

AFTER JULY:
THE EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
ON THE PEOPLE OF ADAMS COUNTY

by

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ABSTRACT

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This study is an attempt to manifest the effects of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2, and 3, 1863 on the town of Gettysburg and Adams County, Pennsylvania. It is the contention of this paper that the combined disruptions of Confederate cavalry raids, open battle, and medical repercussions were effective in turning a quiet, prosperous farming community into a region of temporary bustle, confusion, and want. Though most area residents were able to reconstruct their pre-battle modes of life in a relatively short period of time, evidences of the struggle remained in the area for many years in the forms of bullet-riddled orchards, ruined businesses, and financially pressed farmers.

In order to depict the impact of the battle upon this region, a brief view of Adams County, Pennsylvania, as it existed prior to the summer of 1863, has been provided. Discussions of its topography and history are followed by an examination of the social, political, and economic characteristics of the county. Into this setting, the early weeks of invasion are

introduced, followed by a brief recapitulation of the military confrontation. The progression of the battle has rarely been discussed in relation to the inhabitants of the town; this aspect has been given extensive consideration here, along with an examination of the conduct of area residents and the medical developments which are components of the aftermath. As the Battle of Gettysburg continued to manifest its effects upon the town long after the guns fell silent, the local and gubernatorial elections of 1863 are reviewed in relation to the repercussions of the battle upon local political allegiances. Concentration is placed on county politics, but the presidential contests of 1860 and 1864 and the gubernatorial races of 1860 and 1863 are also considered as they relate to county results. Furthest reaching, however, were the economic reverberations which resulted from the traumas of the summer. The numerous incidents of damage and loss of personal property and real estate are examined in detail as are the evidences of economic opportunism present in the county. The cumulative economic, political, and social effects of the Battle of Gettysburg are then considered in relation to the information presented.

It is the conclusion of this thesis that while the town was again functioning and most of the repairs had been accomplished within six months, the full extent of economic prosperity known prior to the invasion of 1863 did not return quickly. Further, the fame which came to the town as a result of the battle made it impossible for Gettysburg ever to regain its previous anonymity.

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Introduction

The southern Pennsylvania region known as Adams County was a land of small farms, economic prosperity, and conservative politics. In June 1863, Confederate cavalry troops raided the area extensively for needed supplies. The following month a three-day battle destroyed thousands of dollars worth of crops, fences, and buildings. For six weeks following the battle the town of Gettysburg and the surrounding countryside became a vast hospital, undersupplied, understaffed, and bulging at the seams with wounded. The natural tendency to see to the needs of one's own family and interests left a shortage of workers needed to bury the dead on a five-mile battlefield south of the town. Harvest time had arrived and those families fortunate enough to possess a horse and wagon were trying to salvage what remained of battered crops. Some decided to put their wagons to another use by helping some of the ten-to-twelve thousand visitors who had arrived in town to search out wounded relatives on the battlefield. The prices charged for this and other services was the subject of widespread controversy throughout the North for months.

Just when the turmoil of the summer months had abated, the county and gubernatorial races marked the month of October. November brought the President, the Cabinet, and Edward Everett. Twenty-five to thirty thousand others also journeyed to

Gettysburg for the dedication of Soldiers' National Cemetery. The cemetery, when finished, would cover seventeen acres which had lain along the Union battleline. By the end of the year, though most households had returned to former activities, economic problems had not abated. Strangers still paid frequent visits to the site of the famed battle, and the cemetery had begun to be an attraction which would one day bring hundreds of thousands to the once quiet fields of Gettysburg.

The purpose of this study is to go beyond the much discussed three days of the Gettysburg battle to the aftermath of gunfire. Isolated from the two year Civil War by the travel distances of the nineteenth century, Adams County residents were suddenly faced with confiscations of personal property, damages to real estate and the responsibility of caring for twenty-two thousand wounded soldiers. The experience was unique. No other northern town was placed in a similar position throughout the four-year period of the Civil War. Even on the battlefields of the South, armies had not always so suddenly withdrawn leaving such massive burial problems to the local residents. The six-week period of caring for severely wounded men, preparing disinfectants, and providing vast quantities of food and medicines was a massive burden well borne. Though the Sanitary and Christian Commissions aided by the newly established Adams Express Hospital Corps did incalculable service to the area, bringing in over sixty tons of perishable commodities, it was a period of upheaval for the usually quiet community.

A study of the aftereffects of the Battle of Gettysburg on Adams County has thus far remained unexamined. The fascinations of the battle seem to have occupied historians' thoughts and energies. Numerous books have been written on the battle, several of which were used as secondary sources for this study. One effort has been made in the direction of a study of the area as related to the famed battle. John Paul Harman, in a Master's Thesis for Ohio State University, wrote on "The Reaction of the People of Pennsylvania to Lee's Invasion of 1863" which was of great help in writing Chapter One. Two studies have been done as regards the development of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Both were done under the direction of the Gettysburg National Military Park: Frederick Tilberg's "Historical Cemetery Survey Report" and Kathleen R. Georg's "The Development and Care of the Soldiers' National Cemetery Enclosures at Gettysburg." The great bulk of information available for a study of the conditions after the battle is found in personal memoirs, mostly unpublished, and in the newspapers of the day. A great deal of information for this paper was obtained from the collections of the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania which houses numerous diaries and memoirs. Also helpful were the studies done on the Gettysburg College, The History of Gettysburg College, 1832-1932 by Samuel G. Hefelbauer and Abdel Ross Wentz's Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary.

Though three weekly newspapers were published in Gettysburg during the 1860's, a complete collection of only one, the Compiler, is available. The two other news weeklies, the Star and Banner and the Adams Sentinel have been compared with accounts from the Compiler whenever possible to assure accuracy. Also helpful were the Franklin Repository, published in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and the Harrisburg Evening Telegraph.

A large portion of my research on economic aspects of the Battle of Gettysburg was done at the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives, Harrisburg, where the Records of the Department of the Auditor General, E. Records of the Board of Claims, 1862-1890 are kept. Eleven and a half boxes of unpublished border claims are available for those interested in Adams County research.

Though a study of the logistics and maneuvers of a battle are obviously important to the study of warfare, so too, is the study of those who must bear the results of such a battle. The effects which are felt long after the armies depart and the guns fall silent play a part in the development of political, social, and economic characteristics of the area surrounding the battlefield. Such is the case of Gettysburg, in Adams County, Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER I

"AN INSIGNIFICANT LITTLE TOWN"¹

Nestled "between two ranges of hills, the Catoctin on the east and the South Mountain on the west," the borough of Gettysburg was one of many quiet little communities dotting the southern landscape of Pennsylvania as the turbulent decade of the 1860s commenced.² Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell were campaigning for the office of the Presidency as this town of nearly twenty-four hundred persons reached its seventieth birthday.³ Punctuated by occasional rocky knolls, the gently rolling valley that was Adams County spread outward from the little community, covering an area of 648 square miles. To the west, north, and east, respectively, were the counties of Franklin, Cumberland, and York; the southern border of the county rested on the state of Maryland.

To the practiced eye, the terrain which spread out beneath the peaks of South Mountain was one of marvelous military advantage. The numerous forests and rises of the area

¹Fitzgerald Ross, Cities and Camps of the Confederate States, ed. Richard Barksdale Haskell (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1958), p. 49.

²Jacob Hoke, The Great Invasion of 1863, or General Lee in Pennsylvania (Dayton, Ohio: W. J. Shuey, 1888), p. 92.

³U. S., Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States. 1860: Population, p. 438.

could provide ample cover for large numbers of marching infantry; an army in control of certain of the rocky hills might dominate the entire region south of the Adams county seat. In addition, twelve roads--three of which were hard-surfaced rock and gravel--radiated outward from the town, providing excellent channels over which communication, supplies, and fresh troops could be poured into the area. Prior to the summer of 1863, few who came here noticed the tactical possibilities of this quiet section, but the coming winds of war had not yet swept northward. Afterward, it would all seem obvious.

A fleeting glimpse of the landscape surrounding Gettysburg at mid-nineteenth century would have revealed that--like much of the United States during that era--it was a predominantly agricultural region. Fields of wheat, oats, barley, rye, and Indian corn, representing more than nine million dollars worth of farmland, stretched far to the base of the rising mountains.⁴ Family vegetable gardens grew beside the white-washed wooden and gray stone houses which sat dwarfed in the shadows of enormous barns favored by the area's farmers. When not needed for work in the fields, thick-muscled draft horses grazed near the herds of cattle, sheep, and other livestock, valued at more than one hundred thousand dollars.⁵

⁴U. S., Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Agriculture, pp. 124-125. See Appendix A.

⁵Ibid.

Orchard produce and dairy products also jostled their way down the hard-surfaced Baltimore Pike to the markets of that southern city, bolstering the area economy and creating an aura of quiet prosperity about the twenty-eight thousand inhabitants of Adams County.⁶

A large proportion of those living in the tiny one or one-and-a-half story cottages of the countryside and in the row houses and solid brick homes of the town were descendants of the original Scotch-Irish settlers of the area.⁷ Appearing as early as 1740 in the wild, forested region known as the "Manor of the Mask," it was this hearty breed of farmers who years later agitated for the separation of their western townships from the distant government at York.⁸ Political differences between the Federalists of this area and the Democratic-Republicans of the eastern townships were exacerbated by the nearly forty miles separating the furthest reaches of the county

⁶Census of 1860: Population, p. 437.

⁷I. Daniel Rupp, The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties (Lancaster City, Pa.: Gilbert Hulls, 1846), p. 541.

⁸The area around Gettysburg, including all of Cumberland and part of Strabane townships was originally known as the "Manor of the Mask." This area was created by a warrant from the Penn family in 1740, permitting settlement on their land. In 1765, boundaries were marked and the settlers given title. More concerning the history of this section can be obtained in Dr. William H. Egle's An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Civil, Political, and Military, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, including Historical Descriptions of Each County in the State, their Towns, and Industrial Resources (Harrisburg: De Witt C. Goodrich & Co., 1876).

from its seat of government. In a time when travel over the best of roads was a long, dusty, jostling experience, the workings of compromise between political factions of the county was given very little opportunity. In the first year of the nineteenth century, after more than a decade of discord, Adams County was established with Gettysburg as its county seat.⁹

The town itself was the creation of the far-sighted James Gettys, the son of a Scotch-Irish immigrant who saw great possibilities in establishing a small town on a section of his own property where several major turnpikes met and intersected. If local desires for the split with York materialized, farmer Gettys correctly foresaw the town, thus linked to the outside world, in a natural position to become the new seat of county government. Though not specifically stated in any of the histories of this period, it seems safe to assume that the ambitious Gettys was looking toward the financial benefits such a development would incur. Sale and rental of property, the necessary erection of new buildings with the probable expansion of the town as a center for trade and government, all these factors probably contributed toward the attractiveness of establishing a county seat in this previously undeveloped area.

But, with the growth of Gettysburg during the nineteenth century came a new group of immigrants of another land

⁹Sherman Day, Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: George W. Gorton, 1843), p. 58.

possessing different political views from those earliest settlers. German farmers in search of rich soils in which to practice the crafts learned in their homeland found the gently rolling hills of young Adams County very attractive. Names such as Buehler, Bitler, Meusselman, and Slentz gradually appeared more and more frequently in the deed transfers and in local news articles. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of persons of German descent, most of them now first-generation Americans, had begun to rival those of Scotch-Irish parentage in domination of county politics.¹⁰ These "Pennsylvania Dutch" as the Germans came to be known, were politically of the Democratic persuasion, having adopted the states' rights, independent attitudes of that party as it had evolved through the years. This was the same faction which the Federalists had sought to avoid when they orchestrated the split from York County at the turn of the century. But surprisingly the general conservatism of the region served to cushion this polarization in ideology until well into the Civil War years.

It was, indeed, a politically conservative group of people who lived in this southern Pennsylvania county. Influenced perhaps by its close proximity to the South and by its dependence upon the Maryland markets for economic stability, the people of Adams County argued for compromise with the slave states when much of the rest of the nation had accepted the

¹⁰According to the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population, p. 437, only 980 residents of Adams County were foreign born.

inevitability of war.¹¹ Abolitionism had few sympathizers here, even among staunch Republicans, and agitation for total equality and suffrage was preceptively non-existent. The presence of large numbers of Mennonites and Quakers which colored the political views of some Pennsylvania counties was not a factor here. Of the seventy-five churches existing in Adams County as of 1860, only two were Mennonite, two Quaker. The over-whelming majority of county residents attended the Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, none of which became deeply involved in the cause of the slave.¹²

There were, however, no incidents recorded in local newspapers or personal accounts regarding the mistreatment of area blacks during this period. A number of escaped slaves were rumored to be among the 474 blacks of Adams County.¹³

¹¹Adams County traded widely with the city of Baltimore, largely as the result of geographical factors. Baltimore was the nearest large city, being only 52 miles from the Adams county seat as opposed to the 114 miles which separated Gettysburg from Philadelphia. Also obstructing local trade with the large Pennsylvania city were the eastern rises of the Appalachians over which travel was slow and uncomfortable. Certain political views common to the South often appeared in Gettysburg as a result of this close connection with Baltimore and the town has frequently been referred to as very southern in character.

¹²U. S., Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Statistics of the United States, p. 456. Apparently most residents were affiliated with some Adams County church, though some along the borders may have attended services in neighboring counties or in Maryland. Though specific figures of enrollment may have been below capacity, according to the Census of 1860: Statistics, p. 459, the aggregate accommodations of county churches was 29,372. With a county population of 23,000, accommodations had evidently been planned for a sizeable attendance.

¹³Census of 1860: Population, p. 437.

Though just eight miles north of the Mason-Dixon line, Gettysburg residents were not noted for any encouragement toward the settlement of former bondsmen, but charges of harassment have not been recorded either.¹⁴ In fact, one white household even included a young black boy who was referred to as a "foster brother."¹⁵ No evidence that he lived among them as a total equal has surfaced, however. Given the time period, it would have been a highly unique situation if he had.

Information regarding these black residents--common to the history of Afro-Americans in nearly all areas--is sketchy at best. It appears that of the 188 who lived within the town limits of Gettysburg, all did so within the confines of the southwest corner of the town.¹⁶ One man, believed by some to be an escaped slave is known to have operated a small restaurant there; another owned twelve acres of farmland on the Taneytown Road, just south of the borough.¹⁷ But these were the exceptions. Throughout the county, the most prevalent form

¹⁴Only one mention appeared regarding area activities on behalf of runaway slaves. That involved the home of Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker of the Lutheran Theological Seminary which was rumored to be a station on the Underground Railroad. Schmucker, however, is generally referred to as only mildly abolitionist and the veracity of the rumors remains difficult to substantiate.

¹⁵Margaret Bigham Beitler, "Jimmy at Gettysburg." Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

¹⁶Census of 1860: Population, p. 437.

¹⁷"The View from Little Round Top," Gettysburg Times, April 17, 1979, p. 3; Clifton Johnson, "The Colored Farm Hand," Battleground Adventures (Boston: n. p., 1915). Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

of livelihood for blacks was to hire out as farmhands or as house servants. Some probably found employment with the railroad when it was extended to Gettysburg in 1859, as well as during the subsequent additions to it that were being made throughout this period.¹⁸ Of the industries which existed in Adams County at this time, there is no record that blacks found employment in them. This, of course, does not entirely rule out the possibility, but given the jealousy with which white laborers guarded their positions from free-black encroachment, such a practice would have been highly unlikely.

In spite of the primarily agricultural nature of the county, some manufacturers did exist there in the early 1860s. Situated as it was at the axis of a dozen highways, Gettysburg became noted throughout that section of the country for its fine carriage industry. Thirteen carriage-making establishments were operating in the area in 1860, along with two cart and wagon businesses. Also present were sixteen lumber mills, nine blacksmiths, twenty-three leather shops and a number of industries concerned with horse gears and agricultural implements. In all, 119 manufacturers were credited to Adams County

¹⁸As evidence does exist that some black freemen were hired by the federal government to restore the railroad tracks torn up by the invaders, it is safe to suppose that perhaps a number of them had had some experience in this type of work prior to the battle. Georgeanna Woolsey Bacon in Three Weeks at Gettysburg (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1863), p. 19, has referred to this employment of blacks in the first days following the conflict.

in the last year of peace, involving a total value of over \$650,000.¹⁹ Though the completion of a railroad line to Gettysburg in 1859 seems to have changed the direction of some local industries and businesses by bringing in competing products, it does not appear to have adversely affected it to any degree by 1863.²⁰ A number of references have been made regarding the "declining" carriage and wagon establishments in Gettysburg at the time of the Civil War, but statistics show that by 1870, the number had increased by seventeen.²¹ The changes brought about by the arrival of the railroad appear to have been mainly those affecting home manufactures such as candles, cloth, and the like, which the new imports gradually began to replace.

As the county seat, Gettysburg was the center of legal activities, local government, commerce, and education for the area. The town's three weekly newspapers carried advertisements for numerous men's clothing and boot shops, dry goods stores, two marble works, a fire insurance company, two drug-stores, several barbers, one saloon, and at least seven attorneys

¹⁹Census of 1860: Manufactures, p. 493. See Appendix B.

²⁰Though frequent mentions have been made of the decline of manufactures in Adams County following the Battle of Gettysburg, many factors must be considered and the railroad cannot be assigned total responsibility.

²¹U. S., Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Wealth and Industry, III:721.

practicing in the town.²² A bank and a Farmers and Mechanics Savings Institution were also located within the county seat. Forty-four business establishments were listed under an 1862-1863 tax assessment for Gettysburg's Cumberland Township alone.²³ But the prominent residents of the town seemed proudest of the educational facilities located there. A number of female academies and several grammar schools were operated throughout the 1850s and 1860s.²⁴ Established in 1826, the Lutheran Theological Seminary faced the town from a gentle rise to the west. Gettysburg College which opened its doors in 1827 was located in the northwest section of the town.²⁵ Nearly two hundred students were enrolled in these institutions of higher learning as the war clouds of the 1860s burst upon the nation. It was the blood of such young men as these which was soon being spilt upon the soil of the South.

²²The fire insurance company does not appear to have paid any claims as a result of fires set during the Rebel invasion of 1863. Though several names appearing in its yearly report published in the Gettysburg Adams Sentinel, December 22, 1863, p. 2, are those of people who later filed government claims, none were claimants of damage due to fire as a result of the Battle of Gettysburg.

²³"List of Merchants," Gettysburg Compiler, May 11, 1863, p. 2.

²⁴A number of schools were still in session as the Union and Confederate troops came to blows on the morning of July 1. Union officers were taken prisoner in the breakfast room of the female academy on Oak Hill while astonished students looked on.

²⁵Now known as Gettysburg College, this institution was known as Pennsylvania College during the Civil War.

Enrollment in the college and in the seminary dropped significantly in 1861-1863 from pre-war figures.²⁶ Situated just eight miles from the Mason-Dixon line, these institutions had, over the years, attracted a number of southern students. When shells thundered over Fort Sumter, South Carolina in April 1861, these young men departed for the South and the Confederate Army. Northern boys from the college and the seminary also left school for the military service. By the summer of 1863, approximately 3,000 of the 5,419 white males of Adams County eligible for military service had enlisted in the defense of their country.²⁷ Names of area wounded and killed began to appear in the county papers and continued through the four years of conflict.

The slow progress of the war, coupled with the lack of any decisive Union victories served to produce a political reaction in the area by the beginning of the third year of fighting. Although supportive of the Lincoln Administration at the onset of armed hostilities, predominantly Democratic

²⁶Professor Robert Fortenbaugh, "The College and the Civil War," ed., Samuel Gring Hefelbauer, The History of Gettysburg College, 1832-1932 (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 1932), p. 179. According to Professor Fortenbaugh's figures, the enrollment at Gettysburg College for 1860-1861 was 166. The following year it was down to 131, and in 1863, the year of the Battle of Gettysburg, enrollment was at 123. Following the battle, in the academic year 1863-1864, it dipped to 114 and in 1864-1865 to 112. The seminary had significantly fewer students to start with, usually having no more than thirty enrolled in an academic year, and is also said to have lost a number of students to the war effort.

²⁷Ibid., p. 180.

Adams County had begun to swing toward the arguments of the Peace Democrats for a cessation of warfare and the long-hoped for compromise with the South.²⁸ War weariness had set in and no Confederate infantryman had as yet set foot upon the soil of the North.

Surprisingly, the trade of the region had experienced little trauma as a result of the two years of fighting. Though economically tied to the markets of Baltimore, the nearest large city, Adams County farmers and businessmen had done a smaller business farther south and fortunately for them, the state of Maryland had not seceded. Thus, trade with the area's principal market remained relatively untouched.

But geographical location dictated certain distinctions in the war experiences of Adams County as compared with the greater part of the Union. Its southern border rested on

²⁸According to a compilation by Dr. Charles Glatfelter of Gettysburg College and the Adams County Historical Society, Lincoln had carried the county by 180 votes in 1860. The History of Adams and Cumberland Counties (Chicago: Warner, Beers, & Co., 1886), pp. 87-88 and 91-92, noted the election in 1860 in Adams County of Republicans A. K. McClure to the state senate and Gettysburg native Edward McPherson to the national legislature. McClure and McPherson lost their seats in the 1862 election to Democrats William McSherry and A. H. Cofforth, respectively. Though redistricting could have played a part in the outcome of these elections, they seem to have followed the trend of much of the rest of Pennsylvania politics at this time. Having gained control of the state assembly in 1862, Democratic representatives took advantage of their new power by approving a constitutional convention to end the war and reach a compromise with the South. More information regarding this matter may be found in Erwin Stanley Bradley's The Triumph of Militant Republicanism: A Study of Pennsylvania and Presidential Politics, 1860-1872 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

northern Maryland. Traditionally a southern state though it was never to secede from the Union, it has been estimated that at least half of the population of Maryland was in sympathy with the Confederacy. Several Rebel cavalry excursions were made through this partially conciliatory state on their journey to the border of Pennsylvania and into the fertile farm country. These Rebel reconnaissance missions, though generally small in size, had produced an ever-present state of worry throughout the border areas. Rumors of the southern approach often sent livestock to hide in the forested mountains and valuables to the bottoms of wells. This was true not only in Adams County, but in the neighboring counties as well.²⁹

Having learned to be prudent in regard to their transportable property, however, border residents were slow to become militarily agitated in regard to the security of their homes. They had seen Rebel foraging parties and could easily react to rumors regarding their propinquity, but enemy infantry had not yet been seen north of the Mason-Dixon line. In spite of vastly credible reports to the contrary, most border residents

²⁹Most notable of these small detachments were from J. E. B. Stuart's Cavalry which reached up into the valley in October 1862. The invasion of 1863 was not the last visit of southern troops to the Cumberland Valley. In the summer of 1864, a force under General Jubal Early commanded by General John McCausland with regimental commanders Bradley Johnson and Harry Gilmore again appeared on Pennsylvania soil. They set fire to Chambersburg, Franklin County, in August of that year, doing extensive damage. For further information on the 1864 raid, see the Chambersburg Franklin (Pa.) Repository

were unable to believe in that possibility until it had already become a fact.

In spite of the efforts of both the Lincoln Administration in Washington and the state government in Harrisburg, public reaction to the military needs of Pennsylvania was painfully slow. After numerous invasion rumors throughout the first years of war, many in the area had come to believe that,

. . . however tempting the rich farms and storehouses of Pennsylvania might appear to him to be . . . [General Robert E. Lee] . . . would not deem it safe to venture so far from his base of support and supply.³⁰

With this attitude, border county residents greatly underestimated the daring southern commander. And the development of events would show them dangerously mistaken.

Lee's troops, under the full-bearded General James A. Longstreet and General Richard S. Ewell--known as "Old Bald Head"--began the northern march from their base on the Rapidan as early as June 3, 1863. By the twenty-second of that month they had crossed the border into Pennsylvania. Cavalry detachments under General Albert Gallatin Jenkins of Ewell's Corps and the moustached General John D. Imboden had been in the state for a week at that point, busily rounding up supplies for

³⁰Micheal Jacobs, "The Battle of Gettysburg," Evangelical Quarterly Review XV (January, 1864), p. 227.

shipment south. Grain, horses, and horse gears, medical supplies, and livestock were just a few of the items designated contraband of war. These detachments also made themselves useful to their commanding officers by dismantling railroad bridges, tearing up stretches of track, and ripping down telegraph lines throughout the area. They thus severed local communications with the outside world.

In spite of the obvious presence of the Confederate cavalry throughout the border regions of Pennsylvania, little enthusiasm was seen among the citizens in regard to military enlistments. Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin's June twelfth call for volunteers to meet the invaders netted only seven full regiments. His plea was bolstered by a proclamation from President Lincoln, calling for one hundred thousand men from the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, and Maryland. Of these, fifty thousand were to come from Pennsylvania. Issued on the same day the Rebel cavalry appeared in Chambersburg, Franklin County, twenty-one miles to the northwest of Gettysburg, the anxious President's call was followed by somewhat more enthusiasm on the part of area residents.

In Gettysburg, approximately sixty students of Gettysburg College and four students from the seminary met on June sixteenth and determined to volunteer their services. They left for the recruiting camp in Harrisburg the following day.

joined by twenty-one citizens of the town.³¹ Also by this time, Major Robert Bell had organized a local cavalry troop to augment the two-year-old "Adams Dragoons," a local militia unit.³²

Three days after the students and young men of Gettysburg had departed, a Committee of Safety was created in response to a speech given by an emissary of the state recruiting headquarters.³³ Prominent town leaders were involved in this committee which attempted to encourage those of military age to join in the defense of their homes and their state. Though no specific mention is made of a particular group, it can be assumed that members of this Committee of Safety, along with those of the Adams Dragoons and Bell's cavalry were included in the one civilian attempt to keep the Rebels out of the state. Learning of the Confederate presence just eighteen miles south of Gettysburg, approximately fifty Adams County residents--

³¹Among those of the college who joined the group going to Harrisburg were several sons of prominent Gettysburg families, including Samuel D. Schmucker, John Morris Krauth, sons of professors of the seminary, and Edmund J. Wolf, Thomas Billheimer, Harvey McKnight, and Theodore L. Seip, who themselves would become instructors at the seminary or the college. From the seminary in 1863, were Frederick Klinefelter who was elected the Captain of the regiment and Henry C. Shindle, Alexander McLaughlin and Matthias H. Richards. According to Professor Robert Fortenbaugh in his chapter of Samuel G. Hefelbauer's The History of Gettysburg College, 1832-1932, one or two of the recruits from the citizens of Gettysburg returned home before even reaching Harrisburg apparently having second thoughts about their hasty actions.

³²Tillie Pierce Alleman, At Gettysburg, or What a Girl Saw and Heard of the Battle: A True Narrative, (n. p., 1888), p. 15. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

³³Gettysburg Compiler, June 22, 1863, p. 3.

including the later famed John Burns--took axes into the mountains to fell trees, blocking the passes into the state. It was the twenty-second of June and the action had come too late. The Army of Northern Virginia had already begun its march across the southern soil of Pennsylvania. On that day it was seen as near to the county seat as Fairfield, just eight miles away.

For nearly three weeks, tall, slim Governor Andrew Curtin had expended enormous efforts to organize defenses within his endangered state. The response had not been encouraging. Citizens of Harrisburg and Philadelphia could not believe that the federal army would allow Lee's troops to reach an area so far north.³⁴ Consequently, it was nearly the end of June before fortifications began to go up around those cities. By that time the wooden-legged General Ewell was heading his men toward a panicked state capitol.³⁵

Recruitment quotas also were not being met with any enthusiasm. Originally expected to be a part of Major-General Darius M. Couch's Department of the Susquehanna, potential troops created a major stumbling block by refusing to be

³⁴This was not true in the western section of the state, however, as citizens of Pittsburgh began erecting barriers around their city as early as the first week of June when the initial invasion reports reached them.

³⁵Otto Eisenschimel and Ralph Newman, The American Illiad: The Epic Story of the Civil War as narrated by Eye-witnesses and Contemporaries (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1947), p. 453.

inducted into the national army. This had been seen by officials as the only possible way to equip the new troops and quickly prepare them for battle, but without any men to equip the plan quite obviously was not working.³⁶ It was decided by the worried governor to rescind the necessity of serving under the national government and to reduce the length of service from six months to ninety days or the duration of the emergency. Response improved greatly. The announcement was made on June twenty-sixth and in a period of three weeks, more than twenty-four thousand men had been enlisted. Over twenty-five thousand actually served as Pennsylvania volunteers during the emergency, though on June twenty-second, when the southern army crossed the Pennsylvania border, the bearded, slightly-balding Couch had just over eleven thousand troops, eight thousand of whom were volunteers from the New York state militia.³⁷

Why this great reluctance among Pennsylvanians to serve in the defense of their state? One contributing factor was that some people simply did not want to submit to the hardships of military life. Long, tiring marches, disruption of their

³⁶The Department of the Susquehanna had been organized on June 12, 1863, and was to deal with military organization in all of Pennsylvania east of Johnstown. The Department of the Monongahela was created at the same time for western Pennsylvania and parts of eastern Ohio and northern West Virginia.

³⁷Edwin B. Coddington, "Pennsylvania Prepares for Invasion," Pennsylvania History XXXI:166; U. S., Department of War, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, by Lt. Col. Robert N. Scott, Ser. I, Vol. XXVII, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 212-214. Hereafter referred to as Official Records.

daily lives, risks of severe injury and death were hardly pleasant prospects. Others hesitated to leave their homes, families, and crops. Harvest season was near and to be absent from home at that time meant leaving heavy burdens upon wives and children. Some resented the lack of defense provided for the border regions as compared to the attention given the area along the Susquehanna.³⁸ Protection of the state capitol, while logical if you were in Harrisburg, did not seem so rational to those whose land was about to be overrun. Political reasons also played their role in this hesitation to enlist. Some people did not wish to take any action that could be interpreted as supportive of the Lincoln Administration, which many believed had handled the war ineptly. Many did not want to be away with the army during the coming state and local fall elections.³⁹ And, of course, there were those elements which felt that the already standing Federal Army had not done its job in protecting the state and thus saw no reason to come to its aid.⁴⁰ A number had no political preferences for either side and felt the whole matter was really none of their concern, trying to maintain their neutrality throughout the invasion.

³⁸Micheal Jacobs, Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, 1863 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, Co., 1864), p. 10; John Paul Harman, "The Reaction of the People of Pennsylvania to Lee's Invasion of 1863" (M. A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1959), pp. 15-18.

³⁹Micheal Jacobs, Notes on the Rebel Invasion, p. 10. The filing of absentee ballots was not permitted in Pennsylvania until January 1864.

⁴⁰Ross, p. 39.

Also, a certain naivete may have played a part in the slow involvement of Adams County residents in their own defense. The battlefields of Virginia were far away in terms of immediate impact. Of course, some families had felt the toll of battle through the death or injury of loved ones, but the multi-faceted realities of battle had been observed by few. War was still viewed as an abstract, distant affair to be dealt with by those in command of the army and the nation. "Where is our army that they let the enemy scour the country and do as they please?" asked many border residents.⁴¹ Believing that the purpose of the government and the military was to ensure the protection of United States citizens, Adams County residents were sorely disappointed in the laggard mobilization of defenders to the area. This disappointment added greatly to their political dissatisfaction with the party in power and may have contributed to the unwillingness to offer six months of their lives to the service of the state.

Many reasons have been given for Lee's decision to risk lengthy supply and communications lines in an invasion of the North. Those that are relevant to a study of this small Pennsylvania county are several. The rising peace sentiment in the North by the beginning of the third year of warfare had not remained a secret south of the Mason-Dixon line. It was

⁴¹[Sally Robbins Broadhead], "The Diary of a Lady of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, From June 15 to July 15, 1863," p. 8. Nicholson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.

Lee's opinion that the South "should neglect no honorable means of dividing and weakening our enemies [by] giv[ing] all the encouragement we can . . . to the rising peace party of the North."⁴² "The sands of the Confederacy was running out in triumphs" and, in spite of numerous southern victories, those killed in battle were increasingly irreplaceable.⁴³ Whether or not Lee was specifically aware of the war weariness in Adams County is open to debate; but he knew of its growing strength throughout the eastern states generally and surely of its strength throughout Pennsylvania. A substantial portion of Adams County had begun its swing away from the national Administration by this time and thus perhaps contributed to the attractiveness of a Rebel drive northward.⁴⁴ The agricultural productivity of the region must also have been of interest to the tall and erect southern commander in search of provisions for his men and animals.⁴⁵

⁴²General Robert E. Lee to President Jefferson Davis, June 10, 1863, Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVII, part II, p. 881.

⁴³Glenn Tucker, High Tide at Gettysburg: The Campaign in Pennsylvania (New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1958), p. 17.

⁴⁴Bradley, p. 160.

⁴⁵Other reasons Lee is believed to have had for his 1863 invasion include (1) the desire to relieve the pressure on Richmond and the surrounding countryside, so long unable to harvest its crops, (2) the wish to make U. S. forces shift some of their troops from beleaguered Vicksburg, (3) the pressure such a move would place on Washington which was constantly in fear of a Rebel take-over, and (4) the morale building quality that an offensive would have on the men of his army.

Throughout the second week of June, southern cavalry units previously mentioned, roamed through Adams and neighboring counties unchecked.⁴⁶ Acquisitions of supplies and the severing of northern communications were their major functions and very little destruction of private property was recorded. This would remain largely true once the infantry appeared. Under orders from General Lee to respect the property and condition of non-combatants, southern forces displayed a discipline and order uncommon in such a large and essentially non-professional army.⁴⁷

At nearly three o'clock on Friday, June 26, as the warm afternoon sun dappled the grass beneath the peach trees of Sherfy's orchard just south of the town, southern cavalry troops entered Gettysburg from the northwest. An hour later they were joined by Brigadier General Jubal Early's brigade of 2500 infantrymen, fresh from a skirmish with a unit of Pennsylvania militia which had included the recent Gettysburg recruits.⁴⁸ The experienced southerners had easily scattered the raw units in a brief encounter a few miles southwest of the town. Once

⁴⁶Small groups of local militia did clash with the Rebels just south of Gettysburg and at Carlisle in Cumberland County, but with no significant results.

⁴⁷General Orders No. 72, Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia, June 21, 1863, Official Records, Vol. XXVII, pt. 3, pp. 912-913.

⁴⁸Following the skirmish, which the experienced Rebels brushed off in less than an hour, these Gettysburg recruits were returned to Harrisburg, where they remained throughout the rest of the invasion.

in Gettysburg, the Rebels set fire to seventeen railway cars which remained at the station after first removing two thousand highly valued army rations. The railroad bridge over Rock Creek toward Hanover Junction to the east was also put to the torch. But the lean, slightly stooped Early kept his troops under control and no real damage was done to the town. A list of goods was presented to town leaders, along with the demand that the borough supply those articles to the invaders.⁴⁹ Two members of the town council protested that as most of the area's wealth had been transported to the northeast, fulfillment of these demands was impossible. The tobacco-chewing Early did not force the issue and had his troops on the road to York by sunset. The villages of New Berlin and Calcedonia were also visited by the bearded leader's troops that evening. This produced the one significant divergence from the protection extended to private property. The Calcedonia Iron Works, owned by abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens, was burned by southern troops on their way eastward.

⁴⁹According to the account of Micheal Jacobs in his Notes on the Rebel Invasion, p. 5, the goods demanded by Early included: (1) 1200 lb. sugar, (2) 600 lb. coffee, (3) 60 barrels flour, (4) 1000 lb. salt, (5) 7000 lb. bacon, (6) 10 barrels whiskey, (7) 10 barrels onions, (8) 1000 pairs of shoes, and (9) 500 hats, all of which valued approximately \$6,000. In lieu of the above merchandise, Early said he would accept \$5,000 in cash.

When Rebel troops entered Chambersburg earlier in the week, one of their prime demands had been a supply of sauerkraut, which they expected to find readily among the German population and which was effective in fighting off scurvy. They were quickly informed, according to Alexander K. McClure in his Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, Co., 1905), that were there a barrel of sauerkraut anywhere near the

Terrified by the prospects of the Confederate approach, a large number of border residents, both Pennsylvanians and Marylanders, had fled to Harrisburg and Philadelphia the week before. Perched high atop wagons packed with valuables, their livestock driven alongside, families left homes and farms to the mercies of the intruders. But those who remained behind found the enemy not nearly so fiendish as they had imagined. And not all, of course, had such preconceived notions. One southern colonel wrote his wife of the reception the Confederates were receiving that summer:

The people . . . are not pleased to see us, but they are not demonstrative in their hatred or very shy in their treatment to us. As no maltreatment is permitted, and no pillage of other than their livestock, they almost seem friendly.⁵⁰

He wrote that he had found little to admire in the predominantly German or "Pennsylvania Dutch" residents of the area, observing that "no signs of social refinement" were evident.⁵¹

While Rebel troops either rested at Chambersburg or marched toward Harrisburg or York that final weekend of June 1863, the principal question on the minds of Pennsylvania citizens concerned the whereabouts of the Union Army. Under the command of General Joseph Hooker, that body had begun to

town in the late June heat, they would have found it rather quickly.

⁵⁰Susan Leigh Blackford, ed., Letters from Lee's Army or, Memoirs of Life in and out of the Army of Virginia during the War Between the States, comp., Charles Minor Blackford III (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1947; A Perpetua Book, 1962), p. 183.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 184.

make slow northern progress and by Saturday evening, June 27, had crossed the Potomac and progressed to the Maryland city of Frederick. The following day, due to a military dispute between the clean-shaven Hooker and General-in-Chief of the Army Henry W. Halleck, Hooker's resignation had been accepted and the Army of the Potomac had its sixth Civil War commander, General George Gordon Meade.

White of hair and beard by this juncture in the war, Robert E. Lee received intelligence on Meade's appointment and Federal troop movements late that same Sunday night. From his headquarters tent in Messersmith's Woods, a popular local picnic spot just south of Chambersburg, the swift-acting Lee dispatched orders to outlying troops for a countermarch southward. The Cashtown area, down the hard-surfaced Chambersburg Pike toward a small town named Gettysburg, was to be the point of concentration.

In the sunny freshness of Monday morning, Gettysburg residents must have felt a sudden chill as mounted soldiers again were seen riding into their anxious borough. How relieved they must have felt when they recognized the familiar blue uniforms of the Army of the Potomac. Two-thirds of General John Buford's division of four thousand had arrived and spent the day patrolling the countryside. On Tuesday, June 30, after sighting a Confederate scouting party approaching from the Chambersburg area, the troops bivouacked on the Chambersburg Pike about a mile and a half north of the town.

One prominent Gettysburg resident wrote of the view of the situation from within the town:

On Tuesday night, whilst we lay down to sleep as usual, there were not less than 78,000 men within 12 miles of us From the positions of the two armies; from the fact that all roads from all the surrounding country converge in the town of Gettysburg . . . it became everyday more probable that the storm of war would burst over our heads.⁵²

But in spite of the tactical advantages to be found in the countryside around Gettysburg, the first confrontation there appears to have occurred without consummate military planning.

An advertisement for shoes, boots, and other articles appearing in the weekly Gettysburg Compiler attracted the attention of division commander Harry Heth.⁵³ Union cavalry forces were known to have been patrolling in the area south-east of Chambersburg, along with a few local militia units. But the presence of Federal infantry, though reported on June 30, had been discounted as unlikely. Thus in the pre-dawn darkness of July 1, 1863, Confederate infantry columns stepped onto the stone and gravel Chambersburg Pike, headed for Gettysburg.

Dew yet sparkled in the pale sunshine as tree bark and bone fragments splintered amidst the cracking of gunfire. It was just after nine o'clock when Heth's division of Hill's Corps clashed against the Union picket lines.⁵⁴ Determined to hold

⁵²Micheal Jacobs, "The Battle of Gettysburg," pp. 228-229.

⁵³"Spring Styles," Gettysburg Compiler, June 30, 1863, p. 4.

⁵⁴The exact time of the commencement of battle has not been indisputably pinpointed. Some accounts place it at 9:00 a.m., others as early as 8:30 or as late as 10:00 a.m.

onto the town until the arrival of Major-General John M. Reynolds, approximately eight miles to the south, dark-eyed John Buford observed the action from the cupola of the theological seminary. Dark-eyed and bearded, John Reynolds with his First Corps, began arriving about ten o'clock and were in force by eleven, relieving the Union cavalry in their outmatched fight against the rapidly multiplying enemy forces.⁵⁵ Dispersing troops to cover areas of McPherson's and Oak Ridges and the railroad cut north of the town, full-faced General Abner Doubleday was approached during the morning by an elderly gentleman of seventy-one years, carrying an old squirrel rifle. The man was Gettysburg citizen John Burns who requested permission to join the hotly fighting Union troops. He was given a position in the concealing woods of McPherson's Ridge, near the position of the famous Iron Brigade. Wounded in five places, a leg injury being the most serious, this act was to turn the ex-cobbler into the citizen hero of Gettysburg.

By the middle of the afternoon two of Ewell's Divisions . . . and two of Hill's . . . were linked up in a wide semi-circle north and west of Gettysburg. The Federals were now threatened on two fronts . . .⁵⁶

The Union retreat through the streets of Gettysburg began around three, closely followed by the pursuing southerners,

⁵⁵Before all his troops arrived, the much admired Reynolds lay dead, the victim of a Rebel sharpshooter.

⁵⁶Edward J. Stackpole, They Met at Gettysburg, (Harrisburg: Stackpole Co., 1955), pp. 138-139.

who then assumed possession of the town. By the time "the declining sun neared the verge of the horizon and the clouds [hanging] about its disk [became] magnificently tinged with golden light," enemy troops were encamped in the churches, houses, and new courthouse of the incredulous town.⁵⁷

Tall and dignified, Lee had arrived in Gettysburg soon after his troops had taken possession of the town and the Confederate line was established. Running north and south along the rise known as Seminary Ridge--a mile to the west and parallel to the forming Union line--the southern troop formation curved eastward just north of the seminary and ran through the center of the frightened town. Where the Rebel line curved to the east, a small stone house leased by a slight, elderly widow became the headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia.⁵⁸

The northern troops regrouped on a slow-rising ridge to the east of Gettysburg, named for Evergreen Cemetery which was located on its northeastern slope, and upon Culp's Hill, northeast of that. The recently appointed Union commander, irascible George Gordon Meade, arrived on his horse Baldy around midnight. A one-story, white-washed wooden cottage on the eastern slope of Cemetery Ridge was chosen as the center for the Union Battle command.⁵⁹

⁵⁷"Reminiscences of the Gettysburg Battle," Lippincott's Magazine, July 1, 1883, p. 58.

⁵⁸This house was leased from Congressman Thaddeus Stevens by Mrs. Maria Thompson.

⁵⁹This was the home of Mrs. Lydia Leister.

As the graying Meade was settling into his headquarters receiving reports of the day's actions, on the moonlit slopes to the northeast, "the dark turf was blotched with darker forms that lay motionless and still."⁶⁰ Yet others writhed from gaping wounds, begging into the darkness for a drink of water. Many more would join these ranks before the fields of Gettysburg were again silent.

Battle commenced the following afternoon in Sherfy's peach orchard just south of the Adams county seat. Around four o'clock, Rebel troops of reluctant General James A. Longstreet's Second Corps attacked the waiting federals. The tide of battle raged back and forth from the peach orchard to a nearby wheat field. A sharp rocky formation known as Devil's Den was taken from Union sharpshooters by those of the southern army and the hill known as Round Top was taken as well. Little Round Top, almost lost by the northern troops, was saved, thus protecting the Union flank from Confederate artillery. By the setting of the sun on Thursday, July 2, Federal troops, freshly reinforced, were fighting within a tighter, easier to control formation than were Lee's men, now spreading out over a five mile front.

Friday morning dawned bright and hot. Troops on both sides sweltered in the burning sun, waiting to again take up

⁶⁰"Reminiscences of the Gettysburg Battle," p. 58.

their arms. A Rebel artillery barrage began around one o'clock in the afternoon. It was met by an equally fierce salvo from Cemetery Ridge. An hour and forty-five minutes later, the assault known as Pickett's Charge made its way across a mile wide front, unprotected by covering trees or concealing elevations.⁶¹ Many fell as they approached the firing federals. Some did make it to the Union lines, only to find that they lacked back-up support; in less than half an hour the southern troops were falling back toward Seminary Ridge. Some were using the stocks of their rifles as crutches as they quickly made their way past dead and bleeding comrades. The military Battle of Gettysburg, save a few cavalry skirmishes and some mutual sniping as the Rebels departed over the next two days, had come to an end. Through the gray, dismal rains of July 4, 5, and 6, the armies of the warring nation withdrew southward. The care of thousands of wounded soldiers and the repair of the war-scarred county then fell, in large part, to those who lived there.

⁶¹Though known through history as "Pickett's Charge, this extraordinary military offensive was actually in the command of General James A. Longstreet, Pickett's superior.

An earlier action, which had occurred to the rear of Culp's Hill throughout the morning of the third, was to have had the effect of placing that section of the Union line in a pincer's grip with the frontal attack of the afternoon. By ten o'clock, however, the Confederates who had held a grip on the Union breast works of the early dawning of the day had been dislodged. They were in no advantageous position to make a rear assault in conjunction with the one moving across the valley at the Union front.

CHAPTER II

"IT'S NOT THE SAME OLD QUIET PLACE"⁶²

For three days beneath a sizzling July sun the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia battled over the lime and sandstone soil of southern Pennsylvania. Dense black smoke spread out from the arenas of death while the citizenry of Gettysburg sat wide-eyed and tense in candle-dim cellars. Emerging during lulls in the fighting and at night, bewildered townsfolk found their neat little community "strewn over with clothes, blankets, knapsacks, cartridge boxes, dead horses, and the bodies of . . . men . . ." ⁶³ Not everyone remained in the town, however. Some had fled at the first sign of invasion, others since the opening of the battle had gone to friends and relatives in a more distant section of town or in the countryside. In some cases, families evacuated a number of times as the combat area spread wider. Those who remained within the

⁶²Jeanie McCreary, Reflections of the Battle of Gettysburg, ed. Ralph S. Shay (Lebanon: Lebanon Historical Society, 1863), p. 284. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

⁶³[Sally Robbins Broadhead], "The Diary of a Lady of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, from June 15 to July 15, 1863." pp. 14-15. Nicholson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.

lines of battle sometimes watched as their absent neighbors' possessions became spoils of war.

Part of . . . [last night] . . . we watched the Rebels rob the house opposite. The family had left sometime during the day, and the robbers must have gotten all they left in the house. They went from the garret to the cellar; and loading up the plunder in a large, four-horse wagon, drove it off.⁶⁴

One log house on West Middle Street was torn apart to be used as breastworks and the partitions between several row houses on that same street were torn from the second floor area.⁶⁵ These row houses were occupied by Rebel sharpshooters who wished to have easier mobility in sighting the Federals on Culp's Hill. Occupied houses, however, in accordance with General Lee's orders, were rarely disturbed beyond the impressment of military necessities.

Deserted houses also served as shelters for the southern soldiers, though this was also true of some houses that had not been abandoned. General Lee took Maria Thompson's house as his headquarters, while General Ewell was variously reported to have settled into one of the town's churches or in a house owned by a Mr. Blocher.⁶⁶ The Gettysburg College, the

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁵Mary Warren Fastnacht, Memories of the Battle of Gettysburg (n. p., 1928), Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

⁶⁶Glenn Tucker, High Tide at Gettysburg: The Campaign in Pennsylvania (New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1958), p. 211; [Colonel Arthur C. Fremantle], "The Battle of Gettysburg and the Campaign in Pennsylvania, from the Extract of the Diary of an English Officer Present with the Confederate Army," Blackwood's Magazine (September 1863), 381.

Oscar McMillan house on Seminary Ridge, and the seminary building itself also housed Confederates. Farm houses, too, situated along the lines of battle were occupied from time to time, sometimes alternately serving as cover for sharpshooters of both armies as the fortunes of battle shifted back and forth.

Bleeding men were everywhere, in the town, at the seminary, in the little farmhouses and the bullet-riddled barns, beneath groves of trees, and in the open fields. The Union Medical Corps had established 113 emergency stations, one of which was set up at the Jacob Weikert house near the base of Little Round Top, where nearly eight hundred seriously wounded men were tended.⁶⁷ Amputations, the most common treatment for the low, gaping wounds suffered by most soldiers, were done on the kitchen table.⁶⁸ Confederate surgeons also worked against enormous odds as those judged capable of survival were brought into the improvised hospitals.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Alleman, p. 83; J. A. Curran, "Billings at Gettysburg," New England Journal of Medicine, CCLXIX (July 1962), 23-27.

⁶⁸When available, anesthetic for severe operations was administered by soaking a rag in chloroform and placing it in a hollow horn which was then placed over the patient's nose and mouth. Other than amputation, the two most common treatments on the field of battle involved resectioning of injured wrists and elbows and the removal of lead or splintered bone.

⁶⁹In most cases, those believed beyond medical help were simply laid aside. Little enough time could be found for those who seemed likely to survive.

A number of those who participated in the battle and some whose names later appeared on casualty lists of July 1, 2, or 3, were no strangers to Adams County. One of the Confederates killed on the slopes of Culp's Hill was young Wesley Culp, Gettysburg born and raised.⁷⁰ Company A of the 26th Pennsylvania Volunteers, First Brigade, Second Division of the Third Corps under the command of Major General Daniel E. Sickles, which fought on the Union left, consisted of a large number of former Gettysburg College students and graduates.⁷¹ Though their presence is not unquestionable proof that some of their number were injured, given the ferocity of the battle, it seems unreasonable to assume that all may have escaped.⁷²

⁷⁰The other Gettysburg native known to have joined in the battle on the side of the South was Henry Wentz. Both Wentz and Culp had gone to Virginia as salesmen for the Gettysburg carriage industry and formed lasting ties with that area's political ideals.

⁷¹Fortenbaugh, p. 181.

⁷²Revised Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery Together with Accompanying Documents as Reported to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by David C. Wills, Chairman. (Harrisburg: Singerly & Myers, State Printers, 1865), pp. 21-38. Twenty-three members of the 26th Pennsylvania Volunteers are listed among those lying in the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, two of them are known to have been members of Company A. As some were not identified beyond their regiment, either in name or company, it is possible that others of that company also lie there.

Another Gettysburg citizen may have served at Gettysburg in July 1863. Michael Murray Miller, according to an article by Robert K. Murry and Warren W. Hassler, Jr., "Gettysburg Farmer," in Civil War History, III (June 1957): 179-187, served from 1861-1864 in Company K of the 1st Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps. That regiment and company were present at Gettysburg.

In addition, John S. Weber of the 143rd Pennsylvania Volunteers and John Burns, the citizen who offered his services on the first day of battle, were other Gettysburg natives to be injured while actively taking part in the battle.⁷³

But a small number of non-combatants also came to harm during those three days of heat and smoke. As the white billowy clouds lazed over the heating landscape early on the morning of July 3, a stray bullet entered the door of a brick house on Baltimore Street. It was not the first bullet to strike the walls as Rebel sharpshooters in the Rupp Tannery exchanged shots with the Union picket line running behind the house. But this time twenty-year-old Virginia Wade fell to the floor, dead. Though the only civilian to die directly as a result of flying steel and lead during the battle, Jenny Wade was not the town's only casualty. Soon after the Rebel troops had taken possession of Gettysburg on Wednesday afternoon, another young woman died in the basement of her parents' home. She had just given birth to her first child and in spite of the efforts of two Union soldiers who left the safety of the cellar in search of a doctor, she remained unattended.⁷⁴ Though

⁷³Mrs. John Slentz, "Local Woman Fled with Mother to Seminary Here," Gettysburg Times, 1938 Anniversary Edition, p. 89.

⁷⁴Rosamond D. Rhone, "At Gettysburg Battle: A True Reminiscence," Collier's (July 25, 1914), 10. The deceased woman was the author's older sister, for which Bertha is the only name given. Whether Rhone was her maiden name cannot be ascertained as there is no indication as to whether the author herself was married or not. Two area students who served in

death in childbirth was a rather frequent occurrence in the nineteenth century and it can by no means be ascertained that the woman could have survived had medical attention been available, the fact remains that no help arrived through the rain of ball and lead in the streets beyond.

Two men of the town received bullet wounds while trying to remove wounded men to more secure surroundings. R. F. McIlheny, whose advertisement for shoes and boots had attracted the attention of Hill's Corps on July 1, and a Mr. Lehman of Gettysburg College were both injured in the leg.⁷⁵ A third gentleman, A. M. Whetstone, a recent graduate of the seminary was injured in the foot while sitting on the porch of a boarding house within the town.⁷⁶ None of these wounds was of a severe nature.

Several times during the months that followed the battle, more casualties were added to Gettysburg's list. A number of county residents, some of them children, were killed or severely

the Union Army at Gettysburg were later reported as having expired. Though his regiment is not given, William McGrew of Mummasburg was announced dead in the Gettysburg Compiler of August 3, 1863. Sgt. Emanuel M. Shultz, Company G of the 75th Ohio Volunteers, whose family resided at York Springs, was reported dead in the Compiler of January 4, 1864.

⁷⁵Following standard practices of nineteenth century newspapers when readers were likely to be acquainted with the person mentioned, the Christian name of "Mr. Lehman" has not been reported in any of the accounts of his wounding.

⁷⁶The initials "A. M." are the only designations given to Mr. Whetston. His full name remains unreported.

injured while attempting to open unexploded shells found about the battle site. One small boy was killed while playing with an older brother who shot him with a rifle found lying in the streets of the town.⁷⁷ More frequently, the accidents occurred as the injured parties were trying to open unexploded shell casings in an attempt to acquire the powder inside.⁷⁸

By the time the fighting had ended Friday evening, other problems had begun to make themselves known throughout the town. Nearly all the streams near the battlefield had become tinged with a reddish hue; in many places, no clean water could be found. And a number of the usually bountiful wells of the area had been pumped dry to meet the needs of thousands of thirsty and wounded men.

Food, too, had become a problem. Though nineteenth-century food storage practices would usually enable a family to have several months of provisions in stock, the county was unprepared to deal with so hungry a group of visitors. What had not been shipped north, hidden, or impressed by the Confederate cavalry was quickly devoured by the men of

⁷⁷"Warning," Gettysburg Star and Banner, quoted in the Harrisburg Evening Telegraph, July 20, 1863, p. 3.

⁷⁸At least three other persons were killed throughout the area and three lost fingers or hands as the result of this practice. Accounts of their occurrence may be found in the Gettysburg Compiler, July 27, 1863; September 14, 1863; and June 20, 1864.

both armies. One woman wrote of the food problem as early as July 2:

All that day our house was full of soldiers all wanting something to eat. That day we gave them everything we had and what do you think we had to eat the rest of the week? Why nothing but bread, molasses and coffee without milk. If the Rebels had stayed any time at all, we would certainly have starved . . . ⁷⁹

If the lady did indeed have bread she was luckier than many in the town who wrote of having no yeast during this time and having to settle for biscuits. Among those who were children during this period and who later wrote accounts of their experiences, few references can be found in regard to a food shortage. Perhaps it can be assumed that their parents were sufficiently able to supply enough food to them that the excitement of the week's events left little room for the consideration of meager meals. For numerous accounts of Adams County adults attest to the fact that meals were not the fare most were accustomed to. "Many families lived on short rations for days" was one man's recollection.⁸⁰ And another woman wrote of the problem of feeding the thousands of wounded left by friend and foe alike.

. . . no food has been served . . . [to the wounded] . . . for several days. The little we have will not go far with so many . . . a poor prisoner came to the door and asked me to give him some [thing to eat] for he had had nothing . . . for the past two or three days.⁸¹

⁷⁹McCreary, p. 281.

⁸⁰Micheal Jacobs, "The Battle of Gettysburg," p. 242.

⁸¹Broadhead, p. 20.

While many hardships were shared by the residents of the area, one group had a particular cause for anxiety during the period of invasion. These were the 474 blacks in Adams County. Fearing a forced trip south at the hands of the invading Confederates, many area blacks fled northward toward Harrisburg or eastward toward Philadelphia, at the first approach of the enemy. Among these was Owen Robinson, sexton of the Presbyterian Church and a local restaurant owner.⁸² Some fled into the mountains with their own or their employers' livestock for the duration of the crisis.

The fear of these people was substantially justified in Franklin County when Jenkins' men first appeared in early June. It has been estimated that nearly fifty blacks of that area, both escaped slaves and free-born, were rounded up by the cavalry and sent southward.⁸³ Some were freed by the intercession of white residents, but others were not so lucky.⁸⁴

One Gettysburg black, known only as Mrs. Hartzell's servant, experienced some difficulties during the battle. While fleeing the Hartzell home on the Chambersburg Pike as

⁸²Charles M. McCurdy, Gettysburg: A Memoir (Pittsburgh: Reed & Witting Co., 1929), p. 19.

⁸³Jacob Hoke, p. 108. In some cases, those who had not fled hid themselves in the growing wheatfields about Chambersburg, surrendering only when shot at by the pursuing Rebels.

⁸⁴"Negroes Taken South," Chambersburg Franklin (Pa.) Repository (Chambersburg, Pa.) June 29, 1863, p. 1.

shot and shell began to fall uncomfortably close, Rebel soldiers stopped the black woman with her employer, saying "What are you doing with her? She's got to go along with us."⁸⁵ The protests of Mrs. Hartzell and the assistance of a wounded southern officer saved the black woman from the loss of her freedom. No Gettysburg blacks are known to have been sent south during this period, though quite a number who fled during the invasion panic did not return to the town.

Sunday morning, July 5, dawned gray and wet as heavy rains sent rivulettes of blood through the streets of Gettysburg. Federal troops continued the burial duties which had kept them occupied through the steady downpour of the previous day. The Army of Northern Virginia was already on its way down the muddy roads leading to Hagerstown and Taneytown, Maryland. Mud-splattered buildings and deep ruts in the soft roads and fields marked the departure routes of overflowing ambulance wagons, marching infantry, and galloping horses. Federal pursuit began on Monday, the sixth, as the cautious General Meade led his troops away from the now ravaged landscape of Adams County.

In every direction which the eye might glance, the horrors of battle left shadows upon one's memory. Thousands of bodies lay swollen and blackening amid the chaos of abandoned

⁸⁵Clifton Johnson, "The Black Servant Maid," Battle-ground Adventures (Boston: n. p., 1915). Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

haversacks, canteens, trousers, caps, ammunition boxes, broken wheels, and discarded weaponry. Along Seminary Ridge where the northern

. . . shells and shot had struck during the cannonade of the third, the trees had cast their trunks and branches as if they had been icicles . . .

. . . All along the bullet-stormed woods of Culp's Hill were interspersed little patches of fresh earth, raised a foot or so above the surrounding ground . . . and nearby, upon a tree whose bark had been smoothed by an axe, written in red chalk would be the words . . . "75 Rebels buried here."⁸⁶

The once orderly little community had disappeared beneath the smoke clouds of battle, emerging dazed and bleeding in the rains that followed. Though medical aid for the twenty-one thousand wounded men left in their care arrived a few days after the last crackle of gunfire, the great burden of restoring the county and the town fell to the residents of the area. It was a slow process; laborers were few. Many in the county had fields to care for after a week's neglect. Some returned to their homes only to find a number of unexpected chores awaiting them. At one farm, hogs had been butchered in the parlor, their blood splattered throughout the lower rooms. Feathers from slashed bed-ticking lay scattered about and charred chair legs lay in the fireplace.⁸⁷ A few returned to find no home at all. It seemed only natural

⁸⁶Frank Haskell, The Battle of Gettysburg, ed. Bruce Catton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1947), pp. 42-43.

⁸⁷Beitler, p. 10

to attend first to the needs of one's own family. In addition, quite a few area residents were busily involved searching hospitals or shallow graves with visitors who had come in search of soldiers reported as casualties. Some, it seems, were profiteering. But a large number were working into the night, occupied with an overwhelming task.

Union wounded, numbering 14,500 and 6,800 injured Confederates lay everywhere throughout the town.⁸⁸ Boards were lain across church pews to accommodate the suffering; nearly every house sheltered them as well. At first there seemed a reluctance among some to care for the Rebel wounded but in most cases, common humanity overruled initial prejudices.⁸⁹ A large number of Confederates were cared for in the four-story seminary building which stood cracked and bullet-torn after its battering by Union artillery.⁹⁰ Confederates also lay in the rooms of Gettysburg College, with the books from that institution soaked through with blood, having served as pillows for some of the men.⁹¹ School houses, barns,

⁸⁸James Stuart Montgomery, The Shaping of a Battle: Gettysburg (Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1959), p. 193

⁸⁹In one case, a woman pushed the body of a dead Confederate from a second-floor window to the ground below. Though her husband argued that she should have more respect for the dead, she wanted no part of this young Rebel.

⁹⁰The seminary stood along the Confederate line of battle and was thus one of the more shattered of the buildings about the town as the Union artillery pounded against the Confederate troops.

⁹¹One of the wounded Confederates who lay in Pennsylvania College was a man by the name of Lewis Powell.

and army tents were also transformed into emergency hospitals where doctors were never in adequate supply. Though a contingent of medical personnel came from New York to aid the 112 military physicians, little faith was placed in the services of civilians.⁹² They were regarded as often unwilling to endure hardship or to give attention to any but the "capitol operations."

Aid began trickling into the town after the first full reports of the battle appeared in northern newspapers on July 6. By the ninth, when railroad lines had been repaired, medicines, food such as canned meat and condensed milk, clothing, and bandages, as well as hands to assist with the nursing came pouring in. Some women came to Gettysburg as individuals wishing to aid the suffering.⁹³ Others came in search of sons, husbands, or brothers reported as battle casualties. If the soldier was still alive, he was cared for by his family member. In some cases when he was not, the mother, wife, or sister remained to care for his still-living comrades. A group

Powell was sent to a federal prison in Baltimore, was later released, and became known in history books as Lewis Payne, one of the convicted conspirators in the Lincoln assassination.

⁹²Union forces left 106 of these, the Confederates left 6.

⁹³A list of several groups of women to independently go to Gettysburg to nurse the wounded appeared in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 15, 1863, p. 1. Among those listed were the ladies of the Philadelphia 14th Ward Association, a number of ladies from Taneytown, Maryland, the Ladies Aid Society of the Washington County Society, members of the Delaware Relief Association, as well as a number of private citizens.

of Roman Catholic nuns, the Sisters of Mercy, came from Maryland as soon as the rumors of battle had reached them. The sisters were primarily occupied in the theological seminary where so many young Confederates lay.

But the largest number of helping hands came from two organizations which were to bring enormous aid into the Gettysburg area. The United States Sanitary Commission, established at the onset of the war to meet the needs of wounded soldiers, had established the first federal hospitals in existence.⁹⁴ Nurses from these hospitals began arriving in Gettysburg early in the week following the battle.⁹⁵ One woman who records her arrival as early as July 4 wrote of the "heaps of blood-stained straw" and of having seen "a line of stretchers a mile and a half in length," full of men awaiting medical attention.⁹⁶ But the Sanitary Commission, attached to the national government, did more than send nurses. Through this organization, supplies

⁹⁴For more information concerning the U. S. Sanitary Commission see Charles J. Stille's History of the United States Sanitary Commission: The General Report of its Work During the War of Rebellion (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866).

⁹⁵In fact, a wagon of the Sanitary Commission was only a few miles south of Gettysburg as the battle opened up on July 1 and was the first medical aid the Union soldiers saw there. Twenty-five medical wagons of the Army of the Potomac were detained by a bureaucratic order in Maryland for most of the first day's battle.

⁹⁶Sophronia E. Bucklin, Noble Women of the North, ed. Sylvia G. Dannett (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), p. 256.

donated by citizens of Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia, as well as those of many little communities in between, were distributed to the thousands of sufferers. Over sixty tons of perishable goods, ice, meats, dairy products, and medicines were brought into Adams County in the wagons of the Sanitary Commission.

Some of the supplies were also brought in by way of the newly founded Adams Express Hospital Corps. This brain-child of a prominent Gettysburg citizen who saw the necessity for immediate aid, was put into operation in the week following the battle.⁹⁷ This enabled the mountainous stacks of donations, piling up at various train depots to reach the needy more quickly than would otherwise have been possible.

Tents belonging to the Sanitary Commission were set up near the railroad station at the center of Gettysburg. They thus formed a link for the men between the hospitals and the departing trains. Released from the temporary hospitals by attending doctors, it was up to the wounded men to find a way to the railroad cars. Some arrived too late to get passage on one of the two trains departing daily. These men were able to find shelter and sustenance in one of the three tents of the Sanitary Commission.

⁹⁷"Adams Express County Hospital Corps," New York Times, July 12, 1963, p. 1.

A second group, the Christian Commission, was a private organization involving three to four hundred men of various church congregations throughout the Union.⁹⁸ Most of the nurses connected with this organization were church members who wished to donate their services in a time of emergency. They were not experienced as were many of those working for the Sanitary Commission, but at Gettysburg, every pair of hands which could carry a water pail or freshen a bandage brought the ordeal that much closer to an end. As was the case with the Sanitary Commission, this group of church volunteers served as distributors of goods donated by numerous congregations throughout the eastern North. While in Gettysburg, leaders of the Christian Commission employed the Schick Dry Goods Store for the storage and distribution of incoming food, clothing, bandages, and crutches.

An enormous amount of material aid poured into the town throughout the month of July and into August. All of it was the product of private donations and though local citizens certainly benefited, it was not actually donated with them in mind. The wounded soldiers suffering within the borders of Adams County were the intended recipients of the wholesome foods and clean clothing sent through the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. These organizations came as near to emergency

⁹⁸For more information concerning the Christian Commission, see Andrew B. Cross's The War and the Christian Commission and the War, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the Christian Commission (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865).

relief associations as existed at the time, but a mass outpouring of goods for the aid of non-combatants was unheard of. Many would possibly have resented such an action as "charity" and would have considered it insulting.⁹⁹ The federal and state governments, reflecting the political attitudes of the day, had no hand in extending relief to the unsettled community.

Even had such "charity" been respectable in 1863, certain factors may have adversely affected Union generosity to Adams County. These were the rumors, personal accounts, and news articles which surfaced soon after the battle regarding the reception received there by Union troops. The most famous of these accounts was that of L. L. Crouse, war correspondent for the New York Times who was present in Gettysburg July 1, 2, and 3. Crouse's article did much to tarnish the county's reputation.

In the first place, the male citizens mostly ran away, and left the women and children to the mercy of their enemies. On their return, instead of lending a helping hand to our wounded, and opening their houses to our famished officers and soldiers, they have only manifested indecent haste to present their bills to the military authorities for payment of losses inflicted by [the] armies.

One man yesterday presented a Captain with a bill for eighteen rails which his men had burned in cooking their coffee! On the streets the burden of their talk is their losses--and speculations as to whether the government can be compelled to pay for this or that . . . Their charges, too, were exorbitant--. . . bread \$1 and even \$1.50 per loaf; twenty cents for a bandage for a wounded soldier . . . 100

⁹⁹This does not, however, rule out their willingness to accept remuneration for damages and impressments, which many felt the government owed them due to not defending them properly.

¹⁰⁰L. L. Crouse, "Our Special Army Correspondence," New York Times, July 9, 1863, p. 1.

Local newspapers, of course, denounced the allegations as complete falsehoods, but Crouse was not alone in his charges. At least one letter to the editor of the New York Times concurred with the reporter's opinions of eastern Pennsylvanians and an article appearing in the United Republican was also highly critical.¹⁰¹ Written by the Reverend J. W. McFarlan who had traveled with Union troops at Gettysburg, the article told of the "low minded, selfish, avaricious farmers" who sold "bread for \$1 a loaf" and charged "50¢ for a pie, \$1 for a chicken, and 50¢ for a pint of buttermilk."¹⁰² One farmer is said to have approached General Meade during the heat of the third day's battle demanding a voucher for damages done to his home and property. Union surgeons had appropriated his kitchen as an operating room and had turned his vegetable garden into a burial ground for the hundreds of severed limbs which were piling up beneath the window; someone should have to pay for the damage.¹⁰³

Those who came to the town to aid in the nursing had several derogatory remarks for the "evil beasts" of the area.

¹⁰¹To the Editor of the New York Times from Fiat Justitia, New York Times, July 26, 1863, p. 5.

¹⁰²"Another Libel on the People of Adams County," Gettysburg Star and Banner, August 13, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁰³Bruce Catton, The Army of the Potomac, vol. 2: Glory Road (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1952), p. 309.

Working in the hospital of the Sanitary Commission, one lady told of a "Dutchman" who had come by to get a look at the Rebels convalescing there. When asked why he had not helped to drive the Confederates from the town the farmer replied, "A feller might'er got hit!"¹⁰⁴ Another reported over-charging by local businessmen for such July necessities as ice, at twenty-five cents a pound.¹⁰⁵ One local resident even recalled that "anyone who wanted to work could made big money [following the battle]. A man wouldn't turn around unless you gave him a dollar."¹⁰⁶ And numerous stories were circulated telling of the meanness involved in removing the wounded from the battle-field. A woman from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in Gettysburg to help with the injured wrote that

. . . the men of our hospital told us how, after lying three days without anything to eat, and suffering great agony from their wounds, five wounded men were charged twenty-five dollars (all they had in the world) for bringing them two miles into Gettysburg on an uncovered wagon without springs, whose every motion they thought would put an end to their sufferings. The next day three of the number died.¹⁰⁷

Such stories did little to enhance the area's reputation.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Woolsey, p. 13

¹⁰⁵The Patriot Daughters of Lancaster, Hospital Scenes After the Battle of Gettysburg (Philadelphia: Henry A. Ashmead, Book & Job Printer, 1864), p. 56.

¹⁰⁶Johnson, "The Colored Farm Hand," p. 185.

¹⁰⁷Patriot Daughters of Lancaster, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸A case which added ammunition to the charges of "copperheadism" in the area involved Globe Hotel owner Charles C. Wills and his son John who made no attempt to disguise their

That some opportunism took place seems difficult to deny in the face of such extensive reports. But perhaps some of the actions took on a more callous hue than was actually the case. The discussions referred to by the New York Times correspondent Crouse regarding the damages incurred throughout the area appear only natural in the face of those fearing economic ruin. Crops were just ready to be harvested when the southern army came marching across the fields to do battle with Meade's troops. A number of buildings had been burned, and several bore the scars of shell and shot. To be concerned with finding a means of returning their homes to normal does not necessarily indicate any inhumanity toward the wounded and the dying. A number of male residents did flee the town as Rebel troops made their way down Chambersburg Street the Friday prior to the battle. But some of them were employed in various federal and county posts such as the postmaster who fled with the mails and the treasurer who left with what county funds remained in the town. The unkindness, self-interest, and opportunism displayed by some should not bring the entire community into disgrace.

But the frequency with which these unpopular acts seem to have occurred, coupled with the area's poor showing

willingness to do business with the Confederates who occupied the town. While many were forced to open their businesses to them, few did it so cheerfully. For more on this incident see the account of John Wills, "Reminiscence of Three Days Battle at Gettysburg at the 'Globe Hotel,'" Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

when invasion first threatened, produced ample ammunition for those who had not been so tested. It is possible that these incidents added to the difficulty met by Adams and other border counties in later obtaining federal payments for damages incurred during the invasion.¹⁰⁹ In spite of numerous rebuttals in the county press of the day, few outsiders took the word of locals over returning soldiers and volunteer nurses who spoke otherwise.

There was, however, a good deal of generosity on the part of Gettysburg citizens following the battle. Though the county residents received few words of praise for their actions during that summer of 1863, a number of visitors to the town spoke of the kindness of the ladies there toward both wounded soldiers and incoming civilians. Most houses were filled to capacity with soldiers' relatives and visiting nurses who could not find lodging in the four hotels of the town.¹¹⁰ And it was the ladies of these houses who prepared meals and offered

¹⁰⁹Beitler, p. 15.

¹¹⁰Various references have been made to the number of hotels present in the town at the time of the battle. Some accounts mention four, others mention five. The four which are definitely known to have existed within the town limits of Gettysburg are the Cumberland House, the Globe Inn, the Eagle Hotel, and the Wagon Hotel. The fifth may have been a place called Breams, which was located on the Baltimore Pike outside the town.

comfort to grieving relatives. One Gettysburg lady wrote of the over-crowding in the town following the battle:

Many persons have called today wanting lodging, but we cannot accommodate all. The town would not hold all who, from various motives, visit the battlefield, even if there were no wounded in it. Our house had been constantly full, and every house I know of has been, and is full. One who called told me that he had sat on a chair in front of a hotel last night, and was glad to get even such quarter.¹¹¹

Whether there to aid in the care of strangers or relatives, out of simple curiosity, or to retrieve the body of a loved one, the thousands of visitors added greatly to the confusion of the town throughout the month of July. A visiting nurse attested to the constant activity within Gettysburg throughout the day and night when she wrote of being awakened in the pre-dawn darkness by a constant rumbling of coffin-packed wagons on their way out of town.¹¹²

Many of the dead were returned home for burial.¹¹³ Others, perhaps through the actions of those who had nursed them in their final hours, were laid to rest in the town's

¹¹¹Broadhead, p. 27.

¹¹²Emily Bliss Souder, Leaves from the Battlefield: A Series of Letters from a Field Hospital and National Poems (Philadelphia: Caxton Press of C. Sherman, Son & Co., 1864) p. 23.

¹¹³Those who were returned home were placed in one of the coffins made in the town by area undertakers. As of July 27, undertakers in the area reported the transportation home of six or seven hundred bodies. These coffins were fitted with a tray in the lids so that ice could be placed for the preservation of the bodies through the trip home. Another resident told of the appearance of a man with a wagon load of "patent coffins" in the streets of the town.

Evergreen Cemetery.¹¹⁴ The remaining dead were added to the burden of Samuel Herbst, a local resident who had been retained by Union Captain William Rankin of the provost guard to organize the burial of battle dead in the fields south of the town.¹¹⁵ This appears to have been the only aid extended to area residents by federal or state governments. Advertisements appeared in local newspapers for volunteer aid, but little response has been noted.¹¹⁶

Herbst had quite a task before him. By his retention early the week following the battle, thousands of wounded had lain for nearly a week beneath the broiling July sun. Some were well on their way to a state of decomposition. In the haste to inter these bodies, burial parties had covered them with scant inches of soil which soon washed away in the drenching rains of midsummer. A concern for the health of the area soon surfaced.

Widely noted throughout the area for its healthful, refreshingly pure air in the years before the battle, Gettysburg was filled with an unhealthy stench which permeated throughout the countryside. Camphor, cologne, and smelling salts became

¹¹⁴According to a list in the 1865 Revised Reports of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldier's National Cemetery, seventy soldiers were buried in the town's Evergreen Cemetery; two were buried in the United Presbyterian Burial Ground, also at Gettysburg.

¹¹⁵Official Records, Vol. XXVII, pt. 1, p. 119

¹¹⁶"To All Citizens," Gettysburg Star and Banner, July 9, 1863, p. 3.

necessities as the smells of death and decay rode the evening breezes. Shallow graves were everywhere over the landscape; in the fields, on the seminary grounds, beneath what had once been family vegetable gardens. The grave-washing rains had undone much of Herbst's work, exposing a protruding hand or foot decaying in the mud. A number had never been buried at all. By the time the burial parties had reached the rocky areas of Devil's Den and Little Round Top, the hot July sun had sped the decomposition process and a large number of Confederates lay at the mercy of the buzzards which for weeks filled the skies. Perhaps three thousand horses lay scattered over the five-mile battle front. Faced with the huge problem of covering the fallen men, no time had been available for dealing with these bloated, worm-covered carcasses. Swarms of flies were everywhere.

In addition to all this were the piles of severed arms and legs piling up outside the operating rooms. Amputation was the most common method of treatment and the number of limbs piled throughout the area was constantly being replenished in spite of efforts to bury them as quickly as possible. And, of course, there were also those appendages which had been severed as a direct result of shell against flesh. One such bit of a man's hand came to pollute a well at the edge of town.

Near us was a brick tavern and in this here tavern a company of soldiers put up after the battle. We used water from the tavern well, but it got so ugly and smelt so bad we could hardly drink it. The soldiers was sick and we was sick. They thought there was dead frogs down in the well and so one day they pumped and pumped to

clean it out, and by and by here comes up a little piece of a wrist and a thumb. They'd been cookin' with that water and so had we . . . I knew of another well that was half filled with dead soldiers. That was an easy way to bury them.¹¹⁷

It is no wonder then that a large number feared the spread of disease. Though not of an extreme significance, there was some sickness in the county the summer following the battle. Considering the existing conditions, it would have been miraculous to avoid illness completely. The days of the battle, during which thousands of bodies lay unburied, had been broiling, speeding the decay which drew thousands of germ-carrying flies into the area. One young boy wrote of hearing feeble voices coming from neighbors' houses asking him to bring medicines from the pharmacist. He was on his way there himself, most times, to get medicines for his little brother and sister who were ill most of the summer.¹¹⁸ But, though illness was evident, the situation was mild when considered against all the possible developments.

Why did most of Adams County escape a killing pestilence given the unhealthful conditions that existed in the area following the Battle of Gettysburg? Several reasons have been considered. The first of these is the cleansing rains which

¹¹⁷Johnson, "The Colored Servant Maid." pp. 190-191.

¹¹⁸Beitler, p. 15.

fell immediately following the fight and for most of the month of July.

It rained so hard that little streams . . . about the town looked as if they were pure blood; but it seemed to wash away much of the impurity.¹¹⁹

One of the surgeons felt that the "continuous showers were the best possible thing."¹²⁰ A prominent Gettysburg resident put forth the theory that the people of the town "Became gradually acclimated" and commented on the absence of sickness among most of them in comparison to the "many visitors who were stricken with fever upon their return home and died."¹²¹ Though the theory may have some basis, it seems highly unlikely that the residents of Adams County had time to become acclimated to the conditions which developed over the period of three simmering days in July. No other mention has been found of deaths of visitors following trips to Gettysburg and the theorizer himself mentions only one specifically.¹²² Perhaps the naturally healthful air of the valley had a positive effect on the unsanitary conditions, horrible though they seemed at the time. Buzzards also did their grim part in the process of

¹¹⁹Nellie E. Auginbaugh, Personal Experiences of a Young Girl During the Battle of Gettysburg (Louise Dale Leeds, 1133 Euclid St., NW, Washington, D. C., n. d.), p. 10.

¹²⁰Souder, p. 30.

¹²¹Henry Eyster Jacobs, "Notes on the Life of a Churchman: The Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs," p. 61. Eye-witness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

¹²²This was the Reverend Charles A. Baer of Norristown, Pa.

clearing the area of the unhealthful elements of decaying bodies.

Aware of the danger of existing conditions, citizens did what they could to counteract them. "The only disinfectant known then was chloride of lime and it was used so freely that it did not seem natural when we smelled it no longer."¹²³ Directions for the preparation of a disinfectant of green copperas appeared in the newspapers and it was sprinkled through the streets and inside the buildings housing the injured men.¹²⁴

As Gettysburg and surrounding Adams County struggled to deal with the situation around them and resume their lives, the number of wounded was decreasing daily. By July 25, the number had fallen to thirty-five hundred.¹²⁵ Some were the victims of infection which followed many amputation procedures. Others died before they saw one of the few doctors available. A number were sent home to recover or to one of the federal hospitals awaiting their arrival. In any event, as the summer passed, the number needed for nursing decreased and many who had come to help were returning home. A large number of wounded still remained of course, and were cared for at a general hospital set up by the federal government about a mile-and-a-half from town. Though this hospital remained until as late

¹²³Auginbaugh, p. 10.

¹²⁴Gettysburg Compiler, July 27, 1863, p. 2.

¹²⁵Official Records, Vol. XXVII, pt. 2, p. 25.

as November 14, the town was beginning to return to its normal activities. Newspaper reporters who had been much interested in the area in July were now examining the conditions on the battlefields of Virginia. Some of the broken and overturned headstones in battle-scarred Evergreen Cemetery had been tended to. Church services, suspended for a time, were again to mark one day of the week as the Sabbath.¹²⁶ The song birds, nearly a month absent from the area began to return and the exhaustion which had taken hold of the people whenever they had time to succumb to it was abating. Prominent residents of the town were preparing lectures on the battle to be delivered throughout the eastern section of the nation and at least one would write a book and several magazines articles on the subject.¹²⁷ Plans were being organized for the dedication of a national cemetery to take place some time in the fall. But a few changes had taken place which would change the personal lives of a number of residents in the days to come.

The families of Wesley Culp and Virginia Wade would long remember the costs of armed conflict. One young baby lost

¹²⁶Sally Broadhead had remarked in her diary note of July 12 of the absence of church services. "This is Sunday, but since the battle we have had no Sunday. The churches have all been converted into hospitals, and the cars come and go as on other days, and the usual bustle and confusion reign in the streets."

¹²⁷Among those who began to deliver lectures were A. E. Baugher, David Wills, David McConaughty and Micheal Jacobs. Jacobs also published several articles in periodicals and a book, Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg.

his mother on the day he was born. Equally affected were those who lost family members as a result of the remaining explosive debris of the battle; quite a number of people were killed or lost hands while trying to open unexploded shells.

One twelve-year-old boy, a foster child in the James Bigham household, was overcome by the military excitement of that summer of 1863. He wanted to enlist as a drummer boy, but his parents objected that he was still too young. On the morning of July 2, Cal's bed was found empty and the family never saw him again. He was later killed while approaching the city of Atlanta with federal troops.¹²⁸

Another personal experience had a much happier result, a wedding. Having nursed a Wisconsin officer until his death on July 6, the young Salome Myers wrote his family of the man's death and the circumstances surrounding it. The following summer, Alexander Stewart's widow came to visit the young woman who had cared for her husband in his dying hours. With Mrs. Stewart came her husband's brother, Harry. He and Miss Myers were married in 1867.¹²⁹

Other results of the visitation of two massive armies were to be felt by the citizens of Adams County, but the immediate impact on the social activities and daily lives of those in the area cannot be minimized. Some lost loved ones,

¹²⁸Beitler, p. 5.

¹²⁹Salome Myers File, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

some found back-breaking new experiences. A few came to see the young men of the South in a different light, and an aged ex-shoemaker, John Burns, found himself elevated to the status of a hero. For much of the rest of 1863, the words of a young resident could be used to describe the transformation of the quiet little county seat:

. . . 'tis not the same old quiet place it was . . .
The streets are always full of strangers, soldiers,
ambulances, and government wagons.¹³⁰

It was the close of the year before the once-quiet community was free of confusion emanating from the Battle of Gettysburg.

¹³⁰McCreary, p. 284.

CHAPTER III

"ADAMS ELECTS THE WHOLE DEMOCRATIC TICKET"¹³²

Amid the confusion of the battle's aftermath, Adams County residents were confronted with the choices of an election year. The extent to which maneuvers of a military nature influenced contests in the county was curtailed by powerful political allegiances of previous years. The effects upon gubernatorial politics was more significant, but even here, Adams County showed a tendency to cling to traditional voting patterns.

If one verity can be acknowledged regarding Adams County politics of the early 1860s, it must be the presence of political polarity. The majority of county residents were states' rights advocates. Some were members of the group of German immigrants who settled in this fertile farm region in the 1840s. Many were the children of these immigrants who had adopted their parents' political views. By 1860, the county was regarded as a Democratic strong-hold, usurping the strong-government Federalist-Whig tendencies of earlier years when Scotch-Irish families dominated Pennsylvania's Cumberland Valley.¹³³

¹³²"Adams Elects the Whole Democratic Ticket," Gettysburg Compiler, October 19, 1863, p. 2.

¹³³The Scotch-Irish of this area had orchestrated a split from Democratic York County at the end of the eighteenth century. Their new county, named for the nation's Federalist

The county seat was still a Republican bastion; an examination of the election returns of the late 1850s rarely shows the borough's total vote in agreement with the county-wide victor.¹³⁴ But because Republican elements were rather conservative--there were few abolitionists among them, for example--the gulf between the two political groups of the county had not grown serious until the results of the 1860 presidential election divided citizens into Republican "loyalists" or "copperhead" Democrats.¹³⁵

The elections of 1860 took place in a time of political upheaval and sectional strife. Democrats had been in power in the federal government for two terms and the problems generated by the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act had exacerbated the political split in the nation. With the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican presidential candidate, Southerners threatened to leave the Union should

president of the day, John Adams, reflected the political views of the area's early settlers.

¹³⁴Gettysburg Compiler, October 19, 1857, p. 2; October 8, 1858, p. 2; October 17, 1859, p. 2.

¹³⁵National loyalty, now charged with the emotions of war, was more and more frequently judged according to which newspaper a family read or their presence--or absence--at such events as a Fourth of July celebration. This division of the county into "loyalists" and "copperheads" as the Republican newspapers would have described it, can be seen in "The Fourth of July," Gettysburg Star and Banner, June 11, 1863, p. 2.

"the abolitionist" be elected. An economic depression which had begun in 1857 also added to the split in the country as the North and the South advocated different methods of handling the situation.¹³⁶

In Pennsylvania, where farmers and businessmen alike had suffered from the effects of the 1857 depression, Andrew Gregg Curtain of the People's Party succeeded in winning the gubernatorial election of that year by a landslide.¹³⁷ The handsome Curtain's state-wide victory of 262,397 votes over Henry D. Foster's 230,269 was in part made possible by the surprising results in traditionally Democratic Adams County.¹³⁸ In that southern section of the state, Curtain received a majority of 2,849 to 2,773.¹³⁹ State wide, Curtain's victory

¹³⁶The depression of 1857 was brought about by the decrease in European imports of American agricultural products at the close of the Crimean War. The South, less affected by this depression than the Northern businessmen and small farmers, had opposed the creation of a high tariff and free homesteads as those measures were not of advantage to Southerners. A high tariff would keep out less expensive European manufactures and give a monopoly to northern businesses. Having control of the leadership of the Democratic party which controlled the Congress, southern Democrats were about to oppose the economic policies of the North.

¹³⁷The People's Party was actually synonymous with the Republican elements in Pennsylvania at this time. The abolitionist reputation acquired by Republicans by 1860 was seen as a liability in this conservative state and those who adhered to the Republican platform, yet wanted to defeat the anti-abolitionist Democrats, became affiliated with this party.

¹³⁸Bradley, p. 428.

¹³⁹"Adams County--Official," Gettysburg Compiler, October 15, 1860, p. 2.

was attributed to the support of the popular industrial leader Simon Cameron.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the Cameron influence did win support for Curtain among the businessmen of Adams County, but it was the youthful Curtain's favorable position on the two major issues of that election which resulted in his victory in this section as well as in the state.

A high protective tariff to keep out foreign goods and a free homestead law to promote the interests of the farmer were the issues of concern to the people. While the Democrats, especially on the national level, argued states' rights and abolition, Republicans at all levels attempted to soft-pedal those issues and concentrated on those of interest to most northerners. In Adams County as in many northern areas, local manufacturers favored the tariff; and farmers, hurt by the sudden reduction in European markets in 1857, were interested in both bills. The actions of the Democratic-controlled Congress during the Buchanan Administration in lowering the tariff for a second time since 1853 did little to enhance Henry Foster's claims of support for the measure.¹⁴¹ The 1860 rejection of a federal homestead law was another unpopular Democratic move. Though Andrew Curtain would sit in Harrisburg,

¹⁴⁰Simon Cameron, a well-known banking and railroad executive turned politician, was one of the first "political bosses" of Pennsylvania. A two-term U. S. Senator who served as Lincoln's first secretary of war, Cameron's influence was extensive throughout the state, especially among those affiliated with the railroads or business interests.

¹⁴¹"The Tariff Question," Gettysburg Compiler, October 4, 1858, p. 1.

not in Washington, even Democratic farmers felt their goals would more quickly be met with someone other than a Democrat in the governor's chair.

A congressional election also revealed the political attitudes of Adams County in 1860. Edward McPherson, a Republican who had reaped the benefits of Democratic actions as early as 1858, was returned to his seat in the U. S. Congress. A supporter of the homestead bill who also favored the increased tariff, McPherson was chosen over Democrat William P. Schell 2,851 to 2,767.¹⁴²

On the county level, two of eight offices up for election were delivered into the hands of the Republican party. J. Finley Bailey defeated Democrat Henry A. Pickering for the office of state prothonotary and Charles X. Martin won over Edward McIntyre as county register and recorder. Though victorious by only ten and fifteen votes, respectively, Bailey and Martin were representative of a growing acceptance of Republicans in pre-Civil War Adams County.¹⁴³

The defeat of the Democrats in the gubernatorial election of October 1860 seems to have contributed to assured

¹⁴²"Adams County--Official," Gettysburg Compiler, October 15, 1860, p. 2.

¹⁴³Ibid. The office of prothonotary involved the duties of a register or chief clerk in the county courts. Other county offices which were up for election this year were those of sheriff, county clerk, county commissioner, director of the poor, and county auditor. All were won by Democratic candidates by an average margin of ninety-four votes. A Democrat, Henry Myers, was also elected to the state assembly.

Republican success in the state in the presidential contests of the following month. Nearly seventeen thousand fewer votes were cast in the November election than had been cast in the Curtain-Foster race.¹⁴⁴ In Adams County, this trend was also evidenced when 276 fewer people went to the polls in November than had in the governor's race, a difference of five percent.¹⁴⁵ Though state-wide, even an additional seventeen thousand votes would not have given victory to any of the three other presidential candidates, in Adams County Lincoln won by less than three percent. Increased balloting might have made a significant difference in area returns. A surprising acceptance of changes in political power had resulted from frustration with the southern-controlled Democrats in 1860. Though in Adams County margins of Republican victories were small, they indicated a willingness on the part of county residents to move away from traditional party ties in the interest of local economics. This was especially so in the state and national contests where personal relationships could not easily sway votes as occasionally happened in local races.

The shift away from Democratic control did not last long, however. By 1862, the slow progress of the war and related incidents had succeeded in damaging the tentative

¹⁴⁴Bradley, p. 423; Paul B. Beers, "Andrew Gregg. Curtain," *Civil War Times Illustrated* IV:20.

¹⁴⁵Gettysburg Compiler, November 12, 1860, p. 2.

confidence which Adams County had placed in Republican leadership. Though tariff increases in 1861 and 1862 and the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act and the Homestead Act had fulfilled 1860 campaign promises, they also removed economics from the political forefront.¹⁴⁶ The southern control of the Democratic party had ended with the secession of those states and no longer posed a threat to county economic interests. At the same time, those southern Democrats had been replaced by Radical Republicans in congressional leadership. Even among Adams County Republicans, few could be found who were in agreement with the Confiscation Acts passed by that body in 1861. Equally unpopular were the suspensions of habeus corpus which the Executive Department had sanctioned against opponents of the war. Thus, when the disadvantages to the area of electing members of their own party had been removed, Republican actions drove many back into the Democratic fold. The Democratic predictions that a war over slavery was forthcoming seemed to have been proven correct, and so far the South appeared to be winning the war.

Adams County elections in 1862 went solidly Democratic. The county prothonotary post won by Republican J. Finley Bailey in 1860 was lost to John Bushy by 379 votes as compared to Bailey's own margin of 10 in the previous balloting.

¹⁴⁶The first tariff reduction, that of 1861, was accomplished before the close of the Buchanan Administration.

Though a personal dislike of Bailey or his actions may have developed during his two-year term, it does follow the trend of other landslide victories for Democratic candidates in the other six county offices up for election that year.¹⁴⁷ State senate and house seats also claimed by members of this party in 1862 were won by margins of over four hundred votes each, and Alexander H. Coffroth, the new 17th district Congressman from Pennsylvania defeated Edward McPherson by 452 votes. This was a victory five times greater than McPherson's own winning margin in the previous election.¹⁴⁸ The Democratic party, never out by much in Adams County, had begun to return to its previous domination.

By the summer of 1863, War Democrats, Peace Democrats, and even some Republicans had grown increasingly critical of the Lincoln Administration. The continued absence of victories on the field of battle was a major sore spot, but

¹⁴⁷The county offices which went to Democrats in 1862 were those of district attorney, county commissioner, director of the poor, county auditor, county surveyor, and county coroner. An average of over four hundred votes separated these candidates from their Republican opponents.

¹⁴⁸"Adams Erect!" Gettysburg Compiler, October 20, 1862, p. 2. Included in the 17th U. S. Congressional District of Pennsylvania in 1860 were the counties of Adams, Franklin, Bedford, Fulton, and Juniata. Redistricting in 1862 replaced Juniata with Somerset County. More information regarding the division of political units in southern Pennsylvania may be found in History of Cumberland and Adams Counties. On the state legislative level, the election of 1862 allowed Democrats to regain power in the lower house by a margin of 55-45, thus giving them control over the selection of the next United States Senator from their state. Charles R. Buckelaw, a Democrat from Wayne County was elected to this position in early 1863.

discontent also stemmed from the increased abolitionist nature of the war which had come about the previous January. After much consideration and the pressures of advancing armies, Lincoln had signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in the territories in rebellion.¹⁴⁹ It was not a popular act. And as the Pennsylvania gubernatorial elections approached, along with numerous state and county contests, Democrats confidently planned their 1863 state ticket.

George Washington Woodward was nominated in the Pennsylvania state convention of June as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate. As Woodward had publicly declared himself against the continuation of the war, his nomination bespoke of the assurance with which Democrats viewed the coming election. The Republican interlopers remaining from 1860 were believed to have little chance this year.

Within the Republican party desire ran high for a series of outstanding military achievements to bolster its sagging popularity. Though victory in the Republican borough of Gettysburg and surrounding Cumberland township seemed assured, the opposition appeared to have a monopoly among the voters of the rest of the county.¹⁵⁰ As candidates of

¹⁴⁹Lincoln-supporter Governor Andrew Curtin came out in favor of the Emancipation Proclamation after announcing his intention to not seek a second gubernatorial term. This may have cost him some popular support when he reversed his earlier decision and agreed to become the 1863 Republican nominee.

¹⁵⁰According to borough election results as reported in the Gettysburg Compiler of March 26, 1860, March 25, 1861, March 24, 1862, March 23, 1863, and March 21, 1864, all but

both parties were making plans for the campaigns of the coming fall, the Army of Northern Virginia had begun its own summer campaign to march northward.

The Battle of Gettysburg was the first major battle of the war which brought the aura of glory to Union troops in the eastern theater. In this freshly charged atmosphere the political opportunism of an election year soon surfaced. The editor of Gettysburg's Democratic weekly wrote several editorials regarding his arrest on charges of "general disloyalty."¹⁵¹ Apparently the victim of a local political opponent with influence in the Department of the Susquehanna, Edward J. Stahle was arrested by military authorities for allegedly aiding Confederates in their search for Union soldiers within Gettysburg. Concrete evidence relating to his guilt is negligible and it seems likely that the event was the result of existing political hostilities in the town both before and after the battle. In any event, the Democratic editor was convinced that his treatment following the battle would result in favorable results for his party in the elections of October 13.

four elective offices within the town of Gettysburg went to Republican candidates. The town was a Republican strong-hold.

¹⁵¹Gettysburg Compiler, July 20, 1863, p. 2.

Politically viewed, my arrest has had a gratifying effect. The Democratic party is to-day firmer and therefore, stronger in the country, than ever before-- and I feel very certain that if . . . faith in the "good old cause" had ever required strengthening, such an experience as I have had (because of my political convictions) . . . would have the desired effect.¹⁵²

Other Democratic newspapers in the border area and throughout the state concurred with Stahle's opinions and an editorial in the York Gazette inquired:

What can such a party, resorting to such base means to carry its ends, expect but public scorn and contempt-- but certain and overwhelming defeat? Patience, Democrats! ¹⁵³

The Democratic Compiler and the Republican Star and Banner devoted several articles to searching out a place to lay blame for the outbreak of battle in Adams County. The Compiler's editor felt that the President and his Cabinet had failed in their duty to protect the area from invasion.¹⁵⁴ Republicans contented themselves with blaming local Democrats.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵²Edward J. Stahle, Gettysburg Compiler, August 17, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁵³York Gazette, quoted in the Gettysburg Compiler, August 13, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴Gettysburg Compiler, July 27, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵Gettysburg Star and Banner, August 13, 1863, p. 2. People living in other areas of the North felt much of the blame must rest on the shoulders of the border county residents themselves. The political attitudes of the area did much to contribute to the lack of enthusiasm for taking up arms which had occurred in early June. A good many southern Pennsylvanians seemed to agree with the South that what occurred within a state's borders was no concern of the federal government. Coddington, in his article "Pennsylvania Prepares for Invasion: 1863," in Pennsylvania History XXXI, felt that political considerations were used as an excuse for not

Both parties, using increased newspaper sales as a barometer of party allegiance, claimed an expanded following in the days prior to the 1863 election, and at least in the case of the Compiler, attributed it to a change in political attitudes resulting from the Battle of Gettysburg.¹⁵⁶ In fact, the political antagonisms appearing in rival newspapers had little effect on the outcome of the fall elections. People who favored the political ideals of the Democrats subscribed to the Compiler. Republicans read either the Star and Banner or the Adams Sentinel. Aside from defamatory remarks, little mention of the opposition party or its activities was made in these partisan publications. At most, such articles served to reaffirm existing beliefs about the superiority of one's own party over the misdealings of the other. Minds had been made up before these articles appeared.

The state and county elections of 1863 were held on October 18. Again the Democrats achieved landslide victories in the eight county contests of that year. The only

enlisting as many Democrats "pretended to believe that the report of an invasion was so much Republican propaganda, possibly dreamed up as a way to get them into the service so they could not vote in the coming elections." At that point in Pennsylvania history, absentee ballots were not permitted. Whether they were pretending or were sincere in their beliefs is difficult to ascertain. It is a common phenomena for citizens to ignore repeated warnings of coming disaster because they do not really believe that such a possibility really exists. This is especially true, when, as in the case of Gettysburg, numerous similar rumors had been proven false.

¹⁵⁶Gettysburg Compiler, August 17, 1863, p. 2;
Gettysburg Star and Banner, August 27, 1863, p. 2.

local seat remaining in the hands of the Republicans, that of county register Charles X. Martin, fell to the control of the Democratic party with the election of Samuel Lilly by a margin of nearly two hundred votes. The party's control of the local state house seat was retained with James H. Marshall's election by four percent of the total vote.¹⁵⁷

Events had developed as planned for the Democratic party in the Adams County contests of 1863.¹⁵⁸ The same cannot be said of state aspirations in regard to the governor's seat. Incumbent Governor Andrew Curtain had been renominated by his party in August in spite of an earlier announcement declining a second term.¹⁵⁹ Curtain, possessive of a personal magnetism, had been regarded as the only Republican capable of winning that office as the popular tide seemed to run toward the opposition. Curtain achieved re-election, but with only half of his 1860 margin of thirty thousand votes.¹⁶⁰ Adams County,

¹⁵⁷"Adams Elects the Whole Democratic Ticket," Gettysburg Compiler, October 19, 1863, p. 2. The county offices up for election in the fall of 1863 were those of sheriff, county register, county recorder, clerk of courts, county treasurer, director of the poor, county auditor, and county coroner. All offices were won by margins of over two hundred votes.

¹⁵⁸"Adams Elects the Whole Democratic Ticket," Gettysburg Compiler, October 19, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹Curtain's decision to step down after his first term was based on reasons of failing health due to the burdens of his office. The political situation of 1863, demanding that a Republican be elected to the governor's chair if the party were to win the state in the following year's presidential election, persuaded Curtain to reconsider.

¹⁶⁰Bradley, p. 428.

which had supported Curtain in his first gubernatorial bid, did not vote with the victor in 1863. It delivered 228 fewer votes to Curtain than it did to his opponent. Gettysburg again followed party loyalties and gave Curtain a small margin of 94 votes.¹⁶¹ Adams County had returned to pre-1860 political patterns and the presidential election of the following year reaffirms this development.

National issues surrounding the war and abolitionism still centered about political discussions as the elections of 1864 were decided. Only three county posts, those of sheriff, county auditor, and county commissioner, were up for election that year. A congressional seat and a state house seat were the only other offices appearing on the October ballots of Adams County. Alexander H. Coffroth was returned to the U. S. Congress by a margin of 311 votes. Assemblyman Marshall won by 400.¹⁶² In November, Lincoln managed to carry Pennsylvania by twenty thousand votes out of 546,000 cast. He received no such support from Adams County where he was defeated by 584 votes, eleven percent of the total county vote of 5,188. Gettysburg remained loyal by a margin of 81 votes.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹"Adams Elects the Whole Democratic Ticket!" Gettysburg Compiler, October 19, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁶²"Adams County--Official," Gettysburg Compiler, October 17, 1864, p. 2.

¹⁶³"Presidential Results," Gettysburg Compiler, November 14, 1863, p. 2.

With the exception of the county seat's small majority to the incumbent president, Adams County showed a solid Democratic return in the final election of the Civil War era.

The effect of the Battle of Gettysburg on the Adams County elections of 1863 was negligible. Though a few individuals may have changed their minds due to anger at the Rebel appearance or joy at their departure, the voting pattern in the county races revealed no irregularity. It was the election of 1860 which deviated from normal by delivering majorities to two county office seekers, a governor, a congressman, and a president who were affiliated with the Republican party.¹⁶⁴ The election of 1862 reversed this trend with the replacement of Republicans by Democrats in one of their two county posts, and in the U. S. Congress. The following year, the single county office which remained in Republican hands was lost and the re-election of the incumbent Republican governor opposed. Though Curtin's return to office can be partially attributed to popular approval of his actions before and following the battle, it did not gather

¹⁶⁴Though the election of Republicans to county offices is important, the role which personal relationships often play on that level makes victory here less significant than it is on a higher level. Non-Democrats had been elected to county office before, though not frequently. It was, however, the Republican majorities in the state returns for the presidential and governor's races which set this election year apart from previous ones.

him enough support to win the contest in Adams County. 165
 Gettysburg, of course, supported the Governor. But the praise
 which many elsewhere showered upon him for his efforts to
 organize the state's defenses was not forthcoming from the
 majority of the county. There, many "felt that the government
 had failed to come to . . . [their]. . . relief by fortifying
 the Susquehanna and other boundaries."¹⁶⁶ The traditionally
 Democratic vote of the county was the result. The same pattern
 is shown again in 1864 when Lincoln failed to carry the county,
 as did the Republican candidates for Congress, state assembly,
 director of the poor, county auditor, and county commissioner.

The Battle of Gettysburg, while quite possibly the most
 devastating event to be cast upon the southern Pennsylvania
 region known as Adams County, resulted in very few repercussions

¹⁶⁵Alexander K. McClure, in Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1905), p. 53, stated his opinion that the outcome of the 1863 gubernatorial race "was irrevocably decided by the repulse of Pickett's Charge and the retreat of Lee's army from the battlefield of Gettysburg." McClure was a Chambersburg politician and historian who felt that the esteem gathered by Curtin as a result of his interest in the troops throughout his term and his nickname, "the soldier's friend," were the major political factors in the election. Though seventy-five thousand soldiers were in the field on election day and thus were unable to vote, Curtin managed to achieve victory without this main base of support. The soldiers had written home urging the election of Curtin as the best possible choice for the state and their families had heeded their advice. It was Andrew G. Curtin who personally won the election, not the Republican Party with whom he was affiliated.

¹⁶⁶Jennie S. Croll, "Days of Dread: A Woman's Story of Her Life on the Battlefield," (n. d.), p. 1. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

of a political nature. Long-standing allegiances were too strongly formed in 1863 to be undermined by events for which either political party could be held responsible. Of the political statements appearing in Adams County newspapers following the battle and prior to the elections, all are of a reiterative nature.¹⁶⁷ Republicans reaffirmed their faith in the Lincoln Administration which in their view brought about the victory of July. Democrats decried the arbitrary arrests of newspaper editors affiliated with their party as unconstitutional and blamed Republicans for allowing the Confederates so far north. Previously established philosophies were apparently reestablished by most of those residing in the county at this time, whether they were Democrats or Republicans. Perhaps this was due to the fact that no Gettysburg citizen was held responsible for the social and economic difficulties of 1863.¹⁶⁸ The scapegoats were all from the outside; Washington officials, an inept state assembly, the southern army, an unfriendly press. The first three, especially, had brought near financial ruin to many people; the latter one they accused of unfairly defaming the area. But within the county, no serious internal rift developed to split the already-formed

¹⁶⁷"Who is to Blame?" Gettysburg Star and Banner, August 13, 1863, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸Though Edward J. Stahle was arrested by military officials for allegedly aiding the enemy, no trial was ever held and no enmity among those of his own party clung to him over the incident.

party lines or to re-channel political currents of the past three years. The earlier problems caused by the over-balance of southern leadership was no longer a deterrent to party loyalty. An upset in this realm of Adams County society was not forthcoming as a result of the battle of July. The economic sector was not as fortunate.

CHAPTER IV

"EVERYTHING WAS IN RUINS"¹⁶⁹

The ten to twelve thousand people who arrived in Gettysburg in the days succeeding the battle saw before them a panoramic view of the realities of warfare.

Shattered ties, perforated houses, fences swept away, trodden-down corn and wheat fields, scattered blankets, coats, knapsacks, scabbards, canteens, muskets, rifles, and hundreds of thousands of minié balls, shot and shell gave evidence that the storm of battle had swept over that field.¹⁷⁰

For those who lived there, Adams County donned a frightful mask over the tranquil features of recent memory. Moreover, difficulties were surfacing beyond the ragged edges of the torn landscape.

The economic ramifications of a northward sweep of warring armies became obvious in early June as General Albert G. Jenkins' cavalry units scoured the land for supplies. At various times throughout June and July 1863, Rebel forces appeared in at least seven southern Pennsylvania counties.¹⁷¹ It was, however, in Franklin, Cumberland, and Adams that significant economic damage occurred. All three were raided for

¹⁶⁹Daughters of Lancaster, p. 15.

¹⁷⁰Micheal Jacobs, "The Battle of Gettysburg," p. 243.

¹⁷¹These counties were Adams, Bedford, Cumberland, Franklin, Fulton, Somerset, and York.

supplies and in Cumberland several incidents of an extreme nature occurred.¹⁷² Horses especially were prizes of confiscation. During the invasion period, over seven hundred of these animals were said to have been taken from Adams County. Other items destined to become spoils of war were medicines, blacksmithing tools, salt, beehives, harvested grains, and all varieties of livestock and provisions. Clothing, food, and leather goods were also growing scarce within the Army of Northern Virginia and the business establishments of northern border counties were looked to as a source of supply.¹⁷³

Aware of the dangers involved in keeping a large store of merchandise through a Rebel raid, merchants--as well as many private citizens--had shipped a large portion of their supplies further north before the first cavalry detachments appeared.¹⁷⁴ Some had taken extensive leases on private railway cars so as to be prepared for such a move. The disruptive nature of such actions had brought business activity to a

¹⁷²Congressman Thaddeus Stevens' Chalcedonia Iron Works were burned on June 26 by General Early's troops, causing over fifty thousand dollars in damages. At the same time, more than two hundred men found themselves jobless. At Mt. Holly, the paper mill there had also been visited by Rebels and four thousand dollars in merchandise confiscated. And in Carlisle, on July 1, Stuart's troops set fire to the federal barracks there, causing destruction to one residence, several barns and businesses, and damage to the courthouse and college grounds of that town.

¹⁷³Records of the Department of the Auditor General, E. Records of the Board of Claims, 1862-1870, Record Group 2, William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives, Harrisburg, Pa. Hereafter referred to as Board of Claims, RG2.

¹⁷⁴Harman, p. 21.

standstill throughout June and early July. The loss to area merchants due to the cessation of business has never been calculated, perhaps because other losses to the county were so outstanding. But not all merchandise had been evacuated and what had not largely fell to Rebel hands. Even the Gettysburg bakery and candy shop of Phillip Winter was not spared as the invaders demanded he open the store for their purchases, paid for in Confederate notes.¹⁷⁵

General Robert E. Lee had ordered the payment of compensation to those from whom supplies were taken, but the value of southern paper money was far from par with Union greenbacks. Some were not too gracious about accepting it. The other options offered by the Southerners involved the granting of vouchers to be settled at a later date by a victorious Richmond government or the possibility of applying to northern leaders for reimbursement of wartime losses.¹⁷⁶ None of these methods of payment seemed to reassure the border

¹⁷⁵Charles M. McCurdy, Gettysburg: A Memoir (Pittsburgh: Reed & Witting Co., 1929), p. 13.

¹⁷⁶A bill, as yet unapproved in 1863, originated in the Pennsylvania Senate in 1861, known as Senate Bill No. 1329 and was entitled "An Act Authorizing the Payment by the State Treasurer, of Certain Warrants Issued by the Auditor General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the Payment of Certain Military Claims." The bill, supplemented in 1862 and 1863, was finally passed by the Legislature in 1868. For more information regarding the development of this bill, see Papers of the Governors, 1858-1871, Vol. VIII, Pennsylvania Archives, Series IV (1902), pp. 629-634.

residents who mostly regarded the confiscations as out-right thievery.¹⁷⁷

Other damages prior to the battle involved the tearing up of railroad ties throughout the county and the burning of the railroad bridge over Rock Creek toward the town of Hanover. Though damages to railroad-owned property seems to have been more than covered by the ensuing business given the railroads throughout the remainder of the summer, those with private railroad cars burned on June 27 went largely uncompensated.¹⁷⁸

While Gettysburg had escaped any significant degree of confiscation in the Rebel visit of June 26, it was not always to be so fortunate. During the three-day occupation by southern forces, several businesses are known to have been forcibly entered and the desired merchandise removed.¹⁷⁹ In one warehouse near the railroad, what had not been requisitioned lay beneath a scattering of salt, sugar, and spilled

¹⁷⁷Broadhead, p. 7. According to a passage in John Paul Harman's work, cited earlier, two Chambersburg, Franklin County residents found a means of turning Confederate paper money into specie of their own satisfaction. An area minister sold the Confederate bills to a local tanner for twenty-five cents on the dollar. The tanner then used the currency to buy hides from Confederates who had slaughtered livestock purchased from northern farmers.

¹⁷⁸Board of Claims, RG2, William E. Biddle, Box 1, Folder 9; Daniel Gulden, Box 4, Folder 56; and James Wible, Box 11, Folder 152.

¹⁷⁹Harrisburg Evening Telegraph, July 20, 1863, p. 2.

molasses.¹⁸⁰ Drug stores and liquor supplies were also of prime interest.¹⁸¹

Residents who had remained in their homes were intruded upon in only a few cases as the invading soldiers searched out growingly-scant supplies of food. Unoccupied houses were another matter as the invaders used them for shelter or sharpshooters' roosts, or examined their contents for clothing or provisions. The great demand among ragged southern soldiers for articles of clothing resulted in quite a number of pilfered closets. One woman wrote of finding a pile of rags where her husband's clothes had been.¹⁸² In claims filed with the state government by Adams County residents following the invasion, at least fifty-six petitioners included "clothing" in their lists of missing or destroyed items.¹⁸³

Following the raids of General J. E. B. Stuart into Pennsylvania in October 1862, a bill was proposed in the state legislature providing for remuneration to those, who for various reasons, lost property during the course of the war. After

¹⁸⁰Mrs. Jacob A. Clutz, "Some Personal Recollections of the Battle of Gettysburg," (n. d.), p. 5. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

¹⁸¹Due to the tight reign kept over Lee's troops, it can be assumed that most liquors taken by the Confederates were for medicinal purposes.

¹⁸²Sarah Barrett King, Ma King's Story of the Battle of Gettysburg (n. p.: By the Author, 1908), p. 6.

¹⁸³Board of Claims, RG2.

the Battle of Gettysburg, a rider was attached allowing those who were victims of the 1863 raids to apply for compensation also.¹⁸⁴ Though very few of the petitioners saw a return on their losses, largely due to opposition from the undamaged northern counties, a look at the 813 affidavits filed indicates the serious degree of damage in Adams County in the summer of 1863.¹⁸⁵

The records reveal that for the most part, those articles taken from area farms, businesses, and residences reflected the vast needs of an army at war.¹⁸⁶ Nearly 500 mentioned claims for missing horses. Claims for horsegears, bridles, and saddles were listed on more than 150 petitions. Livestock claims, including incalculable numbers of sheep, hogs, cattle, and poultry were made by 184 area residents. Those claiming confiscated grain numbered over 150 and of those who lost wagons and carriages, 73 took action for

¹⁸⁴Gettysburg Compiler, February 29, 1864, p. 2. This bill was not passed until 1868 and a dispute over the manner in which the claims were reviewed, as well as the opposition of the northern counties, prevented their satisfactory settlement.

¹⁸⁵Aside from the Gettysburg Times account of Abraham Brien who reportedly received fifteen dollars, no records of a settlement on these claims have been found.

¹⁸⁶There were a few cases in which articles other than necessities were taken. At least eight cases of confiscated watches and other articles of jewelry were listed in the claims files. And Dr. Charles P. Krauth of the Lutheran Theological Seminary was missing a silver tea service following the battle. This was later returned to the Krauths by a Confederate officer who found it among his men's belongings.

remuneration.¹⁸⁷ Claims against missing cash were few, numbering only 6, but one farmer who apparently kept a sum of gold and silver coins hidden in an outside bakeover found that it was not such a perfect hiding place.¹⁸⁸ Manuel Pitzer claimed a total of \$5,000 on his affidavit of 1868.¹⁸⁹ The exact number of each class of articles lost is impossible to calculate as many of those who filed were less than precise. "Horses," or "hogs," or "horsegears" were about as detailed as many claimants got. Though a few were quite specific, listing such articles as a bucket worth 62¢, most were not.¹⁹⁰ Of the claims available, however, it is apparent that quite a number of Adams County inhabitants came to know war in a very real way. Personal property items valued at \$269,593 were claimed by the petitions of 1868.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷Board of Claims, RG2. An added burden was placed on area farmers in regard to wagons. Those wagons which were badly damaged had been left behind by the departing Confederates. After the battle, local residents began to repair them to facilitate the care of their neglected farms. The federal government then confiscated these wrecks as "spoils of war."

¹⁸⁸McCurdy, p. 24.

¹⁸⁹Board of Claims, Manuel Pitzer, Box 8, Folder 109.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., Jacob Baker, Box 1, Folder 3.

¹⁹¹None of the members of the seminary or college faculties filed claims for damages done to their homes or to buildings of those institutions. Several cases of damage which were recorded in newspapers of the day were also absent from the claims files. The Mr. Little whose house was reported burned made no claim, nor did Henry Spangler or Joseph Sherfy who were known to have lost barns. This increases the amount of economic damage even beyond the figures cited in the claims files.

The claims filed that same year for damage to real estate brought the total value of claims for Adams County to \$335,203.61. Damages to crops due to the bedding of soldiers in the fields or the surge of battle through the valleys of wheat and corn were claimed by 149. Fences dismantled to light evening campfires or enable the passing of armed formations were listed in 72 petitions. Numerous accounts have spoken of the damage experienced by farmers as their ripened crops lay trampled in the muddy fields.¹⁹² Abraham Brien, a black farmer living on the southern outskirts of Gettysburg along the Union battleline, filed a claim for \$1,028 for damages done to crops, fences, buildings, and fruit trees.¹⁹³

The armies had just about ruined the country here. Harvest time had come, but we hadn't cut our wheat, and a lot of troops marched through it and laid it flat as a board.¹⁹⁴

In 1871, a second group of claims were made in accordance with a new state law permitting their payment on condition that the state be reimbursed by the federal government. Most of the affidavits of 1871 were reiterations of the 1868 claims, but in numerous cases the amount claimed was reduced, as was the amount the Board permitted each claim. A minute group who had not submitted claims in 1868 also appeared. For a sample of these claims, see Appendices D and E.

¹⁹²Board of Claims, RG2.

¹⁹³"The View from Little Round Top," Gettysburg Times April 17, 1979, p. 2. According to this article, Mr. Brien was eventually reimbursed fifteen dollars for the claims filed.

Although the bulk of destruction throughout Adams County was not of a negligent causation, some cases of wanton waste do seem to have occurred. One man tells of the slaughter of a whole beef for the dinner of one soldier, who then failed to tend to the remaining meat.

¹⁹⁴Johnson, "The Colored Farm Hand," p. 185.

Fields where yellow ripening wheat had rippled in the sun were now desert spaces of dirty trampled straw. Orchards and woodlands stood splintered, stark and bare as though blasted by lightning. Farmhouses and barns showed their gaping wounds or existed only as mounds of charred rubble.¹⁹⁵

Buildings had indeed been caught between the exchanges of shot and shell. Some serving at various times as sharpshooters' nests for both armies were eventually put to the torch. Both the houses and barns of Alexander Currens, William Bliss, and a Mr. Little were consumed by flames during the first three days of July 1863. John Herbst, Henry Spangler, Alexander Cobean and Joseph Sherfy lost barns in the same manner.¹⁹⁶ At least seventeen others mentioned damages to buildings in the petitions to the Board of Claims and eight additional residences are known to have been marred significantly.¹⁹⁷ Nearly all the buildings on the southern

¹⁹⁵Montgomery, p. 182.

¹⁹⁶Gettysburg Compiler, July 20, 1863, p. 2. The first name of Mr. Little has not been determined. A Mr. Israel Little did claim \$114 in real estate damage in the Border Claims, RG2, Box 6, Folder 82, but no specific damage to buildings was mentioned. The claims for real estate damage to William Bliss' property in Box 1, Folder 11, amounted to \$1940; those for Alexander Currens, Box 3, Folder 32, were \$2750; John Herbst, Box 5, Folder 63, claimed \$1727 in real estate; Alexander Cobean, Box 2, Folder 27, claimed \$300 in real estate.

¹⁹⁷Others known to have had property damage were Joseph Broadhead, Salome Myers, a Mr. McClean, Jacob Weikert, Joseph Bigham, Dr. Henry Baugher, Charles P. Krauth, and Charles Wills. None of these people are known to have submitted claims. Among those who did and who listed damages to buildings were John Crist, John Holzwarth, Jeremiah Hoffman, John Hovick, Henry S. Hueber, Daniel Lady, George Lady, Samuel Lohn, Elizabeth Mickley, Joseph Mickley, Daniel Shriver, Christian Sharnk, Joseph Smith, Jacob Stuck, James Warfield, James Wibble, and Edward McPherson. The total real estate claims for these persons amounted to a little over five hundred dollars.

edge of town were splattered with bullet marks. Though no specific mention has been made, given the locations of the Catholic Church, the German Reformed Church, Union School, the Rupp Tannery, and the Waggon Hotel, it would have been extremely difficult for these buildings to emerge unscarred.¹⁹³

Located along the Confederate line of defense, the large residence of the president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker, was battered by Union artillery fire. Windows, including frames and sashes were shattered. Holes measuring two to three feet in both directions had been made by at least thirteen balls or shells.¹⁹⁹

Next door, "the plain but handsome four-story brick building" from which Seminary Ridge took its name was also extensively damaged.²⁰⁰ Pierced by a number of federal balls, portions of the gable had been knocked through. A two-story crack appeared in one wall where gaping holes gave evidence to the ferocity of the barrage.

Though less damaged than the seminary due to a less exposed position, Pennsylvania College found it necessary to make "thorough-going repairs" as well.²⁰¹ Together, the two institutions issued an appeal in a number of local and state

¹⁹⁸See "The Town of Gettysburg, 1863" Appendix F.

¹⁹⁹Wentz, p. 212; Chambersburg Franklin (Pa.) Repository, July 15, 1863, p. 2.

²⁰⁰Egle, p. 304.

²⁰¹Fortenbaugh, p. 218.

newspapers for aid in restoring their war-damaged buildings.²⁰² Signed by eleven members of the seminary and college faculties, it appealed to the Lutheran Church and patriots everywhere to solicit funds toward a goal of \$5,000. The campaign proved fairly successful and by the deadline of October 31, \$4,210.69 had been received. Of that amount, \$2,346.18 went to the repairs of the seminary, the remainder to the college.²⁰³

These funds had been solicited with the philosophy that two types of damages had occurred in the summer of 1863; that which was a direct result of the battle exchange and that which resulted from the usage of buildings as hospitals. In the views of the town's educational leaders, in time of war the government could not be held responsible for damages incurred as the direct result of embattlement. As patriots they felt they should expect to pay a price for the defense of their nation, and outraged that Union soil should be so defiled by an invasion, the seminary and college leaders took it upon themselves to raise money for the needed repairs. The use of their buildings as hospitals was another matter. Bureaucratic maneuverings within the army had kept hospital supplies from reaching Gettysburg until the second day of battle. Even

²⁰²"An Appeal in Behalf of the Theological Seminary and the College of Gettysburg," Gettysburg Star and Banner, July 23, 1863, p. 3. This appeal also appeared in the Gettysburg Compiler, the Harrisburg Evening Telegraph, and the Lutheran Observer.

²⁰³Wentz, p. 220.

afterward, it was the generosity of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions and the Adams Express Hospital Corps which organized the delivery of needed supplies in the weeks following the battle. Feeling that it was up to the United States government to care for the wounded left behind, the college and seminary officials made claims to the government for those expenses and damages incurred during the two-month use of their institutions as hospitals. Blood-stained walls and flooring required refurbishing. Furniture had also been damaged and a number of books had been marred when physicians had written prescriptions in their margins. The carpets in the home of Dr. Charles P. Krauth of the seminary had been thoroughly soaked through with blood. After a year's delay, \$660.50 was paid to the seminary for the use of its building as a hospital.²⁰⁴ Pennsylvania College has been credited with receiving \$625.²⁰⁵ Though applications for remuneration were made by the two schools jointly, reports of their receipt of funds seems to indicate that they were reimbursed separately.²⁰⁶

An incalculable number of homes and town buildings were used as emergency hospitals before the establishment of

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 221.

²⁰⁵Fortenbaugh, p. 219.

²⁰⁶The closeness in the final amounts could indicate that they are divergent totals of the same sum, but the two references cited did seem to refer either to the seminary or to the college, as opposed to the two jointly.

a general field hospital south of the town in late August.²⁰⁷ Whether others in addition to the seminary and the college received government payment for these services has not been discovered, but much was donated by the citizens of the area for the comfort of the wounded left in their care.

Mrs. Fannie Buehler, wife of the local postmaster, wrote of nursing four injured men in her dining room while giving one of her bedrooms to wounded Wisconsin Colonel John Callis. His wife also shared this room, having come to Gettysburg to care for her injured husband.²⁰⁸ The homes of Dr. Henry L. Baugher, Joseph Broadhead, and Salome Myers among others also became havens against the pouring rains of July for those who had fallen on the field. Even the critical L. L. Crouse found words of praise for a few Adams County residents when he commended the ministrations of Squire Samuel Donborrow, a resident of Two Taverns, five miles east of the county seat, and Professor Martin Luther Stoever of the college. According to the New York Times correspondent, Professor Stoever and his

²⁰⁷Among the public buildings used as hospitals were the courthouse, the public school houses, the Lutheran, United Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Catholic Churches. Numerous warehouses within the town and barns across the countryside were also used. Patients remained in the battered seminary building until the end of August, though numerous attempts had been made to remove them to the general field hospital south of the town. Educators were anxious to begin repairs and refurbishing so that fall classes could begin on time. Due to a great deal of work on behalf of the professors who personally performed some of the labor due to a paucity of available workmen, the schools were able to open on time.

²⁰⁸Buehler, p. 26.

wife "cared for as many as twelve wounded" at a time in the dining room of their Gettysburg home.²⁰⁹

In some cases, homes had been turned into emergency operating rooms and hospitals in the absence of their owners. Lizzie R. Beard wrote of returning home to find it filled with wounded men, "blood-soaked straw, flies, and vermin."²¹⁰ A similar experience was recorded by Mrs. John Slentz who found wounded men filling the house, barn, and outbuildings of her Chambersburg Pike farm.²¹¹ Mrs. Slentz also wrote of the destruction of furniture and the ruination of family wearing apparel.

The use of countless numbers of petticoats, bed linens, men's shirts and other cloth articles became necessary in the days of battle before outside aid could reach the area. As the daily supply of bleeding men increased, the need for bandages rose sharply. This may further explain the clothing claims made following the battle as an inflationary period took the price of muslin to seventy-five cents a yard. This was apparently a high price in view of the consternation expressed by two ladies of Gettysburg in later accounts.²¹²

²⁰⁹New York Times, July 9, 1863, p. 1.

²¹⁰Lizzie R. Beard, personal memoir, p. 2. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

²¹¹Slentz, p. 89.

²¹²Buehler, p. 10; Auginbaugh, p. 15.

In addition to opening their homes and business establishments for the care of the wounded, area residents also offered support to the Christian and Sanitary Commissions. Two local leaders are known to have made monetary donations to the Christian Commission and a local committee was organized, chaired by Robert G. McCreary, to aid that body.²¹³ An important auxiliary to both the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, the Adams Express Hospital Corps was founded to speed the transportation of supplies into the area in wagon loads. Its founder, Samuel M. Shoemaker, opened the contributions personally with a donation of two thousand dollars.²¹⁴ Numerous accounts of praise appeared in northern newspapers regarding the generosity of the ladies of the town who prepared and distributed food in addition to spending long hours at their nursing duties.

But the sacrifices of some citizens does not exclude the presence of a degree of economic opportunism. Although the damage of the battle and its aftermath threw an additional pallor over the rain-dreary summer months of 1863, more than two dozen were able to make the best of the situation. In addition to the cases discussed earlier, some who helped feed rumors of the greed present in Adams County did so with an

²¹³Gettysburg Star and Banner, July 16, 1863, p. 3; July 30, 1863, p. 3.

²¹⁴"Adams Express Company Hospital Corps," New York Times, July 12, 1863, p. 1.

apparent sense of enterprise. They saw in their actions not a lack of patriotism, but a sensible reaction to opportunities.

One of these opportunities presented itself to the second son of Charles Wills, Democratic proprietor of the Globe Hotel. Seeing thousands of crippled and wounded horses laying about the silent battlefields of Saturday, July 4, young Wills rounded up several, taking them to the stables of his father's hotel. By the time he returned for a second group, a provost guard had been posted and Wills was arrested for theft of government property. The defendant argued that although he had seen their government brands, he thought they had been cast out and thus belonged to no-one. He was released with a severe warning, but still failed to return a number of them which he quickly sold for "whatever he could get."²¹⁵ One was kept for nearly a year, at which time he was able to sell it for the very respectable price of two hundred dollars.²¹⁶

With thousands of strangers filling the town, some area residents found money-making projects in helping locate missing relatives. As the field of battle covered a front five miles long and several miles wide, a horse and wagon were necessities for a search that might involve not only hospitals, but newly covered graves as well. Some people were charged

²¹⁵Wills, p. 31.

²¹⁶Ibid.

as much as ten dollars a day for this needed transportation.²¹⁷
 The four hotels in town must also have prospered from this influx of the anxious and the curious. No mention has been found of a cessation of the twenty-five cent per night charge for accommodations and reports are that all inns were packed beyond capacity.²¹⁸

The task of cleaning up the battlefield was a monumental one and upon the departure of the Union army, Samuel Herbst was engaged to bury the remaining corpses.²¹⁹ Confederate prisoners were put to work aiding Herbst, but as Meade had sent large numbers of his captives to Maryland before himself departing, others were needed to accomplish this task. Though no payroll records have been uncovered, in view of the numerous reports of a paucity of volunteers and statements such as "anyone who wanted to work could make big money," it does seem likely that many in the burial parties failed to receive compensation.²²⁰

²¹⁷New York Times, July 12, 1863, p. 1.

²¹⁸Gettysburg Star and Banner, July 9, 1863, p. 3.

²¹⁹General Meade to General Halleck, July 5, 1863, Official Records, Vol. XXVII

²²⁰Johnson, "The Colored Farm Hand," p. 186. The shortage of laborers was due to the large amount of work which needed to be done on individual farms, the advent of the harvest season, and in some cases perhaps, a lack of interest in such an undertaking.

Beyond the wages received, some who were employed in burying the dead or preparing their bodies for shipment home found an additional means of profit. They began selling pint and quart flasks of whiskey to the soldiers of the provost guard who, due to cases of excessive drunkenness, were forbidden the purchase of alcoholic beverages several times that summer. Suspicion was avoided at first due to the common usage of the large quantities of spirits among the burial parties in attempts to avoid sickness in their work.²²¹

With the plans for establishment of a Soldiers' National Cemetery upon the fields of Gettysburg, other economic advantages appeared to some in the area. Though not necessarily of an opportunistic nature, some were able to find employment due to the creation of the cemetery. John S. Townsend was named as surveyor and manager for the removal of the bodies from their shallow graves to the carefully landscaped lawns of the new cemetery.²²² Basil Biggs received the contract to remove the dead from their graves and place them in coffins. He undoubtedly had a number of assistants in his task of removing the corpses, but the name of only one has been discovered. Fifteen-year-old Leander H. Warren could haul six

²²¹Wills, p. 28.

²²²Leander H. Warren, "What I Saw Before, During, and After the Battle of Gettysburg; July 1, 2, and 3, 1863," (n. d.), p. 3. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

coffins at a time in his one-horse wagon, while Biggs himself could make a trip with nine coffins behind his two-horse team.²²³ John Hoke and Franklin Biesecker were given the contract to dig and cover the graves at a rate of \$1.59 per body.²²⁴

A few people also received compensation from the sale of land which was to become the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Peter Raffensberger and Edward Menchy were the first to sell their lands to David C. Wills, Governor Curtain's agent for the purchasing of the needed acreage.²²⁵ An additional nine acres was purchased from the Evergreen Cemetery Board in August.²²⁶ This land, actually deeded to Board President David McConaughy was a question of some dispute for several

²²³Ibid., p. 4.

²²⁴"Contract for Removal of the Dead," Gettysburg Compiler, October 27, 1863, p. 2.

²²⁵"To the Patriot of the Land--A Cemetery for those who Fell at Gettysburg," Harrisburg Evening Telegraph, July 29, 1863, p. 2.

²²⁶D. H. Buehler and Edward G. Fahnestock to Governor Andrew Curtain, August 14, 1863. David Wills File, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pa. Apparently, members of the cemetery board had had plans to enlarge the existing cemetery with the thought of including those soldiers who were not returned home for burial. A memorial to the fallen heroes had been discussed and McConaughy had secured a verbal agreement for the purchase of the land. Actually, most of the plans of Evergreen's expansion had been discussed before the announcement of the creation of the new cemetery and a long-standing dislike between the two men had irritated the situation. Upon mediation by other members of the Evergreen Board, the sale was made with the stipulation that no tall or imposing fence should divide the two cemeteries, so as to preserve the open view of the landscape.

weeks as McConaughy pressured Attorney Wills to accept certain restrictions upon the deed.²²⁷

The lots were purchased at different prices per acre, according to their location, but at a very reasonable market price. Two lots were bought at a rate of \$225 per acre; one for \$200 per acre; one for \$150 per acre; and one for \$135 . . .²²⁸

A total of seventeen acres were thus to become the final resting place for 3,412 Union warriors.²²⁹

The Soldiers' National Cemetery was dedicated on November 19, 1863 amidst much fanfare and excitement.²³⁰

²²⁷Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery Together with Accompanying Documents as Reported to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by David C. Wills, Chairman (Harrisburg: Singerly & Myers, State Printers, 1864), p. 7.

²²⁸David McConaughy to Governor Andrew Curtin, August 5, 1863, David Wills File, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pa.

²²⁹Revised Report Relative to the Soldiers' Cemetery, pp. 7-10.

²³⁰The cemetery, located between the Baltimore Pike and the Taneytown Road, bordered on the southeast line of Evergreen Cemetery. Landscape architect William E. Saunders was commissioned to lay the plans. Eighteen northern states which were represented at the battle had sons laid to rest there. At the time of the dedication ceremonies, 1,188 had been interred; the remainder were buried there by the following March. For more information regarding the development and progress of the cemetery and the military park which followed, see Frederick Tilberg, "Historical Cemetery Survey Report," 1958, and Kathleen R. Georg, "The Development and Care of the Soldier's National Cemetery Enclosures at Gettysburg," 1978, both of which were written in conjunction with the Gettysburg National Military Park. Also available at the military park is an extract from the "Memoirs" of William J. Saunders in relation to his participation in the planning of the cemetery. A list of deed transfers regarding the purchase of land which was to become the three thousand acre military

The well-known orator Edward Everett spoke for nearly two hours, and President Lincoln delivered his now-famous address. Numerous other Washington dignitaries were present also. An estimated twenty-five to thirty thousand people visited the scene of the famed battle within a one-week period.²³¹ It could not have been other than a happy prospect to hotel owners of the town. All hotels were packed beyond capacity and as in the previous summer, homes were once again filled with lodgers and there were strangers walking the streets for want of accommodations.²³² The opportunity to see the actual site of battle, to pay respects to those who "here gave the last full measure of devotion," and to be present for a great orator's speech proved a powerful magnet. So many people were present, in fact, that the phenomena of pickpocketing was reported in the usually well-ordered community.²³³

The trains which brought so many to the dedication ceremonies and which had transported thousands to the vast hospital that was Gettysburg in July and August proved to be great assets for Railroad Company stockholders. The January 1864 report to the stockholders of the Gettysburg

park is available for examination at the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

²³¹"Dedication of the National Cemetery," Gettysburg Star and Banner, November 26, 1863, p. 2.

²³²Daniel Alexander Skelly, A Boy's Experiences During the Battle of Gettysburg (n. p.: By the Author, 1932), p. 26.

²³³Gettysburg Adams Sentinel, January 19, 1863, p. 2.

Railroad Company for receipts of 1863 showed a soaring business for the months of July and August which were surpassed only by that of November.²³⁴ Though damages to tracks and rails had been twice those incurred in other years, rising from \$1,106 in 1862 to \$2,452 in 1863, the government was expected to pay damages, thus securing the summer and autumn profits for the railroad. The increased activity provided not only enlarged government business, but private as well.²³⁵

On a smaller scale, profits were made by the younger folk in the collections and sale of battlefield relics to the town's many visitors. As one young man remembered it:

It was a busy and exciting summer that followed for thousands of visitors flocked to Gettysburg; our relics were in great demand, for everyone wanted a souvenir.²³⁶

²³⁴"Gettysburg Railroad," Gettysburg Adams Sentinel January 19, 1864, p. 2. A comparison of the receipts of the railroad for those months in 1862 and 1863 reveals that no such increase took place in the years preceding and following the year of the battle. See Appendix C.

²³⁵The railroad was criticized in the first days following the battle for the poor treatment extended to the wounded. The transportation of thousands of injured men in dirty, poorly ventilated cars in which no sanitary facilities had been provided led to the appointment of Herman Haupt to oversee the removal of troops.

The actual receipt of government payments has not been discovered, but no mention of an outstanding bill appeared in the reports of the railroad for the following year which appeared in the Gettysburg Compiler, January 22, 1864, p. 2.

²³⁶McCurdy, p. 27.

"A piece of a tree with a bullet in it was a good seller."²³⁷

Another money-maker was the sale of the contents of unexploded shells.

At the time . . . lead was very scarce, and we could get thirteen cents a pound for it . . . It only took eight of a certain kind [of shot] to make a pound. The large shells were full of bullets and . . . we would unscrew the capend and if we were careful, fill the shell with water before we undertook to extract the bullets.²³⁸

This was understandably a dangerous practice and as was stated earlier, a number of casualties resulted from it.

For two young men of the town, the sale of tobacco to Union troops proved a profitable enterprise. With ten dollars borrowed from his mother, eighteen-year-old Daniel Skelly and a friend purchased a lot of tobacco which had been hidden from the Rebels in Hollinger's warehouse. According to Daniel, they made "more money than we ever had before in our lives."²³⁹ One youngster was even said to have set up a lemonade stand "outside of town near the soldiers' camp after the battle."²⁴⁰

The fascination with which many regarded the Battle of Gettysburg must have influenced a number of the town's people

²³⁷Albertus McCreary, "A Boy's Experiences of the Battle," McClure's Magazine (July, 1909), p. 20. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

²³⁸McCurdy, p. 18.

²³⁹Skelly, p. 21.

²⁴⁰Elsie Singmaster Lewers, personal account, p. 2. Eyewitness Accounts Folder, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

to embark on certain commercial enterprises. The Tyson Brothers, owners of a photography studio, advertised the sale of battle photographs as early as the second week in August.²⁴¹ By the following summer they had added photos of John Burns, the President, and popular generals.²⁴² As a charitable gesture, the Tysons also sold copies of a photo found in the pocket of a dead Union soldier. The profits from this sale went to the children in the photo, now left fatherless.²⁴³

Several prominent residents of the town, among them Dr. Henry Baugher of the college, Dr. Samuel Schmucker of the seminary, and attorneys David McConaughy and David Wills, began delivering public lectures on the Battle of Gettysburg locally and in Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Professor Micheal Jacobs of the seminary, who also delivered lectures on the subject, wrote a book, Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, 1863.²⁴⁴ After the first printing of two thousand copies, the publishers issued a second edition, ten thousand of which were

²⁴¹Gettysburg Compiler, August 10, 1863, p. 2.

²⁴²Gettysburg Compiler, June 27, 1864, p. 4.

²⁴³Gettysburg Compiler, February 8, 1864, p. 2. This was a photo of the children of a Sgt. Hamilton of the 134th New York Volunteer Infantry. The poignancy of the three solemn-looking children, now orphaned, stirred the sympathies of many.

²⁴⁴Professor Jacob's book has been fully cited earlier in this paper.

printed. The author's brother Edward then put out a cheap reprint which was said to have also done well.²⁴⁵

Seventy-year-old John Burns, who gained fame fighting with the northern troops at Gettysburg, also reaped some economic benefits from the experience. In 1864, the 38th Congress authorized a bill granting the "citizen hero of Gettysburg" a monthly pension of eight dollars for his services.²⁴⁶ In 1866, Burns was elected Assistant Doorkeeper of the State Senate; it can be assumed that his hero status was at least partially instrumental in this particular accomplishment.²⁴⁷

Though having gone through an experience which today would have the governor declaring the town a disaster area, Gettysburg had begun to pull itself together by the end of the year. Repairs were not completed until the following summer, but the seminary and the college both opened their doors in time for the fall terms. The bodies which had covered the landscape had largely been laid beneath ample

²⁴⁵Henry Eyster Jacobs, p. 62.

²⁴⁶"An Act Granting a Pension to John L. Burns of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: March 14, 1864," The Statutes at Large: Treaties and Proclamations of the United States of America from December 1863 to December 1865 XIII, ed., George P. Singer (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1866), p. 577. John Burns File, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

²⁴⁷Account of John Burns' election as doorkeeper of the State Senate. John Burns File, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.

plots of earth by the time of the official dedication ceremonies of November. Threats of disease no longer worried the residents and the hordes of visitors had reduced to a comparative trickle by the opening of 1864. Both the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Institution and the Bank of Gettysburg opened within a few weeks with no damage to their assets.²⁴⁸ On a wider scale, the Union victory at the Battle of Gettysburg permitted a fall in the price of gold in the New York market from \$1.45 an ounce to \$1.40.²⁴⁹

The economy of the area, as viewed through the tables of "Valuations and Assessments" for 1863, 1864, and 1865 was placed in a downward trend. A lack of ample cash flow throughout the area retarded a speedy return to the prosperity of pre-battle days.²⁵⁰ Some businesses failed to return to the area following the conflict, though the shift does not seem to have been so severe as some have indicated. Apparently, those businesses for which no immediate need existed did die out, but those involved in materials which were in great shortage following the battle appear to have made a respectable

²⁴⁸Gettysburg Compiler, August 3, 1863, p. 2; Gettysburg Star and Banner, August 6, 1863, p. 3.

²⁴⁹Harrisburg Evening Telegraph, July 9, 1863, p. 3.

²⁵⁰The report of the county's "Valuations and Assessments" for 1863 as reported in the Gettysburg Compiler, December 21, 1863 reveals a downward trend in the economy and the cash flow of the county from the preceding report which appeared in the Compiler, December 22, 1862, p. 3. According to the report of 1864 which appeared in the Compiler of December 26, 1864, this trend had continued.

degree of growth. Saddlery and harness businesses put on a significant growth by the 1870 Census Reports, as did the production of clothing. Both of these categories of articles had been sorely depleted by the Rebel confiscations. Contrary to other accounts, the number of carriage and wagon manufacturers grew from fifteen businesses employing fifty-three persons with a total value of products at \$31,625 to thirty-two businesses employing eighty with a product value of \$47,888.²⁵¹ Though perhaps the gains shown in other industries in this ten-year period were much greater, this industry did manage to survive.

As with other events in the history of man, the severity of the damage done at the Battle of Gettysburg and in the ensuing months of recovery takes on a harder or a softer image, depending on the viewpoint of the observer. The Philadelphia Public Ledger of July 14, 1863 carried an article reporting that,

. . . Contrary to many reports the destruction of property is slight; half a dozen houses will cover all that has been destroyed, a few more or less injured, most quite slightly.²⁵²

²⁵¹Census of 1860: Manufactures, p. 493; Census of 1870, Statistics of Wealth and Industry, III:721.

²⁵²Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 14, 1863, p. 1.

A book published in 1865 commented on how fortunate it had been that "so heavy a battle should be fought in and around a town and do so little damage to life and property."²⁵³

Those who were far from the scene of battle and who read such reports, then contrasted with the gentlemanly conduct of the Southerners and the "copperheadism" of the border areas could easily find it mercenary for war claims to be made to one's own government. When compared with the later destruction experienced by residents of the southern states, Gettysburg indeed appeared fortunate. But to those whose businesses were disrupted, whose property had been confiscated, and who heard the thunder of battle from the cellars of their once safe homes, a distant war had taken on a distinct reality. It had been estimated that over two-and-a-half million dollars of damage was done in the southern border counties of Pennsylvania throughout the four years of the American Civil War.²⁵⁴ More than \$335,203 of it occurred in a two-week period within the small borders of Adams County.²⁵⁵

²⁵³Cross, p. 10.

²⁵⁴Edwin B. Coddington, The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p. 643.

²⁵⁵Border Claims, RG2.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: AN END TO ANONYMITY

Adams County was a land of rolling hills and valleys dotted liberally with the small houses and large barns of its predominantly Democratic German farmers. Agricultural production formed the economic base of the area, though numerous small industries--notably those of carriage-making and the manufacture of agricultural implements--did exist. The appearance of the Army of Northern Virginia in June 1863 was met by most county residents with indignation, disbelief, and alarm. Many businesses and individuals shipped goods and valuables further north or took them to safety while fleeing to Harrisburg or Philadelphia. These actions, though widely criticized by some Northerners, were to save large quantities of goods from damage and Rebel confiscation. For over two weeks, Rebel cavalry units scoured the area for food, livestock, clothing, and medicine. With the concentration of massive units of northern and southern troops in and around Gettysburg as the battle commenced, food supplies became depleted, wells were pumped dry. Three houses and six barns were consumed by flames and countless other buildings riddled with shot and shell. Three men of the town were wounded and one young woman was killed as a result of the exchange of sharpshooter fire between Confederates in the town and Union forces on Cemetery

Hill. Though the town did not lie in the direct path of the actions of July 2 and 3, it is rather miraculous that more civilians were not injured by gunfire.

Wounded soldiers began filling the town and the farms nearby the afternoon of the first. By the time of the departure of the Confederate army three days later, it appeared as if a hurricane had descended upon the county, leaving paths of ruin strewn with thousands of wounded men. For weeks, Gettysburg ladies were kept occupied nursing injured men, housing the ten thousand visitors who flocked to the area, and finding the means with which to feed the suddenly enlarged households. With the aid of the supplies and nurses of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions and the Adams Express Hospital Corps, townspeople did what they could to alleviate the suffering of twenty-one thousand wounded soldiers of both armies. A problem evolved from the lack of laborers available to attack the massive chore of burying the thousands of dead who had laid for days under the hot sun of July. Fear of disease demanded the task be done as quickly as possible and a local gentleman hired by the departing Union officers to supervise the burials found it necessary to offer monetary compensation to encourage those who were preoccupied with their own responsibilities to assist in this work.

The concern of some with the repair of their own properties and the reports of widespread opportunism, selfishness, and insensitivity among the Adams County populace which

reached the rest of the North throughout the summer resulted in widespread criticism of the area. The charges are too numerous and stem from too many independent sources to disallow the validity of all of them. Even Gettysburg residents acknowledged that "isolated" incidents of unkindness did occur. Although some allegations were directed toward businessmen of the town for cases of overcharging, the majority of cases of inhospitality occurred on the farms surrounding the town. The tendency for this type of incident to occur in the country areas, in some instances, reflects the political philosophies of the German farmer and helps explain his lack of involvement in the emotions of the day. In many cases, these farmers saw little relationship between their lives and the continuation or abolition of slavery. Emancipation of the Afro-American made little practical difference in his life and the fight, therefore, was not one in which he could get personally involved. The descent of warring forces upon his land was an unwelcome intrusion for which he felt entitled to reimbursement. He had bothered no-one.

Further accusations against many county residents involved the rates for which they hired out wagons to search fields or hospitals for missing soldiers. Though it may seem uncharitable and unpatriotic to seek a means of profit from the massive sufferings of July 1863, many farmers had experienced financial damage as a result of the battle and felt they needed the income that was available. A farming

community had been left in harvest season with few wagons to harvest what remained of trampled crops. The shortage of livestock to pull the wagons further exacerbated the situation. Oats had also been transported south with the Army of Northern Virginia and the cost of feeding what livestock remained was high. Thus, though cases of blatant opportunism may have existed, it is reasonable to assume that some of those fortunate enough to have retained their wagons and livestock actually were in a state of financial distress.

Approximately twenty to thirty area residents are known to have benefited from financial opportunities created as a result of the battle. Some hauled coffins; some buried the dead. The more articulate began delivering addresses on the struggle that had taken place. One made a clear profit from the sale of government horses not yet rounded up from the field of battle. The money collected was not an enormous sum and no-one became wealthy as a result. But some people were able to make opportunities from the wreckage of the battlefield.

While some residents sought economic advantages, others were suffering from near financial ruin. Over \$300,000 was claimed in the affidavits submitted to the Board of Claims in 1868. A lack of ready cash for investment aggravated the economic depression of the area until at least 1865. Businesses for which ready markets were disappearing failed to return to the area following the battle. The presence of the railroad

had precipitated this trend by opening the Gettysburg market to distant manufacturers, precluding the necessity of some locally run operations. Those businesses which lent themselves to the work of repairing the county did well. Businesses engaged in copper, iron and sheet work increased from four establishments in 1860 to ten a decade later.²⁵⁶ Those businesses which were not able to compete with the imported merchandise died out. The forty-four flour mills of 1860 were reduced to eighteen by the Census of 1870.²⁵⁷ Government relief was not a forthcoming answer to nineteenth century economic problems. Though several state senators and assemblymen from the border counties lobbied tirelessly for a settlement on the war claims, their efforts found little reward. Opposition from northern counties to the payment of these claims resulted in repeated delays and finally appear to have killed the settlements. No records have been discovered which record payment on Adams County claims.

In spite of damages to the tracks during the invasion, the railroad was not financially injured by the battle. The increased amount of travel into the area was instrumental in compensating for the damages incurred and the government reimbursed them for the costs of transporting wounded troops from the area. It also appears likely that the railroads,

²⁵⁶Census of 1860: Manufactures, p. 493; Census of 1870: Statistics of Wealth and Industry, III:721.

²⁵⁷Ibid.

unlike individual citizens, were successful in receiving compensation for some of the damages done to their property.

Though the actions of political leaders on behalf of the county residents was not to bear fruit, these disappointments were several years away as the election of 1863 took place. The long-standing political allegiances of the county held firm. With the exception of assistance received by Republican Governor Andrew Curtin from the town of Gettysburg, the electorate of Adams County chose a solidly Democratic government for the coming terms. A brief deviation of 1860 which enabled the election of Republicans to two county offices and a U. S. Congressional seat, and delivered majorities to Republican gubernatorial and presidential candidates had been reversed. The return to the solid party loyalties of recent decades was not the result of the battle, however. The trend had begun in the 1862 mid-term elections and continued through the elections of 1863 and 1864. Few votes were changed as a result of the Battle of Gettysburg.

The gubernatorial race, on the other hand, was another matter. Andrew Gregg Curtin had recaptured his seat in 1863 as a result not of party affiliation but in spite of it. It was his personal popularity among the troops, coupled with prudent actions before and following the Battle of Gettysburg which won him his second term. His concern for the well-being of Pennsylvania troops had earned him the title "the soldiers' friend." In time of war, such a title becomes an enormous political

asset and so it proved in most of Pennsylvania in 1863. Adams County, still smarting from feelings of neglect, did not join the rest of the Commonwealth in their gubernatorial choice of the year.

The third year of the American Civil War had brought the conflict into the homes and businesses of Adams County, Pennsylvania. By the end of that year a National Soldiers' Cemetery covered seventeen acres of former farm lands. Thousands of strangers had visited the area during the second half of the year. Businesses had been ruined, crops destroyed, and homes riddled with bullets. Not all area residents had been hurt by the invasion, however, especially those who had been able to transport livestock and other articles to safer hiding places or distant cities. With the exception of the still-littered battlefields, the absences of formerly-present businesses, and a lack of ready cash, the county had largely returned to normal by the beginning of 1864. But a return to the old anonymity which had brought one British officer traveling with the Confederates to refer to it as "an insignificant little town," would never again occur.²⁵⁸ The fame of the battle which took place here in 1863 and the placement of a National Soldiers' Cemetery on the former field of battle produced a continued interest in the area which has extended to the present day.

²⁵⁸Ross, p. 49.

APPENDIX A

Major Adams County Agricultural Products, 1860

MAJOR ADAMS COUNTY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, 1860

Taken from the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Agriculture, pp. 124-125.

Products	Amount produced
Wheat	401,885 bushels
Rye	53,408 "
Indian corn	551,110 "
Oats	461,850 "
Peas and beans	1,258 "
Irish potatoes	58,401 "
Barley	1,006 "
Buckwheat	4,560 "
Orchard produce	18,031 "
Hay	49,621 ton

APPENDIX B

Major Adams County Manufactures, 1860

MAJOR ADAMS COUNTY MANUFACTURES, 1860

Taken from the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Manufactures, p. 493.

Manufacturers	Establish- ments	Hands Employed	Product Value
Agricultural implements	4	26	\$ 28,625
Carriages and wagons	15	53	31,910
Mens' clothing	2	13	5,900
Fertilizers	1	1	975
Flouring mill products	40	54	356,758
Leather, tanned	23	58	136,987
Lime	9	19	29,505
Lumber, sawed	16	22	14,934
Saddlery and harness	5	11	5,853
Copper and sheet iron work	4	8	5,875

APPENDIX C

Adams County Railroad Receipts for 1862-1864

Faint, illegible table content, possibly a ledger or receipt list.

ADAMS COUNTY RAILROAD RECEIPTS FOR 1862-1864

1862

January	\$1,371.56	July	\$1,029.15
February	1,460.52	August	1,788.61
March	1,612.33	September	1,527.16
April	1,464.07	October	1,437.47
May	1,851.25	November	1,721.27
June	1,399.37	December	1,588.13

1863

January	\$1,592.00	July	\$3,808.12
February	1,592.21	August	3,311.21
March	1,976.39	September	2,229.71
April	1,882.13	October	2,279.45
May	1,718.53	November	4,071.46
June	1,193.47	December	1,906.46

1864

January	\$1,456.90	July	\$1,585.45
February	1,456.37	August	2,124.88
March	1,375.40	September	2,785.85
April	2,183.81	October	2,208.59
May	2,028.21	November	2,273.07
June	1,860.81	December	2,077.62

APPENDIX D

George B. Stover Claim, 1868

Copied from the Records of the Auditor General, E. Records of the Board of Claims, 1862-1890, Record Group 2, William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives, Harrisburg, Pa.

DAMAGE TO REAL ESTATE
ABSTRACT OF APPLICATION

-FOR-

Damages under Act, April 9, '68.

The petition of George B. Stover of the Township of Cumberland in the County of Adams and State of Pennsylvania, respectfully represents, that WHEREAS, the General Assembly of the State aforesaid, did at a session held in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, pass "An Act entitled An Act for the relief of the citizens of the Counties of Adams, Franklin, Fulton, Bedford, Perry, York and Cumberland, whose property was destroyed, damaged, or appropriated for the public service, and in the common defence, in the war to suppress the Rebellion," which said Act was approved the 9th day of April, A. D., 1868.— Now THEREFORE, your petitioner would respectfully represent that he was a resident of the district enumerated in said Act in the County of Adams in the years Eighteen hundred and Sixty-two, and Eighteen hundred and Sixty-four, inclusive, and was damaged by the causes referred to in said Act to the amount claimed in the following abstract, the proof of which appears in statements and affidavits filed here with and marked _____

as follows:

DAMAGE TO PERSONAL PROPERTY.

Wood	8 25
Wheat, Flour & Oats	72 00
Wagon, Buggy & Harness	190 00
Hogs, Sheep, Cradle &c	47 00
Wagon, Seams, Kettle, Rifle &c	30 75
Chairs, Buckets &c	26 25
Bed Clothing, Cans pots & Kitchen Furniture	78 00
Looking Glasses, Blinds, Bee Hives &c	30 00
Stems, Salt, Side Saddle &c	27 75
Peaches, Chickens, Glass Ware &c	39 00
Robe, Butchery Affairs &c	27 00

Total Personal Estate.

854 00

GEORGE B. STOVER CLAIM, 1868

DAMAGE TO REAL ESTATE.

Rails, Fencing Boards & Posts.	92.45
Wheat, Oats, Potatoes & Grass	154.50
Injury to Lands & Buildings	100.00
Total Real Estate,	\$346.95

RECAPITULATION.

Amount Personal Estate,	\$576.00
" Real Estate,	346.95
Total Amount,	\$922.95

Adams County, }
 STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA. } SS.
 of the Peace, }
 G. B. Stover }
 the claimant

who being duly sworn doth depose and say that he is the person claiming damages in the above abstract: that he has never received any compensation for the loss of the property above recited, by any law of Congress, nor for which relief was provided by the act of the 15th of February, A. D. 1866, of the General Assembly, of the State aforesaid, that the losses sustained by the aforesaid causes, remain unpaid to this day; that he is entitled to claim damages under this act; that he verily believes that his loss by the causes mentioned in said act, are as stated above; and that he has not assigned or transferred this claim, or any part of it. And he further more deposes and says, that he has never directly or indirectly, by word or act, giving aid, comfort, maintenance, or encouragement to the Rebels, whether in arms or otherwise; and that he has never communicated or attempted, or taken any means to communicate to them or any of them any information which could be of any advantage to them or their adherents, and he furthermore deposes and says that the claim above filled is just and true to the best of his knowledge and belief, and farther saith not.

Sworn before me, this 22nd day of October A. D. 1868. George B. Stover

APPENDIX E

John T. Slentz Petition, 1868

[Faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

Copied from the Records of the Auditor General, E. Records of the Board of Claims, 1862-1890, Record Group 2, William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives, Harrisburg, Pa.

PETITION.

To the Board of Commissioners appointed to assess the damages occasioned by the Rebel invasions of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under the Act approved April 9, 1868.

The petition of *John J. Slenty* respectfully sheweth that he was a resident of *Cumberland Township* Adams county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1863; that on or about the *1st* of *July* 1863 he sustained loss and damage in his property, situate and being in *Said Township* in said county of Adams by the causes referred to in said Act of Assembly: a detailed statement of which losses and damage, with the time, place, manner and direct cause thereof, and showing the value of the different articles taken, appropriated, lost and destroyed, and the amount of damage sustained, is hereunto annexed, and which he prays may be allowed to him as follows, viz: *He was living on the farm*

of Horn Edmund McPherson one mile west of Gettysburg on the first of July 1863 - that said farm was occupied by Buford Cavalry who encamped on it June 30, 1863 - that on the 1st July 1863 he was directed by Gen Buford to ... with his family from the house on account of the danger and did so leaving his property behind - that during the battle and by means of the encampment and the occupying by the rebels after the Reson army fell back his crops and hay in the barn were entirely destroyed - also his personal property in the house and on the farm destroyed or carried away as follows -

18	Acres growing wheat	with	\$1244.00
16	"	Corn	200.00
14	"	Oats	544.50
18	"	grass	70.00
1/2	"	Potatoes	10.00
			<hr/>
			\$478.50

also	11	Iron Hay	\$40.00
	3	Cows	75.00
	4	Hogs	12.00
	5	Calves	20.00
			8.16

JOHN T. SLENTZ PETITION, 1868

Amount of personal use		\$155.00
10 grain bags		2.50
1 Sack bushel measure		.50
1 grain scale		1.00
1 grain cradle		1.50
7 Hay forks		1.25
4 Cow chains		1.50
1 axe 75	1 Mattock 75 =	1.50
1 shovel 50	2 Hammers 150 =	2.10
3 Tackles		2.25
5 Bu feed		3.75
2 Riddles 2	2 Collars 2 =	4.00
3 Cord wood		4.50
		<hr/>
		181.25
1 Iron plate stove	6.00 broken	
2 1/2 Barrells Flour	17.50	
200 lbs Bacon	20.00	
50 lbs Lard	5.00	
10 Pots apple butter	5.00	
1/2 doz Tea spoons	.19	
1/2 doz Table spoons	.80	
9 Bed quilts	45.00	
3 " Comforts	7.50	
1 Coverlet	5.00	
2 Bed Curtains	2.50	
8 Pillow slips	2.00	
5 ditto (long)	2.50	
9 Shirts	4.50	
1/2 doz Knives & forks	.75	
5 Night gowns	2.50	
1 Parasol	1.00	
16 Chemises	8.00	
8 Sheets	8.00	
4 Table. Cloths	2.00	
3 pr Stockings	1.00	
1 vest	1.50	
1 dozen Towels	2.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$149.94	
		149.94

amount furnished		\$ 331.19
26 yards Carpet	15.00	
2 feather Bolsters	4.00	
6 Pillows	6.00	
Beds + family Bed	6.00	
1 chaff Bed	2.00	
1 Bell. Quercum	5.00	
2 Shrouds	7.00	
2 Dick dresses	10.00	
1 Dress	5.00	
1 ditto	2.50	
1 ditto	1.50	
1 Skirt	1.00	
1 Dick Cape	3.00	
1 Shroud	2.00	
1 pr stockings	.75	
3 " Dresses	1.50	
13 Children Dresses	13.00	
10 " Skirts	10.00	
6 " aprons	1.50	
6 pr " Hose	1.12	
6 " " dresses	1.50	
2 Shirts	.75	
2 Candlesticks	1.50	
44 Fire Coals	1.00	
Tin cups - 13 each	63	
		102.25
		<u>\$ 433.44</u>

also (see sum taken from the sum

1 Bay Horse with	\$25.00	
1 Black mare "	50.00	
1 Bay Horse "	60.00	
1 gentling colt "	35.00	170.00
		<u>\$ 603.44</u>

John T. Slentz

JOHN T. SLENTZ PETITION, 1868

State of Pennsylvania, } ss.
COUNTY OF ADAMS,

John T. Slentz being duly sworn according to law before me a *Notary Public* in and for the county aforesaid, doth depose and say that the statements contained in the foregoing petition are true to the best of his knowledge and belief; that his property was taken, appropriated, damaged and destroyed as therein set forth, and that said property was of the value therein stated, and the damages sustained by him do amount to the sums therein mentioned, according to the best of his judgment and belief.

Deponere and subscribed }
before me *Nov 19* 1868. }
R. Martin C. P.

John T. Slentz

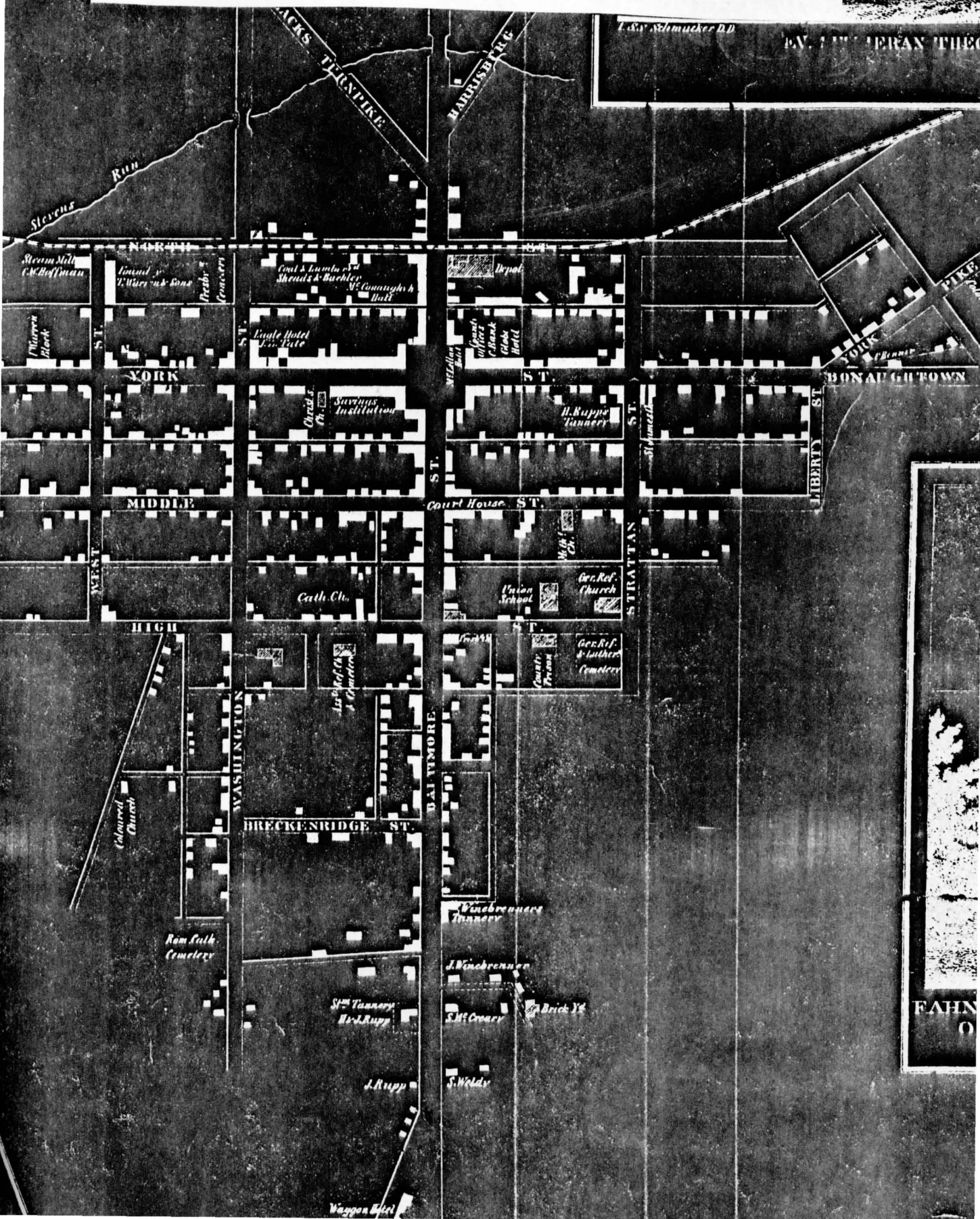
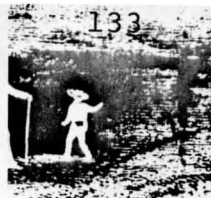
John T. Slentz
Deponere
Sworn

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APPENDIX F

The Town of Gettysburg, cir. 1863

Copied from a map at the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.



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APPENDIX G

Residential and Business Locations, Including Tenants
Gettysburg, cir. 1863

RESIDENTIAL AND BUSINESS LOCATIONS, INCLUDING TENANTS.
GETTYSBURG, CIR. 1863

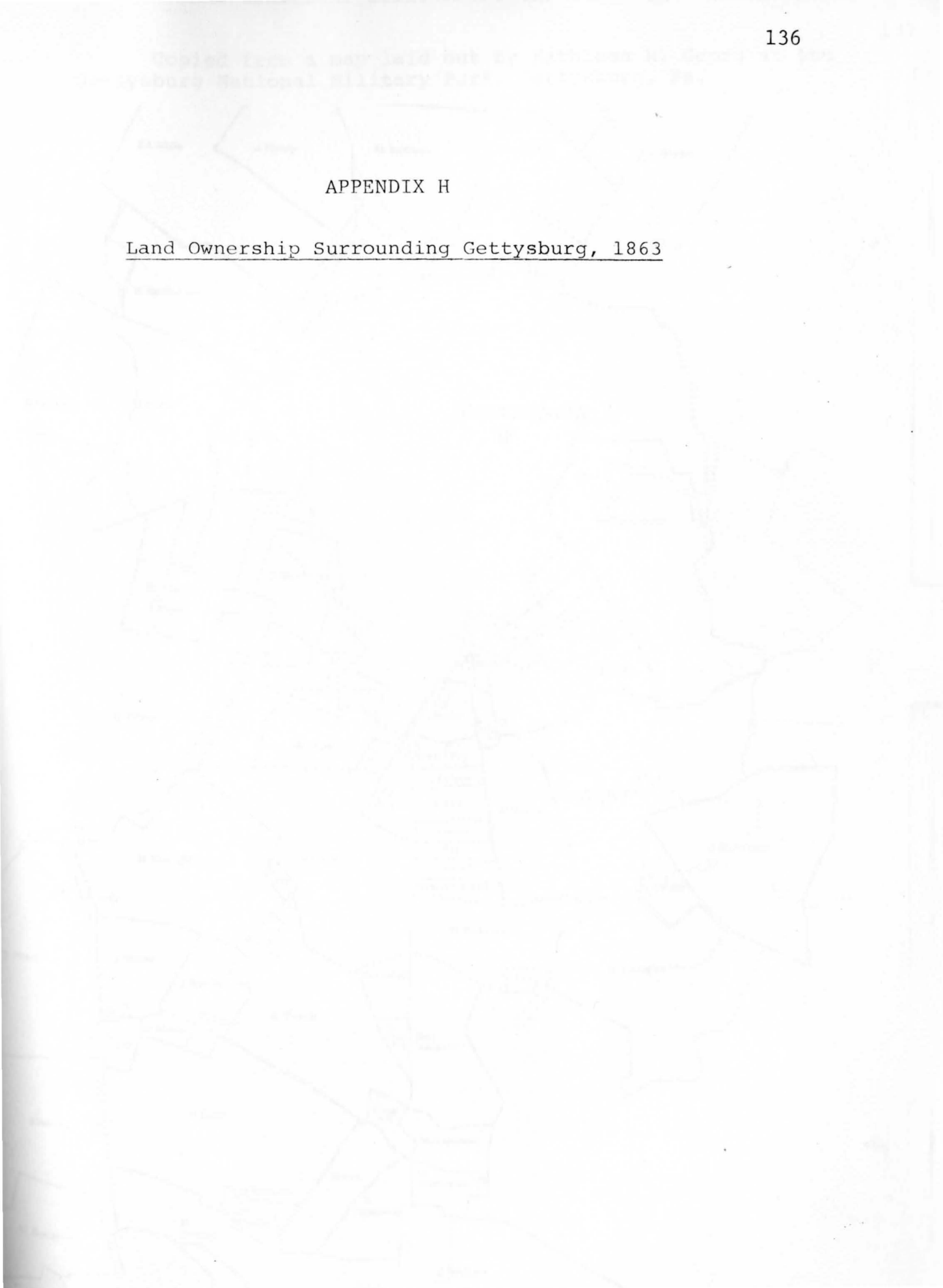
Copied from a map at the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.



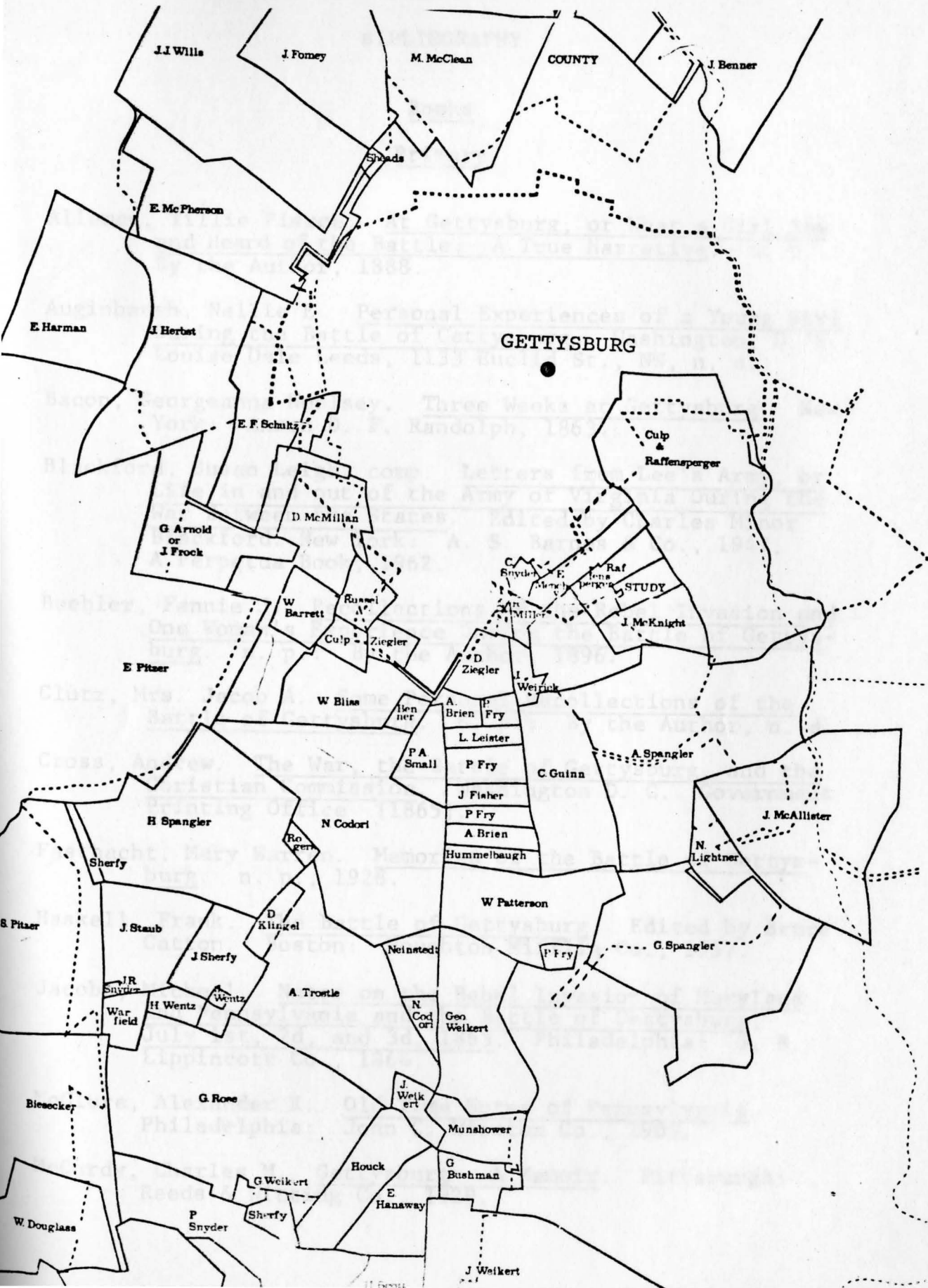
Copied from a map laid out by William H. Barry
Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pa.

APPENDIX H

Land Ownership Surrounding Gettysburg, 1863



Copied from a map laid out by Kathleen R. Georg at the Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pa.



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