winter, Bachelder proceeded to interview the

⁶⁶ Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 87.

⁶⁷ Richard Sauer, “John B Bachelder: Government Historian Of The Battle Of Gettysburg” (GNMP Park Files, VII-34a-1), 1.

⁶⁸ John B Bachelder, *Descriptive Key To The Painting of the Repulse of Longstreet’s Assault at the Battle of Gettysburg* (Boston, MA: John Bachelder, 1870).

commanders of every regiment from the Army of the Potomac engaged at the Battle of Gettysburg; his master plan being the publication of a comprehensive history of the battle.⁶⁹

When the war ended, Bachelder's work compiling the history of the battle intensified and in 1870, Bachelder commissioned artist James Walker to produce a carefully constructed painting of the "Repulse of Longstreet's Assault at the Battle of Gettysburg." Utilizing the completed work as an educational tool, Bachelder took the painting on tour and charged up to \$100 for audiences to both see the painting and hear a lecture about the battle.⁷⁰ This tour allowed Bachelder to accumulate a national following and in 1873 he published a brief guide to the battlefield entitled, "Gettysburg What To See, And How To See It." In this guide booklet, Bachelder opened his narrative by declaring Gettysburg as a battle "equal in magnitude, in gallantry, and desperation of combatants... to any recorded in history." In roughly 123 pages, Bachelder offered information on specifics of the fight to what tourist should pack for exploring the field.⁷¹ Only nine-years following the battle, this guide propelled Bachelder's climb to fame and in 1874, he was contracted by the Federal Government to locate troop positions on survey maps of the battlefield. From this appointment Bachelder gained the title of official "Government Historian Of The Battle Of Gettysburg."⁷²

During the 1870's Bachelder naturally became acquainted with the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association and by the 1880s was elected to the board of directors.

⁶⁹ Platt, 6

⁷⁰ For Price comparison, \$100 in 1870 is equivalent to \$1830.71 in 2018 currency.

⁷¹ John B. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What to See, and How to See It. :Embodying Full Information for Visiting the Field ... with ... Isometrical Drawing of the ... Battle-Field Showing the Position of Every Regiment and Battery ... /*, 7th ed. (Boston :, [c1873]), 2, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015004227453>.

⁷² John Bachelder, *Gettysburg Publications*, 5-6, as quoted in Richard Sauers, "John B Bachelder: Government Historian Of The Battle Of Gettysburg" (GNMP Park Files, VII-34a-1), 1.

Fortunately, the citizens of Gettysburg received Bachelder well and at times his praises were found in both Republican and Democratic newspapers alike.⁷³ While serving the GBMA, Bachelder oversaw another significant change in power over the control of Gettysburg's national narrative. As visitation numbers increased through the efforts of the GBMA, Bachelder, and Battlefield Guides, the number of Veterans returning to Gettysburg also rose. Beginning in 1869, the GBMA hosted its first veteran's reunion on the battlefield. Overall the efforts of reuniting men from the Army of the Potomac were considered a "great success," however local newspapers reported the event a "miserable failure" in reuniting Confederate veterans. In particular, the *Gettysburg Star And Sentinel* recounted responses from ex-Confederates such as General Robert E Lee, who snubbed the Memorial Association by declaring "its objectives are not in good taste, and instead of erecting memorials on the battle field, it would be better to forget the past." According to locals, the only effect of "this attempt to mix oil and water" was the discouragement of more Union veterans attending. According to the *Star And Sentinel* the failure spoke against "making Gettysburg 'a mere strategic blackboard, upon which dry military demonstrations are to be chalked out,' instead of a perpetual memorial of the heroism of the Union army, the loyalty of the American people, and the discomfiture of Treason and Rebellion."⁷⁴

Regardless of their miniscule beginnings, veterans reunions increasingly grew in scale throughout the 1870's. In 1878, the Grand Army of The Republic hosted a major encampment on the battlefield. Pleased at the event turnout, GBMA director and GAR

⁷³ Examples of local praise for Bachelder's expertise can be found in "Dedication of the High Watermark" *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 7, 1892; "Excursion of Massachusetts Veterans" *Gettysburg Star And Sentinel* October, 13, 1885.

⁷⁴ "Military Re-Union" *Star And Sentinel*, August 27, 1869, 3.

member John M. Vanderslice then pressured the GAR to invest interest in taking control of the Memorial Association. As GAR involvement grew during the mid-1880's the GBMA also worked to encourage individual states to fund the placement of commemorative markers and monuments on the battlefield. In addition, the association exercised its powers over narrative creation and drafted regulations for the placement of monuments on the battlefield. During the 1880's the GBMA appointed John Bachelder as the Superintendent of Tablets and Legends, seeding additional narrative power into Bachelder's hands. After years of tirelessly working to establish a cohesive and comprehensive narrative from the physical placement of monuments on the battlefield, Bachelder retired in September 1887.

Although no longer a board member of the GBMA, Bachelder remained influential in the establishment of Gettysburg's physical narrative. In 1889, he engaged ideas revolving around marking Confederate positions on the battlefield. The addition of Confederate voices to the Gettysburg narrative underlined the transition of narrative power away from local control and into the hands of veterans and outsiders. During the decade following the Battle of Gettysburg, the proposition of including Confederate narratives met stiff resistance from the local population. When one visitor asked famed Gettysburg resident John Burns about the proper burial of Confederate dead in August 1865, Burns replied the haphazard rebel graves represented dead rebels "and nothing more..."⁷⁵ Despite local resistance to the inclusion of Confederate narratives, members of the GBMA and veterans organizations agreed that the rebel lines should be marked, however, one GAR post stipulated that the Government should do the work, as the Rebels "do not care for history when they erect their monuments it is to honor their dead

⁷⁵ John T. Trowbridge, "The Field of Gettysburg," *Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 16, (November 1865), 620.

and vaunt their rebellious acts.”⁷⁶ For soldiers and citizens whose lives were drastically changed by the invasion of Pennsylvania in 1863, the concept of granting space to the narratives of former traitors was a difficult thing to rationalize.

As the town of Gettysburg transitioned into an era of commemoration and tourism, the prevalence of veterans’ reunions on the battlefield emphasized a shift in narrative control. After two decades of consistent fluctuation between various local powers, outside influence particularly from veterans drove increased visitation. In 1888, nearly 30,000 veterans of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia converged in Gettysburg for the largest reunion to date. Although the presence of only 200 Confederate Veterans constituted the reunion as a “failure” to the *Star And Sentinel*, the scale of the historic event spoke otherwise.⁷⁷ For days, dignitaries, politicians, and visitors followed veterans across the field listening to narratives of the fight from those who participated. Veterans in attendance included famous generals and national heroes such as General Daniel Sickles who lost a leg commanding the Federal 3rd Corps on July 2, 1863. One contemporary photograph even captured Federal officers Dan Sickles and Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain standing next to Confederate Major General James Longstreet. Of the duties discharged by the aged Generals at the 1888 veterans reunion, attending monument dedications reigned supreme.⁷⁸

As memories faded during the final two decades of the 19th century a cultural phenomenon that historian Jay Winter called the “memory boom,” emerged. According to Winter, this period focused on memory as “ the key to the formation of identities, in

⁷⁶ “The Rebel Battle Line,” *Philadelphia Weekly Press*, July 24, 1889.

⁷⁷ “Reunion And Its Politics” *Star And Sentinel*, July 10, 1888, 1.

⁷⁸ Gettysburg National Military Park, “The Grand Reunion of 1888,” *The Blog of Gettysburg National Military Park* (blog), October 16, 2015, <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2015/10/16/the-grand-reunion-of-1888/>.

particular national identities...⁷⁹ In the United States, this boom of Civil War memory manifested through monumentation on battlefields like Gettysburg, and through written accounts of the action. In his work *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, And An American Shrine*, Historian Jim Weeks argues veterans worked to shape “the battlefield into a grand national parlor, or ‘memory palace,’ full of objects designed to recall the fighting.”⁸⁰ From a Memorial Association designed to preserve the battlefield and memorialize the participants, every aspect of the visitor experience at Gettysburg revolved around the conjuring of a window into the past. The 1888 Veterans reunion proved profound when for the first time in twenty-five years, veterans traversed the same ground they had struggled on in July 1863 reminiscing about the battle and their memories of it. As a result, by 1888 nearly 200 veteran placed monuments dotted the commemorative landscape.⁸¹

Of the profound changes Gettysburg underwent during the late 19th century, the most influential shift in narrative control came from the transition of battlefield land to the Federal Government. After struggling to gain funding and additional support during the 1880’s the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association came to a crossroads. Convinced that new leadership and additional cooperation from veterans organizations was needed to advance the organization in a new era of commemoration, by 1886 David McConaughy and other local members were voted off the board of directors.⁸² In 1894, the GBMA held nearly 500 acres of land and 17 miles of road, however

⁷⁹ J. M. Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 20.

⁸⁰ Weeks, *Gettysburg*, 101.

⁸¹ James P Weeks, “A Different View of Gettysburg: Play Memory and Race at the Civil War’s Greatest Shrine” *Civil War History*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (June, 2004), 175-191.

⁸² Platt, 7; See list of board members in “Battle-Field Memorial Association” *Star And Sentinel*, July 3, 1886, 3.

encroaching development threatened core areas of the battlefield. Unable to raise additional funds for the purchase of land the GBMA turned to the Federal Government. As a result, in 1895 the board of directors deemed the best interest of the battlefield lay in transferring the land to the Federal Government. Thus, in late 1895 the GBMA voted to disband their organization and transfer their holdings to the U.S. War Department.⁸³

The drastic shift in battlefield ownership at Gettysburg demonstrated a transfer of control over the physical narrative from the hands of locals into the nation. As Gettysburg National Military Park took shape, new federally funded projects drastically transformed the battlefield. Hundreds of new War Department markers were erected, miles of roadway established, and new grounds purchased. In very little time, the War Department overhauled the battle and took command of its physical narrative. As property of the War Department, the purpose of the battlefield also shifted towards utility for military training. Not only were visitors invited to tour the developing landscape but military personnel utilized the space to inform new generations of combatants.⁸⁴

Regardless of the transfer of control over the physical narrative, the commemorative era facilitated an upsurge of locally produced narratives for national audiences. Through the publication and distributed of written literature, memoirs, and books, citizens of Gettysburg invested effort in fighting for a place alongside veterans in national narratives of the battle. Unfortunately, these narratives often relegated the civilian experience into an auxiliary position to veteran's narratives. In 1887, Adams County local, Jacob Hoke published a substantial history titled *The Great Invasion Of 1863; Or General Lee in Pennsylvania*. Focused around Hoke's memories of the fateful

⁸³ Platt, 22.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*,

summer, his history also incorporated broader contextualization of historical events and the panic experienced by non-combatants. Although written as a comprehensive history of the battle Hoke's true narrative lay in the widespread impact of the campaign, not simply the fighting on July 1-3. Aside from Jacob Hoke, countless civilian narratives appeared in published media from books to newspaper. The memory boom of the late 19th and early 20th century included the citizens of Gettysburg as well.

In the period between 1880 and 1920, numerous women who survived the Battle of Gettysburg published personal narratives of their experiences. Of the most popular stories published one woman named Matilda (Pierce) Alleman, arose to national recognition for the account of her experience as a fifteen-year-old girl during the battle of Gettysburg. In her book *At Gettysburg: Or What A Girl Saw And Heard Of The Battle*, Tillie Pierce recalled the profound impact that Gettysburg had on the community. In her work, Pierce also pondered the national importance of the battle and the historical ramifications of her account along with the countless others produced by citizens of the town. "What has been done and is still doing on the battlefield of Gettysburg" she recalled, "shows how devoted is the heart of the American nation..."⁸⁵

During the new era of narrative contributions female narratives of the battle also corresponded with national discussions over the concepts of gender equality. For many of Gettysburg's women however, their narratives of the battle were rooted in the prevailing ideologies of patriotic women in 1863. For individuals such as Tillie Pierce, Sarah Broadhead, and others, the demonstration of patriotic duties as women during the Civil War were defined through their experiences in domestic context. Gender Historian Christina Ericson argues that these women broke the mold of the 1860's

⁸⁵ Alleman, *At Gettysburg*, 117.

female by taking their experiences from within their homes to the battlefield. In an era when feminine patriotism relegated women to auxiliary positions such as tending to wounded men, baking bread, and performing domestic tasks, the narratives of Gettysburg's women both supported and challenged the norm.⁸⁶ According to Ericson, war work "offered the opportunity to provide much-needed aid...to the armies as well as opening the possibility of demanding recognition for this vital role in the war effort."⁸⁷ Although the support services provided by women such as nursing proved invaluable in the aftermath of the battle they also challenged the role of women on a 19th century battlefield. According to gender historian Patricia West, in her work *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums*, the American Civil War offered women the opportunity to exit the "sacredness of 'women's sphere,'" and challenge their traditional place in American society.⁸⁸

By publishing narratives of their experiences on the battlefield, women not only demanded recognition for their actions but also situated themselves as contributors to the national narrative as patriotic women and citizens. In an era no longer gripped by the patriotic propaganda that elevated Gettysburg's original heroine, Jennie Wade, some women spoke out. Famously, Matilda Pierce made direct mention of Wade's apparent disloyalties when she informed Confederate soldiers that the Pierce's were abolitionist.⁸⁹ Another woman who challenged the domestication of battle narratives was Mrs. Elizabeth Thorn. Living in the gatehouse of the Evergreen Cemetery during July

⁸⁶ Tillie pierce recalled the jobs she assisted with included cooking and cleaning in the field hospital, Alleman, 58-61; Barrett King recalled angrily confronting Confederate Soldiers, Sarah Barrett King, "Battle Days in 1863," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 4, 1906, 3.

⁸⁷ Ericson, 91.

⁸⁸ West, *Domesticating History*, 33.

⁸⁹ Alleman, 26

1863, Elizabeth was between six and seven months pregnant when the fight ravaged her home. Emerging from her hiding space in the battle's aftermath, Elizabeth proceeded to bury 105 Union soldiers in the Evergreen Cemetery.⁹⁰ In 1938, Thorn recalled, "So you may know that it was only excitement that helped me to do all that work, with all that strength."⁹¹ Although, recognition of Gettysburg's women's efforts came nowhere near the scale of Jennie Wade or John Burns, the publication of their stories contributed value to national narratives of the battle's impact during the memory boom. In particular, women's narratives both reinforced and challenged collective memories of the battle. Often, the arc of women's narratives reinforced previous ideals that situated women within a domestic sphere, such as one encounter between Mrs. Garlach of Baltimore street and a Confederate sharpshooter who entered her home. When the rebel entered her house on July 2nd, Mrs. Garlach grabbed the man by the coat and hindered him from utilizing the space as a sharpshooter's nest. When her daughter Anna published an account of the experience nearly forty two years later, she challenged the centralized role of military combatants in driving the Gettysburg narrative and portrayed her mother as a strong feminine character who challenged both the rebel who entered her home and the contemporary narrative dominated by veterans of the battle.⁹²

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Thorn, "Mrs. Thorn's War Story" *Gettysburg Times*, July 2, 1938.; "Civilian And Women Participants In Battle (Gettysburg Compiler, February 28, 1899), 3; Anna Kitzmiller (Garlach), "MRS. Kitzmiller's Story: Battle Days Between Union And Confederate Lines" *Gettysburg Compiler*, August, 23, 1905, 2.

⁹¹ "Mrs. Thorn's War Story" *Gettysburg Times*, July 2, 1938.

⁹² Anna Kitzmiller, "Mrs. Kitmiller's Story: Battle Days Between Union And Confederate Lines, In the Garlach House at the Foot of Baltimore Hill at Point Called Sleepy Hollow" *Gettysburg Compiler*, August 23, 1905, 2.

Conclusion

By the first decades of the 20th century, the place of Gettysburg's citizens in nationally constructed narratives of the battle was a diminishing phenomenon. In an era of grand reunions, mass-produced regimental histories, and personal war memoirs, outsiders focused the narrative of the battle on actions at locations like Little Round Top, The Wheatfield, and Devils Den. As historian Margaret Creighton stated, the struggles of locals "throughout the summer of 1863 would eventually be forgotten in the annals of Gettysburg, as the public came to believe in the 'Battle' as a limited event featuring army combat."⁹³ To an extent the widespread veterans narratives that drew thousands of visitors to the battlefield also designated the physical boundaries of the Gettysburg story away from the streets of town. During the 1890's hundreds of monuments placed by veterans decorated the commemorative landscape but only one resided within the town of Gettysburg. That monument belonged to local militia soldiers from the 26th Emergency Regiment, designated for local men who were not engaged at Gettysburg during the battle July 1-3, 1863.⁹⁴

For the citizens of Adams County who struggled through the battle and its aftermath, the shift of public focus away from local narratives did not detract from feelings of inclusion in the distinctly American narrative. For many, the identity building aspect of inclusion in narratives of the battle remained incredibly important. As local Sallie Myers recalled, "While I would not care to live over that summer again... I would

⁹³ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 146.

⁹⁴ Cooper H. Wingert, *Emergency Men!: The 26th Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia and the Gettysburg Campaign* (Schroeder Publications, 2013).

not willingly erase the chapter from my life's experience."⁹⁵ Like the veterans who faced the perils of combat during the Civil War, the Battle of Gettysburg came to define the lives of those citizens who lived through it. Even during the final decades of their lives, civilians continued producing narratives for newspapers and bookshelves across the country. In 1910, one year before his death, Alburts McCreary produced a full account of his experiences as a young boy in the town of Gettysburg.⁹⁶

Although Gettysburg's citizens tirelessly worked to ensure the battle's story did not slip into oblivion, the central role of locals in early narrative creation shrank as Gettysburg developed into a key construct of American identity during the late 19th century. The process through which Gettysburg narratives passed became a microcosm of the ways Americans dealt with the trauma of the Civil War in total. Notions of the war's meaning developed into a key construct of American identity and inclusion became somewhat desirable. At some points individuals across the nation even fabricated their own experiences about the battle of Gettysburg.⁹⁷ During the early 20th century, Pennsylvania native Jennie S. Croll, claimed that she lived in Gettysburg during the battle. In surprising detail Croll remembered the terror of the fighting and the horror of its aftermath, however, later research rebuked Croll's account. Through census research and contextual examination the fabricated nature of her narrative emerged as evidence indicated Croll did not live in Gettysburg at the time of the battle. Instead she likely incorporated the narratives of other women into her own fictional telling of life in

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Salome Myers (Sallie Myers), "How A Gettysburg Schoolteacher Spent Her Vacation in 1863," *San Francisco Sunday Call*, August 16, 1903.

⁹⁶ McCreary Account, Vertical File 08-12, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, PA

⁹⁷ Lester Trauch, "How A 12-Year-Old Girl Saw Gettysburg" *Daily Intelligencer*, May 30, 1959.;

1863. Regardless, of its fictional roots the motive to write an account in such detail indicated the critical place that narrative inclusion held in American identity.⁹⁸

Although countless historians like Margaret Creighton identify the comparative lack of citizens in national narratives of the battle, the town remains as a space where the narrative evolution of the fight is easily identifiable. Presently the larger battlefield park overshadows the fighting in the streets and the stories of the citizens who struggled to survive, while the town itself remains a space forever changed by the development of Gettysburg's tourism industry by local contributors in the late nineteenth century. For visitors exploring the battlefield, little context is readily available concerning the struggles that Gettysburg's locals endured during and after the fight. Within the National Military Park farms are pristine and visible remnants of the battle are scarcely observable. As visitors wander the halls of the National Park museum little context aside from a small plaque is given that the majority of the Park Collection came from the personal pickings of Gettysburg local John Rosensteel. After constructing a small museum on Little Round Top in 1885, Rosensteel collected artifacts of the battle for decades before his family donated the massive collection to the Park Service. Within present day, Gettysburg countless buildings such as the Georgia McClellan House (Jennie Wade Death House), Shriver House, John Rupp House, and Tillie Pierce House remain as private museums, devoted to the narrative of Gettysburg's civilians. As national narratives of the battle continue to evolve in the 21st Century, one may only hope the stories of the citizens who lived through the traumatic events of 1863 remain a critical aspect.

⁹⁸ "Authorship of Jennie S. Croll's 'Days of Dread: A Woman's Story Of Her Life On A Battlefield'" *Adams County Historical Society Newsletter* Vol. 27, No 1. February 2000.

CHAPTER 2:

Emergency Militia And Negative Remembrance

In early June of 1863, the horrors of war plagued Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac River and headed north toward the commonwealth for an invasion. After stunning victories in the eastern theater, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia posed the greatest threat to the United States government. On the Northern home front, popular opinion of the war dwindled and critique of the governments conduct reached new heights. Thus when the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia departed their camps along the Rappahannock River, headed north toward Maryland and Pennsylvania the fate of the nation appeared to hang on a thread.⁹⁹ During the early stages of the invasion, Confederate forces moved swiftly, crushing Federal Army defenses in Winchester, Virginia, before moving into Maryland and Pennsylvania. Cautious after their defeat at Chancellorsville in May 1863, the Union Army of the Potomac responded to the invasion slowly.

With Federal forces still below the Mason-Dixon line and in no position to stop the rebel onslaught some northern citizens took matters into their own hands. Men of all ages from communities like Gettysburg rushed to enlist in the state militia. In early June Abraham Lincoln called for 100,000 northern volunteers to repel the rebel invasion. In accordance Pennsylvania called for an additional 60,000 men to compose additional Emergency regiments. In all, Pennsylvania's adjutant General claimed 31,422 men responded from various states across the north, however Governor Curtin's assessment

⁹⁹ Sears, *Gettysburg*, 59.

on June 29, 1863 provides a more realistic tally near 16,000 troops. Although the real number of militia responders fell far short of the 160,000 volunteers called for, those Emergency troops who did respond played an active role in the Gettysburg Campaign.¹⁰⁰

During the invasion crisis two departments of military control appear throughout Pennsylvania. The Department of the Allegheny's covered everything west of Juniata and the department of the Susquehanna covered everything to the east. Across the state, bands of concerned citizens prepared for the worst. In Pittsburgh militiamen entrenched for defense of the vital war industries located at the conjunction of the Monongahela, Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Some Pittsburgh firemen even went so far as to run their large fire engine into the rivers to stop their capture by Confederates if an invasion came.¹⁰¹ In Central Pennsylvania militia fortified the mountain passes leading toward the major railroad hub at Altoona, however their foraging actions produced more damage to local farms than any Confederate raiders.¹⁰²

To the east, the militia's fared no better than those near Pittsburgh. In Harrisburg, emergency militia gathered to procure weapons, entrench the city, and scout the confederate advance throughout the state. During the conflict the department of the Susquehanna saw constant engagement between militiamen and Confederate forces. On June 26, 1863, members of the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia skirmished with Confederates near Gettysburg Pennsylvania, and a few days later those same

¹⁰⁰ Sears, *Gettysburg*, 59-90.; *Annual Report of the Adutant General, Dec. 31, 1863*, 11-14; Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Vol. 27, pt. 3: 264, 407, 493.

¹⁰¹ Charles T. Dawson, *Our Firemen : The History of the Pittsburgh Fire Department, from the Village Period until the Present Time* (Pittsburgh, Pa. : [s.n.], 1889), 62, <http://archive.org/details/ourfiremenhistor00daws>.

¹⁰² Steve. Hollingshead, *From Winchester to Bloody Run : Border Raids and Skirmishes in Western Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg Campaign*, 2005, 56-81.

Confederates advanced upon the state capitol at Harrisburg. Fortunately the rebel marauders turned back after reaching the Susquehanna River where the Pennsylvania militia valiantly stood before burning a large covered bridge across the river, thus barring the rebels from advancing further.¹⁰³ Even while the battle of Gettysburg raged on July 1-3, militia soldiers and National Guard troops from New York battled Confederate cavalry near Carlisle, Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁴ When the rebel army vacated the North, some militiamen remained at Gettysburg to clean the field and bury the dead, while others joined the Union Army of the Potomac in pursuit of Lee's battered forces.¹⁰⁵

The actions of the militia during the summer of 1863 varied drastically from those in the antebellum era. Prior to the Civil War militias garnered reputations as organizations often focused on social climbing and debauchery more than legitimate military function. Now after two years of endless bloodshed the summer of 1863 saw militia's functioning with particular military utility; They entrenched cities, protected bridges, and scouted the rebel advance. Although ill prepared some militia even engaged portions of the Confederate army in combat, but to no avail. For some, the militia volunteers were heroes and the minutemen of the Gettysburg campaign, yet in the aftermath the emergency men gained reputations as "cowards." How could this be? Derogatory names such as "the chicken raiders", concocted by the very people they

¹⁰³ Scott L. Mingus, *Flames beyond Gettysburg: The Confederate Expedition to the Susquehanna River, June 1863*, 1st Savas Beatie ed. (New York: Savas Beatie, 2011), 239–81.

¹⁰⁴ Cooper H. Wingert, *Almost Harrisburg: The Confederate Attempt on Pennsylvania's Capital: Gettysburg Campaign, June & July 1863* (Cooper H. Wingert, 2012); Wingert, *Emergency Men!*, 164-94.

¹⁰⁵ George R. Frysinger, "Local Affairs," *The Gazette*, July 15, 1863 in Robert E. Nale, "The 36 Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia: July and August, 1863" 36th Pennsylvania Militia Regimental Files, GNMP.

strove to protect, attached to various regiments and accounts published after the war labeled the militiamen as a disgrace.¹⁰⁶

To the present day the legacy of the militia remains a contested subject obscured by the larger battle of Gettysburg and the passage of time. As days faded into years, visitors and veterans returned to the battlefield and joined local citizens to craft national narratives about what happened in the Pennsylvania countryside. Although, control of the battle narrative during the last decades of the 19th century was constantly in flux, those influenced by the event reshaped its memory and legacy through physical, written, and oral commemorations. During this period, Gettysburg's militiamen occupied a peculiar space between citizen survivors and veterans of the great battle.

Compared to the narrative treatment of other veterans on the Gettysburg battlefield militia soldiers met uncommon hostility after the war that demonstrated the malleable and hierarchical nature of remembrance between various groups of citizens in the town of Gettysburg and veterans of the campaign. While many community members participated in the 1863 militia their place in the historical narrative was often one of negativity and scorn. Examination of the 1863 militia raises peculiar questions about the process of crafting historical remembrance. Although remembrance activities based upon shared veteran traits established a cohesive Gettysburg narrative, militia soldiers experienced chastisement and dismissal due to continuing critique of their actions. The militiamen faced an uphill struggle after the Civil War as the rapid transition of militia

¹⁰⁶ Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863; or, General Lee in Pennsylvania. Embracing an Account of the Strength and Organization of the Armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia; Their Daily Marches with the Routes of Travel, and General Orders Issued; the Three Days of Battle; the Retreat of the Confederate and Pursuit by the Federals; Analytical Index ... with an Appendix Containing an Account of the Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a Statement of the General Sickles Controversy, and Other Valuable Historic Papers.* (Dayton, O.,: W.J. Shuey, 1887), 609.

culture during the 19th century placed the 1863 militia in a peculiar situation between cultural perceptions of ineffective soldiers, sharp critiques of masculinity, and declarations of disloyalty during the Gettysburg campaign. This chapter will thus examine the complex combinations of changing perceptions and contemporary critiques to explain the contested place of militia in Gettysburg's historical remembrance. When examined in depth, the influence of critique on the developing militia narrative answers why their remembrance in the Gettysburg campaign was less than favorable and how their narrative fit into the broader development of national narratives about the battle itself.

For more than two centuries militia organizations in the United States have acted as controversial and transformational bodies in American society. Ideologically formed for purposes ranging from communal defense, enforcing racial hierarchies, and promoting social esteem, American militia have served in numerous capacities. According to historian George Fielding Eliot, militias are “distinctively American” organizations, which the United States historically “depended [upon] for survival...”¹⁰⁷ Typically identified as citizens turned soldiers, consensus on the terminology of militiamen remains contested. In 1964 National Guard Historian Jim Dan Hill claimed, “No noun in the military lexicon has been more frequently abused and more thoroughly misunderstood.”¹⁰⁸ With variants between militiaman, minutemen, citizen soldiers, volunteers, reserves, National Guard and many others, confusion is ultimately understandable.¹⁰⁹ For the purposes of this thesis the emergency volunteers who

¹⁰⁷ Jim Dan Hill and George Fielding Eliot, *The Minute Man in Peace and War; a History of the National Guard*, [1st ed.]. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1964), xi.

¹⁰⁸ Hill and Eliot, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Hill and Eliot, 2.

enlisted in the summer of 1863 will be referred to by the names bestowed upon them at the time of the conflict; In Pennsylvania, "Emergency Volunteer Militia;" and in New York "National Guard."

Although the terminology used to define American militia is a complex system with variants between eras and geographical locations, historians have pursued examinations of militia in depth. Focusing mostly on the evolution of volunteer soldiers historians such as Jim Dan Hill, Jerry Cooper, and John K. Mahon have examined the transitions of American militia from their conception in the early colonial period through the national guards of today. In their respective works, these historians have laid groundwork for identifying the transformations of militia organizations and how they impacted the conflicts they engaged in. According to Michael D. Doubler in his work *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War: The Army National Guard 1636-2000*, American "citizen-soldiers... have played a vital role in vanquishing imperialism, fascism, and communism." In each era, American militias have adapted to address various issues threatening civil order.

During the Gettysburg campaign militias met the arising emergency and effectively manage some defense of the state. From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, emergency volunteers entrenched cities and prepared for the worst, while along the banks of the Susquehanna River militia stood face to face with veteran regiments from the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. After the conflict, northern militia's both protected civil rights for freed slaves and crushed workers unions in rapidly

industrializing regions. Depending on the era the scale, scope, and purpose of American militia has varied drastically.¹¹⁰

Although trends of analysis have focused on the martial aspects of militia organizations, some historical works have engaged the social and political aspects of the organizations. John Shy's *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* was one of the first works to examine the contributions of the militia in society.¹¹¹ Although primarily focused on militia during active campaigns, Shy acknowledged the social dimension of the militia organizations. Most importantly, Shy's argument broke new ground that encouraged other historians to examine how militia organizations reinforced social hierarchy by promoting patriotism and offering a means of social and political advancement. Alongside Shy in 1976, historian Robert Gross, also examined the role of militia through the lens of social history. In his work *Minutemen And Their World*, Gross examined the lives of everyday citizens who constituted the militia at the battles of Lexington and Concord.¹¹² Importantly, Gross drew on the social and economic situations that compelled citizens to join the militia and take up arms against the British. Decades before Shy and Gross however, John Hope Franklin contributed to militia historiography and its lasting legacy in Antebellum America in his work, *The Militant South*.¹¹³ Focused on the militant nature of antebellum southern culture, Franklin's work echoed through historiography and its influence is now seen in works such as Harry S. Laver's *Citizens More Than Soldiers*. In

¹¹⁰ Michael D. Doubler, *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War: The Army National Guard, 1636-2000*, Pbk. ed., Modern War Studies; Modern War Studies. (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2003), xvi.

¹¹¹ John W. Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹¹² Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World*, 1st ed., American Century Series; American Century Series. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).

¹¹³ John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861*, 1st Illinois pbk. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

his work Laver examines antebellum conceptions of militia and their influence on American culture. Focusing on Kentucky militia as a microcosm of American antebellum citizen-soldiers, Laver places great emphasis on three facets of militia service during the pre-war period; community, politics, and masculinity. By examining these non-battlefield realms of militia service Laver demonstrates a broader relationship between militia and American culture and shows the mutual influence of both social organizations during the first half of the 19th century.¹¹⁴

Although literature about American militia from the 18th Century to present is widespread, specialized historiography of militia during the Gettysburg campaign is scarce. With primary focus placed on the battle of Gettysburg, few works have deciphered the actions of militia soldiers across the state of Pennsylvania during the summer of 1863. Of note early histories of the campaign produced by those who lived through the events were less than favorable toward militiamen. In particular, Jacob Hoke's *The Great Invasion* offered a critical examination of the campaign by one civilian survivor.¹¹⁵ Since Hoke's work published in 1887 historians such as Scott Mingus have also examined various aspects of the Gettysburg campaign. In his work *Flames Beyond Gettysburg*, Mingus tells the narrative of the Confederate advance toward Harrisburg during late June of 1863. As far as the particulars of militia actions are concerned, Steve Hollingshead's *From Winchester To Bloody Run: Border Raids and Skirmishes In*

¹¹⁴ Harry S. Laver, *Citizens More than Soldiers: The Kentucky Militia and Society in the Early Republic*, Studies in War, Society, and the Military; Studies in War, Society, and the Military. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 3.

¹¹⁵ Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*.

Western Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg Campaign, offers a contemporary examination of militia.¹¹⁶

Of the recent works examining militia during the Gettysburg campaign none have been so thorough and influential as Cooper Wingert's *Almost Harrisburg*, and *Emergency Men! The 26th Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia And The Gettysburg Campaign*. Focusing primarily on the actions of militia soldiers in the vicinity of Gettysburg during the campaign, Wingert's two books delve into the chaos that unfolded in southeastern Pennsylvania during the invasion emergency. Although focused heavily on the military aspects of the militia, Wingert's work brings into question the social and political influences of militias raised during the period. His works also act as a primer for examining the evolution of Gettysburg militia in remembrance after the war.¹¹⁷

The activity of Emergency Volunteers during the Gettysburg campaign constituted a substantial portion of the campaign's history, yet narratives of the war held the militia in a contested space. Caught between declarations of courageousness and accusations of disloyalty, militiamen struggled to defend their actions after the summer of 1863. Although a cohesive Gettysburg narrative based upon shared veteran traits appeared after the war, militia soldiers were diminished in remembrance. Historians such as William Blair have argued the poor reception of militia by citizens in 1863 resulted from contemporary social and political troubles raging through war-weary Pennsylvania. In his 1991 work it is clear Emergency militias became easy scapegoats for Northerners dissatisfied with the management of the war, however, Blair's article fails to examine those critiques one-step farther. Although the militiamen faced constant

¹¹⁶ Mingus, *Flames beyond Gettysburg*; Hollingshead, *From Winchester to Bloody Run*.

¹¹⁷ Wingert, *Almost Harrisburg*; Wingert, *Emergency Men!*

criticism at the time of the Gettysburg campaign, those harsh accusations morphed into negative remembrance narratives after the Civil War.¹¹⁸

In particular, three aspects of contemporary critiques fueled postwar remembrance. First, cultural perceptions about the function of militia in the antebellum era and afterward differed greatly from the utility of those militias called upon in 1863. Often characterized before the war as buffoons' more than functioning military entities, militia soldiers garnered particular negative reputations as ineffective recruits. Unfortunately, those preconceptions spurred by additional narratives of militias of 1862 infected opinions about emergency troops called upon during the Gettysburg campaign. Second, contemporary critiques of militia masculinity impacted remembrance narratives established after the war and distanced the militia veterans from others. Third, contemporary accusations of disloyalty resulted in contested remembrance of militia soldiers between patriotic citizens and disloyal shirkers who avoided the war until necessity called.

Perceived Inability of The Militia

One source of contested remembrance after the war likely came from negative cultural perceptions that mirrored depictions of antebellum militias as ineffective volunteers. Militia historian Harry S. Laver concluded in his work *Citizens More Than Soldiers* that antebellum militia often succumbed to stereotypes that portrayed them as “drunken buffoons” “Incompetent at best, [and] dangerous at worst.”¹¹⁹ In the antebellum era, participation in militia organizations often signified aspirations for social

¹¹⁸ William Alan Blair, “A Source of Amusement:” Pennsylvania versus Lee, 1863,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115, no. 3 (July 1, 1991): 319–38.

¹¹⁹ Laver, *Citizens More than Soldiers*, 2.

climbing and political activism. By 1853, two-thirds of New York City's standing militia were foreign born recruits causing rival militia companies to form between nativist and immigrants that mirrored political turmoil in the city. Across the nation pre-civil war militia's conducted political rallies and performed crowd-awing drills, however critique arose over the ability for those militia soldiers to defend citizens at the beginning of the Civil War.¹²⁰ To contextually understand how militia narratives fit into post-war remembrance of Gettysburg it is critical to examine the ill feelings that permeated contemporary perceptions of the militia before, during, and after the campaign.

Even before the summer of 1863 doubts about the ability of Pennsylvania militia to perform their duty existed. During the previous summer of 1862, the state militia called out during the Antietam campaign proved to be ineffective and useless against the rebel invasion that never touched Pennsylvania soil. Even some of the emergency volunteers who did march south in 1862 demonstrated the apparent inability of militia to function on campaign. On September 20, 1862 Pvt. Louis Richards, a Pennsylvania militiaman recorded in his diary, that upon hearing gunfire to their front, "twenty-three men of our company left their guns in the road and went to the rear, & we were amazed to notice that nearly all of their number were the stoutest & most able bodied men in the company." When pressed about his actions, one of the volunteers rebutted, "Gentlemen, you may call me a coward or not, but I must leave you, I have a wife & six children at home & my obligations to them are such that I cannot imperil my life upon

¹²⁰ Laver, 1–8; Doubler, *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War*, 90–111.

such short notice.” Although a sizable portion of the company remained ready for action, the militiamen never saw battle, returning to Greencastle, Pennsylvania undecorated.¹²¹

When the call for volunteers spread across Pennsylvania in early June 1863, criticism of militia effectiveness plagued the organizations from the start. At one point Sarah Broadhead in Gettysburg lamented, “this morning early a dispatch [sic] was received that a regiment of infantry was coming from Harrisburg. We do not feel much safer, for they are only raw militia.”¹²² Although caught in the crisis of invasion and unknowing that many volunteer militia were recently discharged soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, Broadhead’s analysis proved to be a popular sentiment that haunted the militiamen for the rest of their lives. Disheartened by two summers of brutal combat and catastrophic battlefield losses, northern support for the war plummeted during the early summer of 1863. Volunteers straggled when Pennsylvania’s Governor Curtin called for emergency troops, followed by Lincoln and Stanton’s unpopular declaration that the militia should enlist for six-month service. In Harrisburg, Curtin scrambled to produce enough emergency volunteers to quell the rebel threat stating, “Our Capitol is threatened, and we may be disgraced by its fall, while men who could be driving these outlaws from our soil are quarreling about the possible term of service for six months.”¹²³

Across the state faith in the militia to protect the commonwealth dwindled. Unfortunately, for Governor Curtin citizens not only resisted enlistment but also actively discouraged others to volunteer. As one company of militia from Bellfonte, Pennsylvania

¹²¹ Louis Richards, “Diary of the Militia Companies of 1862 and 1863” September 20, 1862. Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, Pennsylvania

¹²² Sarah Broadhead, “Diary,” July 24, 1863, Gettysburg National Military Park.

¹²³ Order Printed in Harrisburg *Evening Telegraph*, June 17, 1863.

reached the city of Altoona, the militiamen recalled, being greeted by hopeful cheers of some civilians but by “sullen looks and words of discouragement” by others.¹²⁴ In all the call for volunteers in Pennsylvania met a cold reception, especially by the northern press that tarried on popular beliefs that the Federal Government mismanaged the war. In Curtin’s hometown of Bellefonte, a local newspaper hypothesized that Abraham Lincoln only wanted Pennsylvania militia in Washington to “Protect his cowardly carcass” while Curtin hoped to “lick the dust from the feet of the imbecile at Washington.”¹²⁵ With Confederate forces tromping across southern Pennsylvania, the lackluster support of militia defenses underscored broader socio-political problems brewing over management of the war and the perceived ability of the state to protect its citizens through untrained militia’s. Another newspaper questioned “why this danger should exist with nearly, if not quite, 200,000 troops in Washington and within forty or fifty miles of it, we are at a loss to conceive, unless the authorities consider it a military necessity to permit it.”¹²⁶ Of the 160,000 Volunteers called for, estimates of troop strengths commanded by Curtin and General Darius Couch on June 29, 1863 remained near 16,000; of which a large number were New York National Guard mobilized for the invasion.¹²⁷

Far removed from the organizations that preceded the Civil War the summer of 1863 saw militiamen acting not as antebellum socialites or political hucksters but as auxiliary support for an expanding warfront. During the summer of 63’, militia soldiers did much more than raid chicken coops In Gettysburg at the conclusion of the incredible

¹²⁴ Bellefonte *Central Press*, July 3, 1863.

¹²⁵ Bellefonte *Democrat Watchman*, June 26, 1863.

¹²⁶ Blair, 324

¹²⁷ Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, 27, pt, 3:495-496.

battle, militiamen occupied the town tasked with cleaning the mess left behind. For months militia soldiers labored to clear dangerous weapons and armaments from the field, repair the landscape, and bury thousands of rotting corpses. Although, not engaged in the battle of Gettysburg itself, the militiamen contributed critical services to the campaign. At one point, the *Adams Sentinel*, a local newspaper, offered rare praise for the militia's services, however the glory of their service soon dissolved into the myriad of political and cultural turmoil that impacted the nation after the Civil War. Unfortunately for the volunteers who did answer enlistment calls, the poor treatment received by their fellow northerners continued long after the campaign ended.¹²⁸

The rapid reorganization of United States militia culture following the Civil War likely contributed further to the dismissal of militiamen in Civil War remembrance. In the aftermath of the War, militia culture in the United States again adapted to peacetime through the construction of National Guard units across the country. During the gilded age, militia and National Guard soldiers became the physical embodiment of industrial and government corruption as National Guardsmen frequently broke labor strikes and civil unrest. In New York City, National Guard troops constructed elitist armories that projected sharp social division and included tower parapets with defensive walls "pierced with loop-holes for muskets."¹²⁹ According to historian Sven Beckert, the industrial era, which followed the Civil War showed that "the National Guard was an institution of the state" and its frequent use of "military force against striking workers" pointed to massive class divisions.

¹²⁸ Thank you to Col. Alleman commanding the 26 Regt. P. M. from Gettysburg citizens in *Adams Sentinel*, Aug. 25, 1863. In 26th PA Militia File, GNMP.

¹²⁹ Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 294.

Associated with incompetency before the Civil War, and corrupt social division afterward, perceptions of militia soldiers during the Gettysburg campaign likely fell victim to popular sentiments during the era of remembrance. When writers such as Jacob Hoke produced extensive histories of the Gettysburg campaign during the last decades of the 19th century, militia organizations were widely unpopular across the United States. As a result, derogatory names for the 1863 militias followed some veterans literally to their graves. In 1918 a list of forty-six veterans who had “answered ‘taps’ and now sleep in peace beneath the sod...” in Tyrone, Pennsylvania included one “Joseph L. Shannon, Chicken Raider.” In 1946, eighty-three years removed from the invasion an article appeared in a Pennsylvania newspaper offering a defense of militia soldiers from the Gettysburg campaign. Entitled, “Story of “Chicken Raiders” Shows Them in True Stature,” the narrative examined militia soldiers who volunteered during the great invasion of 1863 but had subsequently been deemed the “Chicken Raiders” by local citizens. In the article a local historian described the humorous manner by which the militiamen received their nickname from raiding chicken houses for food and strewing feathers all about the roads as they marched. Although passed through oral tradition as opposed to written narrative, the comical designation remained potent eighty years later. As a result, the local historian begged citizens to renounce the “ridiculous name ‘Chicken Raiders’” as the militia were instead “The Minute Men of The Civil War” and were “comparable to the minute men of the Revolutionary war.”¹³⁰ Although a small point in United States militia history, this article demanded respect for the militia soldiers who did serve the state. Regardless of unpopular public conceptions of militia, those

¹³⁰ “Story of ‘Chicken Raiders’ Shows Them In True Stature, in Altoona Mirror,” November 27, 1946, <https://newspaperarchive.com/altoona-mirror-nov-27-1946-p-12/>.

sentiments were far from the only factors that shaped remembrance narratives of the Gettysburg campaign

The Masculinity of Militia Soldiers in Question

While service in the Civil War was a focal point of masculinity for veterans, militia veterans in particular struggled to defend the masculine nature of their contributions. Often defined by concepts of honor and courage, soldiers continued the fraternal bonds of military brotherhood even when the war ceased. According to militia historian Harry S. Laver, conceptions of courage stemmed from aspects of martial masculine identity.¹³¹ Following the war many veterans' organizations set about recording histories of their respective regiments and in Gettysburg the creation of a military park enabled veterans to express masculinity through monuments and memorials. According to historian Lorien Foote those histories and monuments "served to record and publicize the reputation a regiment earned and to commemorate the honor its men established during battle."¹³² In one sense, having a battlefield park at Gettysburg was like having a home where those veterans from the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia could co-commemorate the masculine traits of their service.¹³³

Unfortunately, for militia soldiers the exhibition of masculinity related to their service was contested. In his popular history of the Gettysburg campaign, eyewitness Jacob Hoke wrote in 1887 that the militiamen were "cowardly" and their services in the campaign often resulted in "panic and disgraceful flight." In one anecdote Hoke wrote of

¹³¹ Laver, *Citizens More than Soldiers*, 106.

¹³² Lorien Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Manhood, Honor, and Violence in the Union Army* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10437859>.

¹³³ Weeks, "A Different View of Gettysburg," 2004.

a small skirmish where the militia, "took a sudden notion that they had business at home, and the whole command took to their heels and ingloriously fled."¹³⁴ Stereotyped as ineffective soldiers and cowardly men, negative narratives of the militiamen continued during the later half of the 19th century.

While Hoke's writing about the militia came some twenty-four years after the war, they were not the first source of ill feeling toward those minutemen. Hoke's humorous anecdotes echoed sentiments of non-masculine volunteers similar to the descriptions offered by contemporary citizens such as Sarah Broadhead when she described the "raw militiamen" who she doubted could defend the town of Gettysburg. Unfortunately for Sarah and her neighbors, their premonition of the militia's inability to stop the Confederate advance rang true. On June 26, 1863, troops from the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia clashed with Confederate forces West and North of Gettysburg before a large number were captured and disgracefully paraded through the town square by Confederate officers. The same militia soldiers who later lobbied for the creation of a monument to this action on the Gettysburg battlefield became a fitting example of the militia's ineffectiveness to protect local citizens.

The disgraceful scene was only exasperated when Confederate General Jubal Early locked the militiamen in their own courthouse and lectured the "boys" on the dangers of being out in the field. In the moment of his mocking speech to the captured soldiers, Jubal Early both disgraced the men and emasculated them. The effect of this speech was twofold; First, Early discouraged further attempts by the militia to impede Confederate progress through Pennsylvania. Second he publically diminished the quality of the men as soldiers in the eyes of a civilian population that already put little faith in

¹³⁴ Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*, 202, 609.

the militia's ability. While inconsequential to the campaign outcome, Early's speech left a lasting impact on the historical memory of the militia furthermore. By challenging the militia's masculinity before their civilian peers Early fostered perceptions of an ineffective and un-heroic militia that remained in remembrance. Interestingly numerous renditions of the speech appeared over time, each with varying degrees of emasculating language. In some accounts Early merely told the "boys" they "ought not to be out here in the field where it is dangerous and [they] might get hurt," however, others recalled the speech as filled with incredibly emasculating statements such as, "Hi, you little boys must have slipped out of your mothers' band-boxes, you look so nice. Now be off home to your mothers. If I catch you again I'll spank you all."¹³⁵ Although the exact phrasing used by Early is debatable the variety of emasculating versions in remembrance demonstrates the sentiments of others toward the militiamen. To many, the emergency militiamen did not demonstrate the required qualities of masculine soldiers.

For veterans of the 26th Emergency Militia, the contest over the memory of their actions extended to a defense of their manhood. According to Lorien Foote, northern society in the 19th century emphasized the connections between manhood and service to the nation. Thus, Northerners "linked [the nation's] success to the virtues of its male citizens... a virtuous man set aside his selfish interest to pursue a common good."¹³⁶ To the militia soldiers of 1863 this concept of virtuous manhood described exactly their service, yet the memory of their actions received constant criticism. Even into his later years, Jubal Early continued shaming the emergency men. In his past-war memoir Early recalled the militia "seemed to belong to that class of men who regard 'discretion as the

¹³⁵ Wilbur S. Nye, "The First Battle of Gettysburg," *Civil War Times, Illustrated*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (1965), 16.; William Alonzo Scott, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, Pa.: s. n., 1905)

¹³⁶ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 174.

better part of valor.”¹³⁷ Thus committing the shortcomings of the militia further into historical narratives about the battle of Gettysburg.

The Loyalty of Pennsylvania and its Militia Soldiers

Of the critiques that plagued militiamen during and after the war, none struck as deep a nerve as accusations of disloyalty. Although historiographical analysis of Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg campaign often focuses on explanations of lackluster defense, underlying sentiments of disloyalty drove the creation of contemporary and post war critiques. In his article, William Blair established that ineffective government management, and fiery newspaper accusations “created suspicions that increased the governor’s problems with organizing a defense.”¹³⁸ Hindered by a myriad of political and social challenges on the Pennsylvania home front including war weariness, draft resistance, and economic fatigue meant calls for militia volunteers met skeptical resistance across the north. While the contemporary treatment of 1863 militiamen does reveal the volatile nature of Pennsylvania in June 1863, it also identifies the deeply rooted accusations of disloyalty that blossomed into negative remembrance after the war.

As news of the invasion spread, various individuals and organizations contributed to complex conversations about the nature of Pennsylvania’s defense. According to some the loyalty of Pennsylvania’s citizens remained in question especially after reports of reluctant volunteers reached the press. After the call for militia failed to yield results in

¹³⁷ Jubal Anderson Early, *War Memoirs: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States*, Civil War Centennial Series; Civil War Centennial Series. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), 258.

¹³⁸ William Blair, “A Source of Amusement,” 319.

Bedford County, one central Pennsylvanian declared, "I hope they'll (the rebels) rob the Bedford County people well, for they are secessionist and wouldn't turn out a man for the emergency and some objected to furnishing any eatables to the [militia]."¹³⁹ Other critics such as John Codman Ropes hoped invasion would cure the lackluster patriotism of the Keystone state. During the summer of 1863 Ropes wrote, "The utter imbecility of the people of Pennsylvania is becoming disgusting... I really think it would do them good to get a little touch of the horrors of war...A little ravishing and burning might wake up the lummoxes."¹⁴⁰ With National Guard units from New York and elsewhere pouring into Pennsylvania, their letters home also made a lasting impact of the perceptions of Pennsylvanians during the crisis. In particular the soldiers from New York found great disgust in the abundance of able body men not defending their own state. While moving through Harrisburg John Lockwood of the 23rd New York National Guard wrote, "Hundreds of strong men in the prime of life loitered in the public thoroughfares, and gaped at our passing columns as indifferently as if we had come as conquerors, to take possession of the city, they cravenly submitting to the yoke."¹⁴¹

Irritated by the slow and melancholy approach Pennsylvanians appeared to demonstrate some militia campaigned with hostility for the shirkers to wake up. After arriving in Harrisburg, future state governor Samuel Pennypacker and the 26th Emergency Militia stumbled across the democratic state convention as they met for what Pennypacker declared was "The Copperhead Convention." Tired from the long train ride and without a place to sleep the irritated militiamen recalled, "listening to the

¹³⁹ Michael R. Gannett, "Twelve Letters from Altoona, June-July, 1863," *Pennsylvania History* (January, 1980), 51-52.

¹⁴⁰ John Chipman Gray et al., *War Letters, 1862-1865, of John Chipman Gray ... and John Codman Ropes ... with Portraits*. (Boston,: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), 133,134.

¹⁴¹ John Lockwood, *Our Campaign Around Gettysburg* (Brooklyn, 1864), 23.

disloyal yells of the enemies of the country...”as state lawmakers denounced Abraham Lincoln and the conduct of the war. When the convention let out around 1 a.m., the tired militiamen barraged the lawmakers with physical and verbal jabs. Eventually the politicians returned to their hotels, vacating empty pews, which the militiamen gladly commandeered for sleeping arrangements: however, not before scattering the democrat’s books about the room.¹⁴²

Angered by the dreadfully slow response to the emergency, the Pennsylvania militias were not alone in their crusade against disloyal citizens. After receiving hostile treatment from the citizens of Harrisburg some New York National Guardsmen took advantage of their peculiar situation to extract revenge upon the ungrateful Pennsylvanians. When the 22nd New York National Guard bivouacked on the farm of a self “pronounced ‘copperhead’” the men took great satisfaction to dig “a large rifle pit across his nice garden, as a practical demonstration to him that the situation had not been exaggerate by the patriotic governor of his State.”¹⁴³

Regardless of the physical reminders dealt to disloyal citizens by militia soldiers, the remembrance narrative that emerged after the war still painted the state and its militia as pitiful participants in the grander campaign scorched by disloyalty. In their regimental history the 22nd New York National Guard remembered the citizens of Pennsylvania “had not received the New Yorkers with the enthusiasm they had expected...Besides, its storekeepers were unable to resist the temptation to make

¹⁴² Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and biographical Sketches*, (Philadelphia: Robert A. Tripple, 1883), 311-312; “Pennsylvania Politics.; Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention at Harrisburgh Nomination of Judge Woodward for Governor The Resolutions, &c.” *The New York Times*, June 17, 1863.

¹⁴³ George Wood Wingate, *History of the Twenty-Second Regiment of the National Guard of the State of New York; from Its Organization to 1895*; (New York, E. W. Dayton, 1896), 175, <http://archive.org/details/historytwentyse00winggoog>.

money out of their defenders, and put their prices to 'all that the traffic would stand.'" In 1887 historian Jacob Hoke rebutted the National Guard declaring the whole lot as cowards and liars for the slanderous accusations leveled against the citizens of Pennsylvania.¹⁴⁴

While jabs about the loyalty of Pennsylvanians at times appeared ridiculous and incendiary, the statements were not entirely unfounded. At one point in mid-June 1863 unsuspecting militia soldiers near the town of Hazelton, Pennsylvania appeared on the verge of disaster. As the men settled in, they knew nothing of a sinister plot hatched by a group of disgruntled coal miners led by an Irishman named Charles Dugan. Inspired to resist the draft the miners concluded they would "rather die at home than fight for Abe Lincoln and his [slaves]." Thus the rioters concluded they would attack the local militia, "take the guns... and then march with the arms to Scranton...At Scranton they would commence on the cavalry and Infantry and then impress all hands to reinforce General Lee."¹⁴⁵ Fortunately for the unknowing militiamen the band of ruffians were apprehended before reaching the camp and the crew charged with conspiracy to resist the draft. Although news of the attempted raid failed to make larger headlines the determination of the men demonstrated the dissatisfactions brewing in Pennsylvania itself.

Another source of criticism that befell militia soldiers came from various debates over the length of militia service that summer. When Abraham Lincoln issued his call for 100,000 volunteers, citizens scoffed at the implication of enlisting for six months service.

¹⁴⁴ Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*, 130.

¹⁴⁵ Trial of the Buckshots *Mauch Chunk Coal Gazette*, February 11, 1864 in Thomas E McBride and Betty Lou McBride *Civil War Resistance and the Molly Maguires* (Jim Thrope, PA: Old Jail Museum C/o Thomas McBride, 2011)

With few enlistments, Andrew Curtin acknowledged that the defense of Pennsylvania needed to be a state matter, and thus called for 90-day state enlistments. Although a substantial reduction in service time, those 90 day enlistments still discouraged volunteers and even drove some men to return home before the crisis had ended. In Bedford, members of the infamous Chicken Raiders simply laid down their tools and muskets to return home rather than be sworn into federal or state service for an additional period.¹⁴⁶

In the years following the Civil War, narratives of disloyalty continued haunting the militiamen. Pennsylvania may have escaped the Gettysburg Campaign in good standing, however those who answered the call for emergency volunteers did not. Time and time again accusations of disloyalty and cowardice surfaced associated with tales of the Militias. Thus when the 26th Emergency Militia dedicated a monument in 1892 Adjutant Harvey McKnight declared the memorial “stands, therefore, as a merited rebuke of the false criticism, iterated and re-iterated far and wide, that the citizens of Gettysburg were lacking in patriotic devotion...”¹⁴⁷ Although stereotyped in remembrance, militia veterans wore their service as a badge of honor. For the remainder of his life, Samuel Pennypacker advocated for the redemption of the militia’s name. Publishing numerous autobiographies including descriptions of the militia’s actions and the valor of the volunteers, Pennypacker utilized his wartime experiences to establish his public figure. In 1902 Pennypacker won the Pennsylvania gubernatorial nomination and served as Governor of the state until 1907. Pennypacker died in 1916 at

¹⁴⁶ Floyd G. Hoenstine, “The Chicken Raiders” in *The Soldiers of Blair County Pennsylvania*, (Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1940), 133.

¹⁴⁷ Harvey W. McKnight, “Twenty-Sixth Regiment of P.V.M.,” *PCM*, XVI:7 (November 1892), 267-272.

the age of seventy-three, still promoting the Emergency Militia as a defining and glorious aspect of Pennsylvania's long history.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

Through examining militias in the Gettysburg campaign historians obtain a glimpse at the elongated process of memory formation after the American Civil War. Contextual analyses demonstrate how wartime critique influenced historical narratives and the development of contemporary sentiments into negative remembrance. Tarnished from the beginning of the Gettysburg campaign by negative preconceptions of militia and hindered by critiques of ineffectiveness, masculinity, and loyalty, emergency soldiers in 1863 fought more than rebels during the invasion. Often caught between citizen survivors and veterans of the battle, militiamen faced peculiar difficulty joining the narrative of the battle and shaping it to what they wished it would be. Of the influential ways veterans took command of the narrative in the later half of the 19th century, the creation of monuments visualized the narrative like never before.

Originally managed by local citizens after the war, the battlefield landscape underwent massive transformation when veteran groups joined preservation boards such as the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA) in the late 1880s. By 1888, Gettysburg battlefield transformed into a park and what one modern historian referred to as a "shrine," filled with nearly 200 monuments.¹⁴⁹ With much of the

¹⁴⁸ Samuel W. (Samuel Whitaker) Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania in American History* (Philadelphia, W.J. Campbell, 1910), <http://archive.org/details/pennsylvaniainam00pen.>; "Governor Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker" *Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission* <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/governors/1876-1951/samuel-pennypacker.html> Accessed, February 11, 2018.

¹⁴⁹ James P Weeks, "A Different View of Gettysburg: Play Memory and Race at the Civil War's Greatest Shrine" *Civil War History*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (June, 2004), 175-191.

battlefield land controlled by the GBMA, the park allowed veterans to picnic and place memorials in the locations they once fought. Although veteran monuments established a cohesive story they also conveyed particular narratives of the battle that were endorsed by the veterans of the Army of the Potomac (AOP) and regulated by a veteran heavy board from the GBMA. It was these veterans and their political connections in Harrisburg that clashed with, veterans of the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia when they petitioned in 1890 for a monument to their regiment on the Gettysburg battlefield near the scene of a small skirmish fought on June 26, 1863. Unfortunately, the GBMA and State lawmakers originally rejected the petition as the monuments commission only recognized those regiments who participated in the battle of Gettysburg from July 1-3, 1863 as having the right to construct monuments and thus craft physical narratives.¹⁵⁰ Although the Monuments board rejected the proposal and added insult to injury by misidentifying the 26th PVM as the 25th on their response Samuel Pennypacker continued a letter writing campaign aimed at legitimatizing the militia involvement in the battle of Gettysburg.¹⁵¹

The initial response of the Battlefield Monuments Commission to the 26th PVM testified to the power exercised in narrative creation through various mediums after the American Civil War. Erected long after the fighting ended, the monuments already on the battlefield revealed just as much about the battle as they did about the process of its remembrance. By denying the local militia a funded monument the Commission delegitimized the emergency troops and exercised an ability to regulate the Gettysburg

¹⁵⁰ Resolution of the Board of Commissioners of Gettysburg Monuments Commission, 1889, SWP to Board of Commissioners, January 10, 1890, 26th PVM Monument File, Gettysburg National Military park.

¹⁵¹ Resolution of the Board of Commissioners of Gettysburg Monuments, 1889, SWP to Board of Commissioners, January 10, 1890, 26th PVM Monument File, GNMP.

narrative. Through their actions and the GBMA's board of Commissioners for Gettysburg Monuments evoked popular perceptions of the militia as ineffective contributors to the Gettysburg narrative. Only after years of lengthy debate over the legitimacy of the emergency militia the Commission ultimately seeded the local veterans their wish.¹⁵²

The proposed monument for the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Militia, like many others on the Gettysburg battlefield served to project martial masculinity with a young soldier rushing atop a "native" Gettysburg boulder ready to bravely meet the enemy. Half in uniform and half in civilian clothing the statue represented what Samuel Pennypacker stated was "the sudden change from peaceful life to the battlefield."¹⁵³ Beautifully crafted, the monument directly challenged the emasculating history of the militia such as Jubal Early's courthouse lecture and Jacob Hoke's declarations of cowardice.

Although, the 26th Monument displayed no drastically different features than those already on battlefield memorials, its creation designated an important milestone for the revival of the militia's name in the Gettysburg narrative. As a fixed marker, the statue contributed to the masculine narrative established in Gettysburg. During his dedication day speech, Samuel Pennypacker again took the stage to champion his former regiment. In the speech, Pennypacker beckoned to the masculine features of the militia's story stating, " It has always seemed to me that the situation had in it much of

¹⁵² Board of Commissioners of Gettysburg Monuments, January 16, 1891, 26th PVM Monument File, GNMP.

¹⁵³ Address of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, L.L. D. in Pennsylvania. Gettysburg Battle-field Commission and John P. (John Page) Nicholson, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Mark the Positions of the Pennsylvania Commands Engaged in the Battle* (Harrisburg, E. K. Meyers, state printer, 1893), 764, <http://archive.org/details/pennsylvaniaatge03penn>.

the heroic. Untrained, untried, and unused to war, they were sent to meet an overwhelming and disciplined force, not in some Grecian pass or mountain defile of the Swiss or Tyrol Alps, but in the open field with the certainty that they could make no effectual resistance.”¹⁵⁴ According to Pennypacker, the 1863 militia were synonyms with the men who populated ancient myths of masculine military duty. As countless veteran organizations featured speeches about bravery, honor, and courage during dedication events, the speeches given for the dedication of the emergency militia monument also spoke to the defense of all citizens who answered the call during the summer of 1863.

Although the 26th Emergency Volunteers received their coveted monument in 1892, its establishment did not fully redeem their name in popular culture throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. In a modern era of commemorative scholarship analysis of militia in the Gettysburg campaign raises peculiar questions about how memory formed and why it formed as such. Although the militiamen are known for the few dismal actions they performed during the campaign their contributions remain overshadowed by critique. More importantly, the narrative struggle militia of the Gettysburg campaign endured to be included positively in national narratives after the war demonstrate yet another example of the subjective and contested nature of historical narratives. While the narrative power of the militiamen differed drastically from that of prominent local citizens and veterans, their contributions nonetheless earned them a space in the story of Gettysburg. For some groups who confronted the narrative of Gettysburg and the meaning of the war, inclusion was not always a guarantee.

¹⁵⁴ Pennypacker, in *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 765.

CHAPTER 3: Silenced Narratives of African Americans

In late June 1863, Basil Biggs, an African American farmer from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania frantically hustled his family out of their farmhouse and loaded them into the back of a wagon bound for the Susquehanna River. While the journey would take a few days, anyplace north was better than Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. News had reached town a week prior that the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia crushed the Union garrison at Winchester, Virginia and was marching north toward Pennsylvania. Since June 16, Gettysburg was consumed with activity, as news of the invasion became a reality. Shopkeepers moved supplies to hiding spots in the countryside, the local militia departing for Harrisburg to procure weapons, and countless African Americans fled the rebel army. As Biggs loaded his family into wagons headed north, thoughts of Confederate soldiers selling them into slavery likely lingered in the back of his mind. The decision to flee was a difficult choice, for over fifteen years Biggs had built his farm by hand; working as a veterinarian, wagon driver, and farmhand to purchase the property. Thus, when time came for the wagons to leave, Biggs chose to stay in Gettysburg. While Biggs's act of resistance moved his family toward safety it placed him directly in the path of the Confederate advance and cemented his status as a participant in the greatest military campaign of the American Civil War to that date.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Basil Biggs Damage Claim, October 22, 1868 in Civilian Claims Files, Gettysburg National Military Park; Marget S. Creighton, *Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle* (New York: Basic Books, 2005.)

Five months after Basil Biggs made a conscious decision to resist the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania, President Abraham Lincoln arrived in Gettysburg to view the destroyed landscape and dedicate a new Soldiers National Cemetery. While Lincoln was to deliver a few appropriate remarks about the thousands of soldiers killed during the battle of Gettysburg, he also spoke on the cemetery's importance in preserving the sacrifices of the nation to develop a new birth of freedom for all citizens regardless of race. During the next 75 years, Gettysburg underwent a massive transformation from a rural farm community to a sacred shrine dedicated by those who experienced the horror of 1863 first-hand.

By the end of the 19th century battlefield visitors encountered thousands of monuments and markers focused primarily on the soldiers who fought at Gettysburg in July 1863. Out of that incredible number virtually none told the story of African Americans like Basil Biggs who resisted the Confederate invasion or helped put the community back together. Contemporary writings show that African Americans participated in the campaign, however questions arise as to why African American inclusion in Gettysburg remembrance was virtually nonexistent by the 20th century. The story of Basil Biggs is merely one narrative that survived, while hundreds of African Americans who experienced the campaign will never have their stories told. This problem is a shocking juxtaposition with the importance of Gettysburg in national remembrance about race and the American Civil War even today. Few have examined the extent to which African Americans experienced the battle of Gettysburg, however recent scholarly trends explore this forgotten side of Gettysburg history. This chapter endeavors to converse with historiographical trends and examine the silencing of

Gettysburg's black community in historical narratives during the last half of the 19th century.

This chapter will argue that African Americans resisted the Confederate invasion but were excluded from historical remembrance as a direct result of local prejudice and pro-south Lost Cause ideology dominating Gettysburg narratives during reconstruction and beyond. By contextualizing narrative creation and deconstructing reconciliation trends in Gettysburg, this analysis will bring to light the experiences of Gettysburg's African American population during the campaign, examine local prejudice and the Lost Cause as a critical influence on racial exclusion in Gettysburg after the war, and show the development of segregated commemoration as a result.

Recent scholarship explores the struggle that African Americans faced during the Gettysburg campaign. Primarily, these endeavors have focused on acknowledging the existence of prejudice in national narratives about the battle of Gettysburg, yet withheld substantial interpretation of the African American experience.¹⁵⁶ Of the recent works about Gettysburg's marginalized communities, Margaret S. Creighton's *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle*¹⁵⁷ contributes to the historiography. Combined with the narratives of women and immigrants on the home front, Creighton analyzes the experiences of African Americans during the Gettysburg campaign and discusses the

¹⁵⁶ Peter C. Vermilyea, "The Effect of the Confederate Invasion of Pennsylvania on Gettysburg's African American Community," *Gettysburg Magazine*, Issue 24 <http://www.gdg.org/gettysburg%20magazine/gburgafrican.html> Vermilyea established bases for future historians to explore the experiences of Gettysburg's black community: James M. Paradis, *African Americans in the Gettysburg Campaign*. Lanham (Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005). Paradis explored the history of African Americans in Gettysburg from the town's founding until the late 19th century.

¹⁵⁷ Marget S. Creighton, *Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle* (New York: Basic Books, 2005.)

difficulty they faced during the reconstruction era. In her work, Creighton identifies commemorative spheres in Gettysburg that define the battlefield as a masculine space for reconciliation after the war. By examining the battlefield within a lens of masculine reconciliation, Creighton explores the establishment of segregated commemoration leading into the 20th century. James Week's work "A Different View of Gettysburg: Play, Memory, and Race at the Civil War's Greatest Shrine" converses with Creighton as he explores the racist undertones that emerged in masculine reconciliation. By examining the recreational uses of the battlefield by veterans, Weeks successfully identifies the exclusion of African American visitors. Although Creighton and Weeks identify racist undertones in commemoration and identify segregated remembrance with masculine expressions of white martial identity, their analysis neglects to fully examine Gettysburg's black commemoration efforts, the local prejudice that ultimately diminished African American narratives, and further influence from the Lost Cause.¹⁵⁸

This chapter thus focuses on Gettysburg's black community and their participation in the process of remembering the battle and the legacy of the war. Where the chapter diverges from works like Creighton and Weeks is in analysis of causes for segregated commemoration. Reconciliation rhetoric pushed stories of African American resistance from the historical narrative by adopting pro-southern reconciliation ideology to appease racist community members and tourists alike. Chronologically, this chapter will examine the experiences of Gettysburg's black community through the Civil War

¹⁵⁸ See also: David G. Smith, "Race and Retaliation: The Capture of African Americans during the Gettysburg Campaign" in *Virginia's Civil War* ed. Peter Wallenstein, Bertram Wyatt-Brown (Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press, 2005); Harry Bradshaw Matthews, *Whence They Came: The Families of Unites States Colored Troops in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1815-1871*. (privately printed, 1992); Margaret S. Creighton "Living On the Fault Line: African American Civilians and the Gettysburg Campaign in *The War Was You and Me* ed. Joan E. Cashin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Conrad, William P., *Gloryland: A History of Blacks in Greencastle, Pennsylvania*, (Greencastle, Pa.: Beidel Printing House, 1989);

and identify their remembrance efforts afterwards. By allowing only white narratives to define the experience of African Americans during the Gettysburg campaign, black community members were reduced to tertiary participants that were unable to do anything but run or die during the campaign. As a result, African Americans chose to create segregated spheres of commemoration in Gettysburg by the end of the 19th century.

Methodologically examining the exclusion of African Americans from national remembrance after the battle of Gettysburg is a difficult task to complete. Before an analysis can begin, a definition of national remembrance is critical to understanding the phenomenon. On a surface level the construction of national remembrance appears synonymous with public memory or collective memory, however, this chapter endeavors to avoid terminology such as public memory for multiple reasons. First, both public memory and collective memory are ambiguous in their narrative consistency. Both terms are malleable concepts, shaped by ideological agendas, and driven by authoritative power. As Historian Jay Winter states, “the loose usage of the term “collective memory” – framed to mean virtually anything at all...has persuaded me to abandon the term whenever possible.”¹⁵⁹ As Winter alludes, public and collective memory are defined by spheres of influence depending on what lens the scholar examines events through. When coupled with the idea that narrative creation is ultimately an exercise of narrative power, the ambiguity of public and collective memory is apparent. In his work *Remembering War*, Winter consciously decides to avoid terms of memory and instead utilize remembrance. Historian Michael- Rolph Trouillot states,

¹⁵⁹ Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 4.

“the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production.”¹⁶⁰

As a result, groups without authoritative power are often excluded from narratives to make space for others. Thus, when examining the ways society chooses to construct narratives about historical events, we do not study the memory of a particular event, but the remembrance of the event. Public demonstrations of collective remembrance offer concrete methodology for examining how narrative motifs reproduce in public dialogue.

Gettysburg’s Antebellum Black Community

Exclusion of African American narratives was a familiar concept in the Gettysburg community prior to the Civil War. From its beginning in the late 18th century, the town of Gettysburg harbored a sizable African American population and the 1860 census of Adams County revealed nearly 184 African Americans living in the Gettysburg borough alone.¹⁶¹ Regardless, the black community in Gettysburg faced consistent prejudice throughout its existence. The first African Americans in Gettysburg came as slaves including the first black resident of Gettysburg, Sydney O’Brian, the slave of Gettysburg founder James Gettys.¹⁶² While the Abolition Act of 1780 ensured gradual emancipation in Pennsylvania race based prejudice persisted. Through it all the African American community around Gettysburg steadily grew during the antebellum

¹⁶⁰ Michel- Rolph Trouillot *Silencing The Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

¹⁶¹ Census Files, GNMP in Vermilyea, *Gettysburg Magazine*

¹⁶² Harry Bradshaw Matthews, *Whence They Came: Families of United States Colored Troops in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1815-1871* (N.p: Privately Published, 1992) 76, 77, 78.

period.¹⁶³ By 1830, twenty-two African American children attended school across the county and by 1837 the foundations for an African Methodist Episcopal Church appeared in Gettysburg.¹⁶⁴ Through the efforts of Daniel Alexander Payne, an African American student at the theological seminary, Gettysburg's black community organized. Born a free black in Charleston, South Carolina, Payne operated a school for free blacks and their children until southern Laws criminalized the education of slaves and free persons of color.¹⁶⁵ Forced to move North, Payne entered school at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg and acquainted himself with the local African American community. Although a newcomer to Gettysburg, Payne wasted no time establishing a foothold within Gettysburg's black community. "While pursuing my studies at the Seminary" he later remembered, "I obtained permission to use an old building belonging to the College for Sunday-School instruction. So, gathering in all the colored children in the neighborhood, I opened the school..."¹⁶⁶

During the Antebellum period, national conversations over the institution of slavery impacted Gettysburg. With pro-slavery Democrats a constant threat in Adams county, anti-slavery activism developed behind closed doors. By 1836 a number of abolition minded citizens gathered at the McAllister gristmill south of town to critique the

¹⁶³ Whether born free or slave, African Americans migrated to the region, including prominent individuals such as Clem Johnson, the slave of famed writer Francis Scott Key. While traveling through Adams county in 1831, Key ironically decided to free Clem from bondage via a document filed at the Adams County Court house allowing Clem to continue in Pennsylvania "or to go wherever he may please." Although Clem returned with Key to Washington, D.C, many other African Americans settled in the Gettysburg region.

¹⁶⁴ Matthews, *Whence They Came*, 3.

¹⁶⁵ James Paradis, *African Americans In The Gettysburg Campaign* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, INC., 2005), 4.

¹⁶⁶ Payne as quoted in Paradis, 3. Bridging the gap between Gettysburg's Black and White Community, Payne also made acquaintances with Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker, a local abolitionist and community leader. Mentored by Schmucker, Payne remained in Gettysburg until he was ordained as a minister. In his later life Payne spent much of his time traveling across America speaking out against the institution of slavery yet his influence on the Gettysburg spurred the creation of an A.M.E. Church, and further education for colored children.

inhumane system of bondage. Unanimously the group resolved, “That, if liberty is the right of all men, no human being can be rightfully held in slavery.”¹⁶⁷ Committed to their cause, the McAllister Mill abolitionists declared their resolve to speak out against slavery, regardless of the “terror,” that might be inflicted as retaliation.¹⁶⁸ Over the next twenty years anti-slavery organizations and Underground Railroad stops appeared across Adams County. From McAllister Mill, to the Alexander Dobbin house in town, groups willing to help escaped and free African Americans emerged.¹⁶⁹

Although anti-slavery organizations existed in antebellum Pennsylvania, racist and pro-slavery sentiments created constant friction and ultimately expedited the adoption of racist Lost Cause rhetoric after the Civil War. At one public meeting in the county courthouse before the war, pro-slavery protestors angrily forced abolitionists out of the building before pelting the group with eggs and the carcass of a dead cat.¹⁷⁰ To say feelings about abolition in south-central Pennsylvania before the Civil War were tense is an understatement. Through angry mobs, carriage chases, and public denunciations, Gettysburg’s black community persisted. In 1850 however, the Fugitive Slave Laws put greater pressure on free blacks, freedom seekers, and those who would help them.

By mid-century, anti-slavery activists in southern Pennsylvania were experienced freedom fighters. The introduction of the fugitive slave laws in 1850 threatened abolitionist networks across the state and as historian Kellie Carter Jackson declared,

¹⁶⁷ G. Craig Caba, ed., *Episodes of Gettysburg and the Underground Railroad: As Witnessed and Recorded by Professor J. Howard Wert* (Gettysburg, Pa: Privately Published, 1998) 17-19.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Paradis, 8.

¹⁷⁰ Paradis, 5.

“violence would be the new political language for the oppressed.”¹⁷¹ In 1850, militant abolitionism debuted in the town of Christiana, Pennsylvania, just a few miles from Gettysburg and the Mason-Dixon Line. After months of uncertainty about oppressive slave catching laws, black citizens of Lancaster County formed the “Black Self protection Society.” Their leader, a Free African American named William Parker vowed to “put an end to man-stealing in Pennsylvania forever.”¹⁷² The society’s test came when southern slave catchers appeared at Parkers house looking for hidden runaways. When words became heated, the southerners threatened Parker. In a matter of seconds the tense verbal confrontation turned into a physical firefight. In the melee the southern slave-owner was killed, two others were wounded and Parker made his escape to Canada via freedom networks. In the wake, 37 African Americans and one white man were put on trial for treason in Lancaster County.

Although the Christiana Riot seems small in comparison to the bloodshed of future clashes between pro-slavery and abolition groups, the introduction of violence into the fight for freedom was a critical turning point in American history. There is no doubt that the Christiana Riot set a precedent for future militant abolitionist protests, such as John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry in October of 1859, however, it also set a precedent for excluding African American narratives. During the weeks after the riots, the country reeled and narratives of the event quickly turned away from African Americans to instead focus on white involvement. Narratives of African American resistance to the Fugitive Slave Acts transformed into accusations that white

¹⁷¹ Kellie Carter Jackson “At the Riske of Our Own Lives: Violence and the Fugitive Slave Law in Pennsylvania” *The Civil War in Pennsylvania: The African American Experience* ed. Samuel W. Black (Pittsburgh, PA: The Senator John Heinz History Center, 2013), 51.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 54,56

abolitionists organized the riot for political motives. One local newspaper declared, “the sense of this whole community traces the cause of these bloody tumults, not to the poor, deluded, and frenzied blacks, but to those reckless agitators who counsel and applaud opposition to the established laws of the land.”¹⁷³ Even the Governor of Pennsylvania was drawn into the controversy in what Historian Thomas Slaughter called a ploy to explain how northern abolitionists murdered southern “Gentlemen.” This ploy, served the purpose of pushing Parker and other African Americans further from their own narrative.¹⁷⁴

By expanding the realm of anti-slavery resistance African Americans shaped the demographic of lower Pennsylvania and interjected themselves into the historical narrative. The narrative of African American resistance to racist ideologies during the antebellum period failed to gain a foothold in historical remembrance. Even in 1951, when Lancaster natives gathered to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Christiana Riots, their words spoke of the “humiliation” William Parker and his freedom fighters conveyed through their errors of violence in “efforts to obtain freedom.”¹⁷⁵ During the Civil War, struggles against racist ideology in south central Pennsylvania underwent substantial transition. For local African Americans, the battle of Gettysburg marked a new era defined by old thoughts in a struggle for equal rights and a place in national remembrance. The exclusion of black resistance narratives in Christiana set a historical precedent, soon to be exploited by Lost Cause ideology in Gettysburg.

¹⁷³ Thomas Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 90 -5.

¹⁷⁴ Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn*, 90.

¹⁷⁵ Jack Ward Willson Loose, “The Christiana Riot Anniversary Exercises,” *Lancaster Historical Society, Papers*, 55(1951) 181-85; Slaughter, 160.

The Civil War

On the morning of April 12, 1861 artillery fire in Charleston, South Carolina announced the beginning of the American Civil War. Within days President Abraham Lincoln called for thousands of Northern volunteers to put the rebellion down by force. Ecstatic at the opportunity to fight, African Americans across Pennsylvania rushed to be included, however, President Lincoln's call left no room for black soldiers. For African Americans wishing to enlist the only option was the United States Navy. In May of 1861, G.E. Stevens petitioned Pennsylvania Governor Curtin stating, "We are in the midst of a scene never witnessed before in this glorious Republic, a time well calculated to try men and souls. And one in which no man sensible of the blessings of political freedom, and that honor due the American flag can rest idle. Therefore we a portion of the inhabitants of this loyal common wealth desire without ostentation to serve in any capacity your Excellency may dictate. Any number of able colored men can be ready at an hours notice."¹⁷⁶ Steven's letter was never answered and the plea for African American troops was ignored. Unfortunately for the colored citizens of Pennsylvania this was not the last time African Americans were excluded from participation in the Civil War and its narrative. Deterred but not dissuaded, African Americans joined the war effort in supportive roles for the Federal military. During the first few years of the war, African Americans became teamsters, cooks, and camp servants to Union Officers. Although these individuals shared similar jobs with the Confederate slaves brought as camp

¹⁷⁶ G.E. Stevens as quoted in Matthews, 5.

servants by their white masters, the place of African Americans in Federal Armies became prominent.¹⁷⁷

By 1863 the war in the east was a churning timeline of vicious battles and bloody defeats for the Union Army; however, for African Americans 1863 marked an important victory in the progression for Civil Rights. On January 1, 1863 the Emancipation Proclamation took effect across the nation. Although gripped in a bloody war, emancipation offered hope for the African American community. By June 1863 this hope turned to turmoil. With the beginning of the summer campaigning season underway, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia turned north to march on Maryland and Pennsylvania for the second time. In a cunning nighttime maneuver, the rebel army slipped across the Rappahannock River undetected by Federal Forces. On June 15th, the vanguard of the Confederate army crushed the Federal garrison at Winchester, opening a clear path toward Pennsylvania. On June 16, 1863 news of the rebel invasion spread across Pennsylvania and calls for Emergency Militiamen appeared in local Gettysburg newspapers. Hesitant to act under a false alarm, Pennsylvania's citizens remained reluctant to answer the government's call. Unknown to the civilian population Confederate infantry had already crossed the Potomac the previous day, and the invasion was imminent. Rumors of the Confederate advance spread through the countryside and the slow ember of local reaction turned into a raging fire.

Citizens across Pennsylvania sprang into frenzy to save their families and valuables from Confederate invaders. Major cities such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg became focal points of safety as citizens shipped wagonloads of goods to their protection. President Lincoln placed a call for 100,000 men to take arms and

¹⁷⁷ Paradis, 16.

defend the North, and Governor Curtin called for an additional 60,000. In total between, 13,000 and 16,000 men across the state sprang into action.¹⁷⁸

At this terrifying moment, African Americans in the rebel path had a critical choice to make: would they stay and resist, or flee from Robert E. Lee's advance? For some of Gettysburg's population, the choice was easy; flee. Matilda Pierce recalled the black population in town, "regarded the rebels as having an especial hatred toward them and they believed that if they fell into their hands annihilation was sure."¹⁷⁹ As terror spread, the African American population living in the southwestern portion of town packed their belongings and fled. "I can see them now," Tillie Pierce recalled years afterward, "men and women with bundles as large as old-fashioned feather ticks slung across their backs, almost bearing them to the ground. Children also, carrying their bundles, and striving in vain to keep up." While many fled some citizens like Basil Biggs refused to leave.

By June 16, it was clear the rebels were in Pennsylvania and that African Americans in their path were in grave danger. After entering Pennsylvania, Jenkins independent Confederate cavalry cut through the countryside, terrorizing citizens and capturing free blacks wherever they could. As the rebels descended upon Chambersburg, local citizen Jacob Hoke recalled the "scouring of the fields about town and searching houses in portions of the place for Negroes . . . [Some] sought concealment in the growing wheat fields about the town. Into these the cavalymen road

¹⁷⁸ Steve Hollingshead and Jeffrey Whetstone *From Winchester to Bloody Run: Border Raids and Skirmishes in Western Pennsylvania During the Gettysburg Campaign* (n.p.: Hollingshead and Whetstone, 2005); Wittenberg, Eric, J. David Petruzzi, Michael F Nugent, *One Continuous Fight: The Retreat From Gettysburg and the Pursuit of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, July 4- 14, 1863*. (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie LLC, 2008).

¹⁷⁹ Tillie (Pierce) Alleman. *At Gettysburg*. (New York: W. Lake Borland, 1889), 19.

in search of their prey, and many were caught.”¹⁸⁰ Chambersburg native Rachel Cormany wrote in her diary on June 16th, “I sat on the front step as they were driven by just like we would drive cattle...One woman was pleading wonderfully with her driver for her children—but all the sympathy she received from him was a rough ‘March along.’” After gathering their prisoners, the rebels marched the captured blacks to their wagon trains for transport south. Cormany remembered, “O! How it grated on our hearts to have to sit quietly & look at such brutal deeds.”¹⁸¹

The scale of Confederate slave catching operations in Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg campaign implied the underlying tone of Confederate goals during the invasion. Not only did Jenkins cavalry become involved in capturing free blacks, but infantry in Rodes Division of the Army of Northern Virginia also rounded up prisoners. One Confederate officer even recalled having his choice of captured blacks as servants. According to the officer his “humanity reveled at taking the poor devils,” and could not transport them home, therefore he “turned them all loose.”¹⁸² Examples of confederate forces capturing African Americans were abundant, even J.E.B. Stuart’s Confederate cavalry partook regardless of being separated from the main army for days. As historian David Smith observed, the scale of Confederate slave-catching operations “underscores the likelihood that some policy, formal or informal, sanctioned these actions during the Gettysburg campaign.”¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Jacob, Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863*. (Dayton, Ohio: W. J. Shuey, 1887; reprint New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), 107-108.

¹⁸¹ Rachel Cormany in *The Cormany Diaries*, Ed. James C. Mohr, Richard E. Winslow III, (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982), 329-330.

¹⁸² Richard O’Sullivan, *55th Virginia Infantry*, 2nd ed. (Lynchburg, Va., 1989), 52-53.

¹⁸³ Smith in *Virginia’s Civil War*, 147.

In response to aggressive Confederate behavior, acts of resistance appeared across the state. In Greencastle, Pennsylvania, local citizens prepared to receive Confederate wagon trains loaded with captured African Americans. As the wagons passed through the town the citizens chose to act. Armed with revolvers and farm implements, the locals sprang from hiding and surrounded the rebel convoy. Without firing a shot they disarmed the rebel guards, locked them in the local jail, and freed the captured prisoners. As a result, Confederate officers threatened to burn the town to the ground unless their property was returned. Fortunately, Confederate attention was directed elsewhere and the town was spared a fiery destruction.¹⁸⁴

As the rebel army poured into Pennsylvania, African Americans took resistance measures into their own hands. Determined to stop the rebel advance, some pushed state officials to enlist black militias. With little time to spare, Governor Andrew Curtin called for volunteers regardless of race to defend the commonwealth. From Pittsburgh to Harrisburg, black volunteers appeared for duty. In Philadelphia, notices declared,

“Men of Color Of Philadelphia! The Country Demands your Services. The Enemy is Approaching. You Know his object. It is to Subjugate the North and Enslave us. Already many of our Class in this State have been Captured and Carried South to Slavery, Stripes and Mutilation. For our own sake and for the sake of our Common Country we are called upon now to Come Forward!”¹⁸⁵

Before long, black volunteers filled companies across the state. In central Pennsylvania, black militiamen appeared to help entrench mountain passes the

¹⁸⁴ “Rebels Capture” June 16, 1863, *Lancaster Intelligencer*.

¹⁸⁵ Recruiting Poster, June 1863, Library of Company of Philadelphia quoted in Paradis, 37.

Confederate army could use for expanding their invasion. Outside of Harrisburg, local African Americans joined white militias to entrench the city, however local newspapers reported that support from the black community was nonexistent. Contrary to this argument black militia companies arrived at Harrisburg for support. Unfortunately, one company from Philadelphia was turned away, however many men reenlisted as United States Colored Troops after the campaign concluded. Miles outside of Harrisburg, black militiamen appeared at a key covered bridge spanning the Susquehanna River between Wrightsville and Columbia to repel the Confederate forces marching on the state capitol. From the evening of June 27th to June 28th, these militiamen rushed to prepare by digging rifle pits and earthworks. At 5:30pm Confederate forces appeared in front of the militia lines. Situated at the center of the militia line the company of black volunteers briskly exchanged rifle fire with rebel skirmishers. In short time Confederate artillery opened on the militiamen, killing one black volunteer and driving the militia back toward the bridge. Outnumbered, outflanked, and outgunned, the defenders were forced to withdrawal but not before burning the bridge to stop the rebel advance. Militia Colonel Jacob G. Frick reported after the engagement that the African Americans under his command worked “industriously in the rifle-pits all day, [and] when the fight commenced they took their guns and stood up to their work bravely.”¹⁸⁶

While black volunteers resisted the Confederate invasion with direct violent action, many others found subversive was to resist the rebel surge. In Gettysburg, Basil Biggs refusal to leave the town placed him in grave danger. While Biggs’s act of resistance can be interpreted as a logical effort to protect his farm property, Biggs

¹⁸⁶ Report of Col. Jacob G. Frick, Official Records Of The War Of The Rebellion, Series 1, XXVII, pt. 2, 279.

nearly paid with his freedom. When Confederate forces rode into Gettysburg in late June, Biggs made a daring escape out the backside of town on a borrowed horse.¹⁸⁷ Although Biggs's gamble paid off, others who resisted were not so lucky. During the retreat from Gettysburg, Union soldiers in the 2nd Vermont Volunteer Infantry came across the remains of an African American man who had apparently resisted his rebel captors. After refusing to cross the Potomac and be sold back into slavery, the rebels likely murdered the man and mutilated his body.¹⁸⁸

On July 1, 1863 elements of the Federal Army of the Potomac met Confederate forces just to the west of Gettysburg town. Within a few hours, the relatively small engagement evolved into a raging battle. Over the next two days between 160,000 and 170,000 soldiers clashed around Gettysburg. As the fighting swept through the town itself, local residents fled to their cellars to escape gunfire that pounded their homes. Within just a few hours the once prosperous town became a vortex of death and when the gunfire ceased Gettysburg emerged permanently changed. Homes were utterly destroyed; crops trampled, and 7,000 soldiers lay dead across the countryside. Walking the wreckage after the fighting Matilda Pierce recalled the landscape was now a "strange and blighted land."¹⁸⁹

When the fighting closed and the Confederate army began its retreat toward Virginia, locals questioned what to do next. Wounded men crowded every building and the dead lay in every conceivable place. During the first days after the fighting ceased, the task of burying the dead took precedent. Locals found themselves nauseated by the

¹⁸⁷ Creighton, 208.

¹⁸⁸ Letter from 1st Lt. Chester K. Leach, Company H, 2nd Vermont Infantry, 15, July 1863, in Smith "Race and Retaliation."

¹⁸⁹ Pierce, 83.

overwhelming smell of rotting flesh and fearful that disease would spread through the community. Citizens and Union soldiers alike joined in burying the dead as quickly as they were found.

For the African American population, many who returned found their homes in ruin. Basil Biggs found his farm filled with wounded soldiers and with \$1506.60 worth of damage.¹⁹⁰ Others, such as local black farmer Abraham Brian, returned to farms shredded by gunfire and artillery shells. For the black community, the process of rebuilding was daunting. As a result, many decided to move from the Gettysburg area. By 1870, only 74 of the 186 African Americans who lived in Gettysburg before the battle remained.¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, the number of black citizens captured by Confederates and taken south during the retreat remains unknown. For those who did return work began immediately to rebuild their homes and lives. After losing his crops and sustaining extensive damage, Basil Biggs applied for work elsewhere in town.

Race And Remembrance After The Battle

By July 24th citizens in Gettysburg were already questioning how the great battle would be remembered. Local citizens including David Wills and David McConaughy decided a fitting place was needed to bury Union soldiers killed during the engagement. In late July David Wills received commission from the Governor of Pennsylvania to establish a Soldiers National Cemetery in Gettysburg. Wills then contracted members of the Gettysburg community to remove Union dead from shallow graves on the battlefield

¹⁹⁰ Basil Biggs Damage Claim, October 22, 1868 in Civilian Claims Files, Gettysburg National Military Park;

¹⁹¹ Vermilyea, "Effect of the Confederate Invasion."

and move them to the new cemetery. A local man named Samuel Weaver ultimately oversaw the physical process of moving the dead, however many of the men making up Weaver's workforce were local African Americans. Basil Biggs became a crew leader for the disinterment of bodies on the battlefield and was paid \$1.25 per body brought to the new cemetery for reburial. Over the next few months, Biggs and many other African Americans worked to move thousands of bodies into the Soldiers National Cemetery. The work of Biggs and numerous other African Americans were the first physical efforts to develop a commemorative landscape at Gettysburg.¹⁹² In November 1863, president Abraham Lincoln immortalized their work when he delivered a short cemetery dedication speech that associated the nation's struggle with a new birth of freedom, which would break the chains of slavery and establish a new country dedicated to racial equality.

When Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg in November 1863, the American Civil War was far from over. For two more bloody years the war continued with hundreds of thousands killed and injured. In popular history, Gettysburg became known as the turning point of the American Civil War. While the accuracy of this statement remains an incendiary debate topic, the Gettysburg campaign inarguably became a turning point for African Americans in Pennsylvania. In the aftermath of the battle, Pennsylvania's black population gained the right to enlist in the United States Military. As a result, numerous African Americans from Gettysburg answered the call. The legacy left by black resistance during the campaign extended past the battle of Gettysburg and impacted the remainder of the war.

¹⁹² Gregory A. Coco, *A Strange And Blighted Land Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle*, (Gettysburg, Pa: Thomas Publications, 1995), 120.

Although Lincoln's words immortalized the importance of Gettysburg in national remembrance, the African Americans who labored to shape the landscape Lincoln stood upon struggled to gain equality after the war. The Civil War fundamentally changed American society and its citizens struggled to grasp what came next for the United States in a post-emancipatory period. The conception of a new society dedicated to a future built in freedom and equality was a difficult concept for many Americans to understand. By 1866 the era of reconstruction arrived, Federal soldiers occupied the former Confederacy, and yet the narrative of the war was already shifting. In 1868, southern sympathizer Edward A. Pollard produced his work *The Lost Cause Regained*,¹⁹³ officially crafting a new narrative that would finally push African Americans from the story of the Civil War altogether.

In Gettysburg, this push from the narrative would be no different than in the South. Over the next thirty years the story of the Civil War became a valuable portion of American identity shaped and molded by the citizens of Adams County. Memoirs abounded and monuments rose from the ashes. In Gettysburg, local citizens flocked to publish their accounts of the battle and inject their identity into the historical narrative and the narrative into their own identity.¹⁹⁴ Some even went so far as to forge participation in the battle; however, one aspect of the narrative fell to the wayside.¹⁹⁵ The story of African Americans at Gettysburg became a tertiary story situated behind the experiences of white soldiers and white citizens. Often, inclusion of blacks in white

¹⁹³ Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., Publishers, 1868).

¹⁹⁴ Thomas A Desjardin, *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003).

¹⁹⁵ Jennie S Croll famously fabricated a Gettysburg narrative when she moved to Gettysburg after the war. Jennie S, Croll, "Days of Dread: A Woman' Story of Her Life on a Battlefield" *The (Philadelphia) Weekly Press* (16 November 1887). Clipping, ACHS/ CWC

narratives consisted of passing mentions with no emphasis on the black plight. To this day the existence of African American history in Gettysburg is dwarfed by grand tactics and obscured by public consumption of national narratives crafted during the reconstruction era.

As years passed popular trends encouraged recording the experiences of citizens during the campaign, however, for the African American community written narratives failed to emerge. Between problems of illiteracy and the prioritization of reconstruction, white observers controlled written narratives of black citizens in the campaign. Although these written narratives did not emerge from black perspectives, white stories still impacted remembrance of African American participation after the war. White stories and contemporary writings provided skewed but existent narratives showing glimpses of the African American experience and popular sentiments of race in Northern society. Regardless, between shifting narratives about the causes of the Civil War and Adams County's polarized stance on the place of equality and race in community identity, popular white narratives repressed civil rights and silenced the African American voice. This process aided in establishing a national identity that diminished African Americans to tertiary participants and centered on limited narratives derived from Lost Cause ideology.

In certain ways, examination of white narratives about black experiences tells more about post-war conceptions of equality than what Gettysburg's black community faced during the campaign. In May 1869, citizens from across the nation gathered at the Soldiers National Cemetery to dedicate a monument to soldiers who perished during the American Civil War. In one carriage, the Mayor of Washington, D.C. paraded through

town seated alongside an African American Alderman, a physical manifestation of the “unfinished work” that Abraham Lincoln so eloquently spoke of six years prior. Unknown to the Mayor and Alderman at the time, their public demonstration of solidarity and commitment to the construction of a new American society built in freedom and equality boiled the blood of some Gettysburg citizens. The next day, a newspaper article from a local democratic newspaper *The Compiler* scathed about the Alderman’s attendance. “Men of decent instincts may wonder that such a thing could be in a white community, like this, and on an occasion commemorative of the bravery of white men alone....” For *The Compiler*, African Americans never deserved a place in the historical narrative. Although *The Compiler* had argued against preservation of the battlefield for years, igniting a tense debate between white citizens of Gettysburg about the proper treatment of the battlefield its arguments about African Americans entered a different realm. When *The Compiler* attacked the inclusion of the black Alderman in remembrance activities it argued for the creation of Gettysburg narrative based around the shared white experience of the Civil War. In a town with a deeply rooted black community, filled with veterans of the United States Colored Troops, this was a powerful message.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately, the fiery article from *The Compiler* was only one point in a long tradition of exclusionary rhetoric that continued to grow during the next half century. As monuments appeared across the nation and reconciliation movements emerged between the north and south, white remembrance of the war encouraged Americans to “forget race-related causes and consequences of the war by commemorating the equal

¹⁹⁶ “Dedication of the Monument,” *The Gettysburg Compiler*, 9 July 1869.

valor and heroism exhibited by white Union and Confederate soldiers in battle.”¹⁹⁷

Gettysburg was no different than the rest of the country in terms of exclusionary rhetoric.

What was told about the African American plight during the Gettysburg campaign came from white citizens and was characterized by fear and turmoil. Salome Myers remembered the experience of African Americans stating, “I know not how much cause they had for their fears, but it was terrible reality to them. All who could got away and those who were obliged to stay at home were at the shortest notice suddenly transformed into limping, halting, and apparently worthless specimens of humanity.”¹⁹⁸ While not crafted with the notion of exclusion in mind, Myers testimonial, like many others established popular narratives about the African American experience. Myer’s choice of the phrase “worthless specimens of humanity,” offered yet another poignant statement about the perception white citizens held of African Americans in the Gettysburg campaign.

Interestingly the exclusion of Black experiences from narratives of the battle focused on denying the ability of African Americans to resist the rebel invasion. In 1887 local author Jacob Hoke published a full history of the Invasion of Pennsylvania. Hoke took special care to identify slavery as the cause of the American Civil War and the cornerstone of the Southern Confederacy, yet his rendition of the African American experience excluded active Black participation in resisting the Confederate army. At the height of reconciliation, Hoke’s narrative remembered, the roads to Harrisburg were

¹⁹⁷ J. Christian Spielvogel, *Interpreting Sacred Ground: The Rhetoric of National Civil War Parks and Battlefields*. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2013), 26.

¹⁹⁸ Sarah Sites Rodgers, *The Ties of the Past: The Gettysburg Diaries of Salome Myers Stewart, 1854-1922* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1908), 94.

“crowded with wagons, horses and cattle. Then came large numbers of colored persons, men, women, and children, bearing with them huge bundles of clothing, bedding, and articles of house-keeping.”¹⁹⁹ Like Myers recollection, Hoke’s narrative showed a community gripped by fear and characterized as helpless victims who fled the region. While it is unlikely Hoke intentionally omitted acts of black resistance, his narrative nonetheless served to reduce the black community to tertiary participants behind white soldiers and white civilians.

While white remembrance of a sanitized Gettysburg narrative found roots in traditional racist sentiments, new forces of commercialization played on the eagerness of Gettysburg’s white population to adopt lost cause rhetoric about the battle. Within days of the ceasefire at Gettysburg curious onlookers traveled to witness the battlefield first hand. Corpses littered the countryside and visitors were already viewing the sights from places like Cemetery Hill and Little Round Top. Preservation of the “holy ground” became a prominent business around Gettysburg, and in November 1863 the Soldiers National Cemetery established the first aspects of a commemorative landscape. Before long organizations like the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association began purchasing land for preservation, guided tours became popular activities, and a National Military Park was established in 1895.²⁰⁰

In the years that followed the American Civil War, Gettysburg became an integral shrine to both American identity and Confederate identity. Lost Cause ideology permeated the nation and established a mythical narrative that told about brave southerners fighting a futile war against overwhelming odds. Commemoration efforts in

¹⁹⁹ Hoke, 98

²⁰⁰ Barbara L. Platt, *“This is holy ground:” A History of the Gettysburg Battlefield 1863-2009* (Gettysburg, Pa: The Gettysburg Foundation, 2009), 22.

Gettysburg also worked to mythologize the Confederate experience. In 1864, amateur historian John Bachelder published the first maps of the Gettysburg battlefield, which became a commercial success. Over the next forty years teams of engineers and cartographers worked under Bachelder to refine and expand understandings of the battlefield. In his work, Bachelder collected accounts from officers and soldiers who fought at Gettysburg to craft particular narratives that would perform well in commercial markets. Bachelder even produced guidebooks of the Gettysburg battlefield that also excluded African American participation in the campaign.

Although Bachelder worked to craft a concise narrative supportive of the United States, his work also created mythologized Lost Cause iconology. One afternoon, John Bachelder approached local farmer Basil Biggs at the corner of Biggs property along Cemetery Ridge. Biggs was engaged in cutting wood from a copse of trees and Bachelder pleaded with him to stop. After making no progress to sway his opinion Bachelder told Biggs “if he cut them he was only getting for them their value as rails, whereas if he allowed them to stand to mark the spot he would eventually get ten times as much for them.”²⁰¹ Eventually Biggs stopped and by 1882 the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association reluctantly paid him \$1000 and eight months interest for the ground.²⁰² At the time of the battle, this copse of trees was a small patch of scrubby undergrowth that stood near the center of the Federal battle lines. During the last day of fighting, 12,500 Confederate soldiers launched a final assault near the copse of trees and were met with murderous rifle, shell, and canister fire. In minutes, the rebel attack

²⁰¹ Bachelder to C. H. Buehler, Feb. 1, 1894, in in David Ladd, Audrey Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers*, vol. 3 (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1994), 1855.

²⁰² *Ibid.*,.

was shredded and those who made it to the federal lines progressed no farther than the small copse of trees.²⁰³

When Bachelder collected post-war accounts of the battle one Confederate staff officer proclaimed the clump of trees on Cemetery Ridge acted as a guide point for the Confederate advance. Elated Bachelder responded, “Why, Colonel, as the battle of Gettysburg was the crowning event of this campaign, this copse of trees must have been the high water mark of the rebellion.” In that moment, Bachelder created a prominent Gettysburg icon that remains today.²⁰⁴ In 1892, a monument was dedicated at the High Water Mark as a place where “all could join in admiration of the courage and enthusiasm which animated Pickett and his gallant Virginias, who made their magnificent charge, and the fortitude and solidarity of the equally gallant Pennsylvanians who received and withstood its momentum. This monument stood for both.”²⁰⁵ By the end of the 19th century, no spot on the Gettysburg battlefield was more popular than that copse of trees known as the “High Water Mark of the Rebellion”, a shrine to Lost Cause ideology on the land formerly owned by a free African American.

While the creation of the High Water Mark monument only distantly related to Basil Biggs, the transformation of the monument into a shrine of reconciliation impacted African Americans in Gettysburg remembrance. In 1913, the High Water Mark monument became globally synonymous with reconciliation during the 50th Anniversary celebrations of the battle of Gettysburg. Photographers from around the country

²⁰³ Scott D. Hartwig, “High Water Mark, Heros, Myth, and Memory” *The Third Day: The Fate Of A Nation* (Gettysburg, Pa: Gettysburg National Military Park, 2010), 22-54.

²⁰⁴ Scott D. Hartwig, “High Water Mark, Heros, Myth, and Memory” *The Third Day: The Fate Of A Nation* (Gettysburg, Pa: Gettysburg National Military Park, 2010), 22-54.

²⁰⁵ “High Water Mark Monument” *The New York Times*, June 3, 1892. Gettysburg National Military Park Monument Files V17-72 High Water Mark of the Rebellion.

captured the images of gray-haired veterans clasping hands over a stonewall that marked their battle lines near the High Water Mark. Yet no African Americans appeared in photographs of the celebration.

Recent historical debate has swirled over the participation of African Americans in large-scale remembrance activities like veterans reunions.²⁰⁶ Due to reconciliation and commemoration narratives Gettysburg became a popular pilgrimage point for veterans and American citizens alike. James P. Weeks argues, “By 1899 veterans had transformed the scene of slaughter into a genteel memorial park that served as the nation’s meeting ground for Blue-Gray reconciliation.”²⁰⁷ In 1913, the largest gathering of Civil War veterans to date marked the commemoration of Gettysburg’s 50th anniversary. While African American cooks, servants, and teamsters participated in the 1913 remembrance as support staff, little is known about the presence of black veterans during the event. White Union veteran Walter Herbert Blake claimed one street of the grand-veterans camp was “devoted entirely to negro soldiers;”²⁰⁸ However, closer examination of the reunion reveals inconclusive evidence of black participation aside from supportive roles. According to Evan Preston, there is no evidence of black veterans being invited to the 50th anniversary, and there is equally no evidence of “an explicit prohibition of African-Americans attending the ceremonies in Gettysburg.”²⁰⁹ With thousands of white veterans in attendance and local media scouring the events, the inclusion of black veterans would have drastically influenced the character of the

²⁰⁶ Evan Preston, “All May Visit the Big Camp”: Race and the Lesson of the Civil War at the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion” *The Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era* Vol. 2, 2011. Accessed Nov. 22, 2017 <http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=gcjcw>

²⁰⁷ Weeks, 176

²⁰⁸ Walter Herbert Blake, *Hand Grips: The Story of the Great Gettysburg Reunion July, 1913*. Compiled by Frank E. Channon. (Vineland, N.J.) in Preston, 184.

²⁰⁹ Preston, 73.

reunion and its coverage by national media.²¹⁰ By 1938, notions of excluding African Americans in veterans' reunions softened slightly. That year, African American veterans were invited to the national remembrance, and given medals to signify their inclusion in Civil War history.

Although black veterans were gradually included in national remembrance activities, battlefield commercialization adopted racist undertones and pushed black locals, and tourists further from remembrance narratives. During the latter half of the 19th century African American visitors from across the country frequently arrived in groups to explore the battlefield and celebrate events such as emancipation day.²¹¹ By 1900, organizations in Baltimore, Maryland were established for black excursions to Gettysburg specifically. Unfortunately, these events were often associated with lewd conduct and general debauchery in the town.²¹² As a result, Gettysburg's white population did not receive black visitors as positively as both Union and Confederate veterans. Although black elites argued, "Good behavior will gain for us what voting never can secure,"²¹³ in 1916 local bars closed to the public in preparation for rowdy emancipation day celebrations by black tourists. While local businesses lost money, the act of closing effectively shut out what was considered vulgar, and "reprehensible" behavior, perpetrated by unwanted "outsiders."²¹⁴ While black visitors were marginalized during the late 19th century, acceptance of Confederate veterans took precedence. In effort to accommodate southern tourist, Gettysburg businesses catered specifically to Confederate veterans, and segregated visitor accommodations such as

²¹⁰ Preston, 85

²¹¹ Weeks, 2004, 182

²¹² Weeks, 2004, 182.

²¹³ Afro-American Ledger, August 20, 1898

²¹⁴ Weeks, 181-182; Adams County News, Sept. 18, 1909, July 14, 1914.

railroad access to the battlefield on specific black excursion days to “avoid racial mixing.”²¹⁵ By effectively, establishing African Americans as unwanted outsiders, Gettysburg’s white population perpetuated Lost Cause rhetoric that further segregated the causes of the Civil War and removed black narratives from remembrance.

While the challenges faced by the Black community reflected national shifts toward Lost Cause ideology, the African American community in Gettysburg responded by creating remembrance spaces of their own. Gettysburg’s African Americans continued to face prejudice from local white citizens that diminished their role in the war and even hindered equal voting rights.²¹⁶ For some, the struggle to gain voting rights in post-war Gettysburg became the defining aspect of the black community’s experience. Deterred from participation in remembrance events and barred from incorporation in basic community rights such as voting, African American men organized self-help groups to promote equality and inclusion.

The Son’s of Good Will were an organization that formed to promote African American interest in Gettysburg’s community. Consisting of prominent Black community members like Basil Biggs and veterans of the United States Colored Troops, the Son’s of Good Will organized to advance civil rights and also find a proper burial ground for USCT veterans in Gettysburg. While no evidence supports the exclusion of African Americans from burial in the Soldiers National Cemetery, and indeed two USCT veterans were interred there in the 20th century, local rhetoric such as the article published by *The Compiler* illustrated popular sentiments in Gettysburg that likely

²¹⁵ Weeks, 2004, 179.

²¹⁶ Mathews, 12.

pushed the black community from associating with the National Cemetery. In April of 1867 a committee organized by Basil Biggs, Nelson Mathews, and Thomas Griegsby searched Gettysburg for suitable land. Ultimately the group purchased a plot near South Washington Street; a section of the town historically associated with Gettysburg's black community. On the new ground, the group created the "Goodwill Colored Graveyard." Eventually this cemetery became known as Lincoln Cemetery and still stands a memorial to the African American story in Gettysburg Pennsylvania. Numerous local African Americans are buried in the cemetery including United States Colored Troops and Basil Biggs.

As time passed, the place of Gettysburg's black community in historical remembrance gave way to white reconciliation rhetoric for the purpose of appeasing racist visitors. As Margaret Creighton points out in her work, Confederate veterans in particular gained power over narrative control that the black population did not have. In 1882 ex-Confederates traveled to Gettysburg to "'mark' the battlefield and enjoyed a reception and a luncheon replete with toasts to and from Union veterans."²¹⁷ While white soldiers toasted reconciliation and seemingly forgot the underlying causes of the war, the Sons of Good Will struggled to upkeep their own cemetery, and by 1873 segregated practices of remembrance developed.²¹⁸

Although segregated from participation in remembrance activities, the Sons of Goodwill remained an active organization in the Gettysburg community into the 20th century. Frequently meeting at the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the organization established a lasting legacy in the community alongside numerous

²¹⁷ Creighton, 218.

²¹⁸ Creighton, 217.

other good-will organizations such as The Colored Temperance Society, Sons of Aaron, Prince Hall Masons, and the Hayes and Wheeler Club.²¹⁹ In 1878 the Zion Church built a new structure just a block from the Goodwill Colored Cemetery and purchased that remembrance space in 1906. Although little is written about the struggles of the black community to carve and sustain a place in the historical narrative after the Civil War, Lincoln Cemetery and the Zion Church remain as two physical landmarks demonstrating the emergence of segregated commemoration in Gettysburg.

Conclusion:

For the black community in Gettysburg, the emergence of segregated commemoration was a waypoint in an unfinished road toward racial equality and citizenship in remembrance. Throughout the twentieth century, Gettysburg's African American community members continued their struggles for equality, however the narratives of their ancestors remained tertiary to those of white soldiers and white citizens. Nearly a century later in 1999, one African American visitor to Gettysburg recalled an immense "feeling of detachment," as he wondered the town and battlefield gazing at shrine-like monuments to white soldiers and white citizens. Although he read exhibits about Basil Biggs and Abraham Brian, the segregated remembrance of Gettysburg left him feeling "like an uninvited guest."²²⁰

To this day, the interpretation of African American history in Gettysburg remains a contested and contentious topic. While Americans continuously debate the meaning of the Civil War publically and privately, the historic contributions of Gettysburg's African

²¹⁹ Jean Odom, Shelley Jones, St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: A Version of Its History," Gettysburg National Military Park Files, V9-G4-A.

²²⁰ Allen B. Ballard, "The Demons of Gettysburg" *New York Times*, May 30, 1999.

Americans offer valuable lessons about the creation of our nation and the shaping of its future. In an era of citizenship defined by participation in the American Civil War, narrative inclusion and exclusion proved a particular obstacle for equality and the “New birth of freedom” Abraham Lincoln spoke of at the Soldiers National Cemetery 155 years ago. Overshadowed by the larger story of the battle, the black community of Gettysburg persevered and fortunately some aspects of their legacy remain today. Within the boundaries of Gettysburg National Military Park, sites like the Soldiers National Cemetery, Basil Biggs’s farm, and Abraham Brian’s farm are physically preserved. Similarly, some sites in the town of Gettysburg such as the Lincoln Cemetery also remain.

In addition, historical scholarship acknowledging the narrative segregation that gripped Gettysburg for a century and a half, dawns a new era of interpretation about the battle of Gettysburg. Calls for equality in remembrance now beg officials, tourist, and locals alike to recognize the contributions of African Americans in both national and local narratives of the American Civil War.²²¹

²²¹ “Gettysburg Black History Museum” <http://gettysburgblackhistory.org/> accessed, November 5, 2017.

Conclusion

Moving past the nineteenth century and into the twenty-first, the legacy of Gettysburg remains a critical part of American national identity. Each year millions of visitors travel to Gettysburg in pilgrimage to its symbolism of national importance. Controlled by the National Park Service since the early twentieth century, the battlefield and its narratives are presented to visitors through neatly managed fields, carefully kept monuments, and hundreds of interpretive markers. The pedicured fields present the narrative of the battle through a sanitized lens, void of death and destruction, and the story of the battle appears as a natural part of the landscape.

Although stone monuments cover the field, hidden behind that veil of modern interpretation are nearly 155 years of carefully crafted narratives that constitute a pillar of American national identity. Uncharacteristic to its romanticized presentation, the natural beauty of the Gettysburg Battlefield is metaphorically linked to American identity and was not an innate landscape feature from the Civil War. As a result, this thesis finds particular significance by demonstrating how the seemingly clear-cut narrative of the battle did not suddenly appear in the late nineteenth century. Instead, the nationally renowned narrative of the battle was fostered and carefully managed by particular groups of citizens from the town of Gettysburg. In addition, each group acted within the bounds of their own particular social, political, and racial classes to claim a particular stake in the perpetuation of the Gettysburg narrative, sometimes at the expense of others. Through the contextual examination of contemporary sources from citizens and

soldiers alike, this thesis argues that the civilians of Gettysburg thoughtfully shaped early national narratives about the battle of Gettysburg and drastically influenced who and what those narratives discussed.

In a certain sense, the process of developing the narrative of Gettysburg during the 19th century is a microcosm of narrative development about the Civil War. Ultimately narrative creation emerged as a fluent process molded by those in power and often filled with subjective facts. As demonstrated in the first chapter of this work, after the cataclysmic battle of Gettysburg local citizens found particular power in crafting how the battle was to be remembered for years to come. Unfortunately for citizens such as David McConaughy the fluent and fleeting nature of narrative power ultimately pushed local citizens from control as veterans became increasingly interested in preserving their martial legacy. In the second chapter, Emergency militiamen caught somewhere between civilians and soldiers found great difficulty fighting against negative narratives established by those who defined the battle and controlled its legacy. Fortunately, for white civilians and white militia, inclusion in national narratives remained particularly guaranteed in the post-war era, however for local African Americans this was not the case. The final chapter of this work thus examined the plight of African Americans who participated in the campaign and have been fighting an ongoing battle for inclusion in remembrance activities for over 155 years. The silencing of Gettysburg's black community acts as a reminder of the power historical narratives hold. By addressing the systematic marginalization of Gettysburg's black community, the town and National Battlefield are posed to create a holistic interpretation of the American Civil War.

Although stone monuments stand as sentinels over the hollowed ground, a greater understanding of narrative development following the Civil War adds further contextualization to Gettysburg in National narratives and contributes to the understanding of how the legacy of the Civil War impacted American identity in the late 19th century. By expanding the perspective of studies about war remembrance in the period immediately following the battle of Gettysburg, this thesis introduces the voices of narratives traditionally obscured in the later 19th century, and brings into question concepts of citizenship defined by participation in the identity constructing national narratives. In post-war America individuals repressed as full citizens of the United States on the bases of race, gender, and wealth actively shaped the narrative of the battle, making Gettysburg a shared experience for not only the veterans of the battle but for American Citizens equally.

This thesis also brings to light the impact of early narrative development on historical sites and National Parks alike. Through examination of Gettysburg's early narrative development and the acknowledgement of the varying groups scrambling for control of the narrative, it is clear that the commemorative landscape was more the product of those who wished to remember the battle in particular ways than the actual fighting itself. The influence of early narratives specifically impacted both the tangible and non-tangible remembrance of the battle in ways we continue grappling with today. Some of those impacts include the resurrection and preservation of neglected narratives like African-American farms on the battlefield, and the contested placement of Confederate symbolism throughout the park.

Although seven score and fifteen years after the battle of Gettysburg concluded, its relevancy remains clearly visible. Currently, Americans are poised on the brink of a new era of inclusive interpretation. By examining not only the battle of Gettysburg and its memory, but also how that memory developed we gain a greater understanding of the battle's impact on our contemporary society. In a modern era of holistic narratives focused on including multiple perspectives and identifying silenced groups, the story of Gettysburg will continue growing as a critical manifestation of American identity. Through careful examination, Gettysburg's narrative influence on Civil War memory gains renewed relevance as a deeply educational aspect of American culture.

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