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GRADUATE COLLEGE

GETTYSBURG, A LIVING BATTLEFIELD

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

BENJAMIN YARBER DIXON

Norman, Oklahoma

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GETTYSBURG, A LIVING BATTLEFIELD

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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To Jill Marie,

Who believes in my dreams,

And to my parents,

Wayne and Sandy,

Who, to my immense fortune, educated and raised me

in the most famous small town in America . . .

Gettysburg.

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ABSTRACT

*National Park Service (NPS) battlefields are designed as eternal tributes, but there is little permanence about these landscapes. Structures, scenery, and stories frequently change in relation to public memory of the events commemorated by these landscapes. These changes reveal how the events commemorated have been remembered, and in turn, how these landscapes have shaped those memories. An historical geography of the Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP) demonstrates this dynamic process. I present the battlefield at five stages, namely Division 1883, Memorialization 1904, Reconciliation 1940, Promotion 1970, and Restoration 2000, to demonstrate how this landscape has told the Battle of Gettysburg five different ways since 1863, and to illustrate how this is indicative of widespread shifts in public memory about the battle and Civil War. The pivotal changes in the telling of the story at each stage lie in the battlefield's physical appearance, the popular sites and celebrated heroes, how visitors toured the field, and the public meaning and importance of the place. My methods involved analysis of Gettysburg photographs and tourbooks, long-term on-site fieldwork, interviewing of GNMP interpretive personnel, and examining Park documents and published visitor accounts. The significance of this work lies in revealing the longterm stages of public remembrance concerning a national event through a comprehensive historiographical study of one place. In addition, my study attempts to offer intimate insight into the manifestations of public remembrance in national historic landscapes. **Keywords:** Gettysburg, Civil War battlefields, national historic sites, preservation, landscape, cultural geography, historical geography.*

Preface

*... Americans will long remember what was done and what was said on
this greatest of their battlefields.*

- Bruce Catton, *Gettysburg The Final Fury* (1974).

Gettysburg is a national symbol of the United States of America. It is the premier American battlefield. Over two million people visit the place annually. Families, schoolchildren, Boy Scouts, presidents and political leaders, travelers and Civil War enthusiasts come to the battlefield from all over the United States to see the "turning point of the Civil War that saved our Nation," and foreigners especially come to see where Lincoln, "our Great Emancipator," spoke and established a precedent for freedom and democracy that is world renowned. Gettysburg has come to symbolize American history and values. Interestingly, the telling of the history and values at Gettysburg by its national park landscape has undergone continual revision and has created significant shifts in how visitors and the public understand the history and meaning of the battle, the Civil War, and ultimately, our nation and ourselves.

This work is about the battlefield landscape at Gettysburg National Military Park and how it has impressed upon various peoples the history of the battle and its importance since 1863, specifically through its monuments, structures,

scenery, and guiding. I have focused particularly on how and why changes to this landscape since 1863 have left different generations and different groups of Americans with different impressions regarding what actually happened at Gettysburg, the significance of the battle and war, and the image of the park commemorating it. In turn, I attempt to show how shifting impressions have also prompted changes in the battlefield, for the battlefield has both promoted new interpretations and served as a means to substantiate trends or shifts in the battle story to the visiting public.

In short, as the story of Gettysburg has changed over the years, so has the landscape of the national battlefield set aside to commemorate and interpret it for the visiting public. This relationship between story and battlefield is dynamic, reciprocal, and of great fascination and importance to many visitors, especially those seeking "the truth about what really happened." Visitors to Gettysburg today experience a battlefield park created by succeeding generations and groups of Americans who determined what was important and of interest, and what was not. The landscape is as interesting for what *is not* there as much as for what *is* there. Until 1998, for example, Robert E. Lee's statue atop the Virginia State Memorial was the only equestrian statue to a Confederate General at Gettysburg. But on 3 July 1998, an equestrian statue to General James Longstreet was unveiled before a crowd of 4,000 who had gathered just for the occasion. Longstreet had dared to criticize Lee after the war and scholars attributed this to be a chief reason for the monument's long absence. Now guided tours regularly take visitors by the Longstreet monument which impresses on visitors to remember the general. As guides attest, the

landscape is crucial to public memory of Gettysburg. Longstreet is important to understanding why the Confederates lost Gettysburg, "but nobody remembered him until his monument appeared," says Guide Charlie Fennell (1999). Tourists quickly forget the names of soldiers and generals mentioned on tours at Gettysburg if there is no statue or monument to these men.

National battlefield landscapes thus reveal as much about the prevailing attitudes of succeeding generations and groups of Americans as they do about the battles being commemorated and interpreted. Even the remains of the battle still extant within the Gettysburg National Military Park, such as cannon, earthworks, trees, and farms, either preserved or restored, are as much relics of cultural attitudes as they are of the battle.

Park leaders in 2000 are attempting to return the landscape as much as possible to how it appeared in 1863. Park historians are diligently reviewing maps, photographs, and descriptive accounts to the point of learning the crop in each field at the time of the battle.¹ Of course this effort has been going on for some time, but it is still necessary because not everything has been preserved since the three-days of battle. The battle was fought on private land, the armies destroyed farms and countryside, and then removed equipment and evidence of destruction. Land has had to be purchased, farms restored, and battle evidence returned to recreate the battlefield. This has been a piecemeal effort and continues after 136 years. There are approximately 360 cannon on the field today and Park experts estimate there were one-third more at the time of the battle. For every one mile of fence visitors see today, there were three miles in 1863 crisscrossing the fields, a considerable barrier to advancing foot soldiers.

As one guide put it, "On the afternoon of July 3, when those Southern boys set out across that open field toward the Copse of Trees and the Angle, they encountered a few fences, and for each fence it took them one extra minute to climb over or through, and during that extra minute, the entire Union line along Cemetery Ridge would fire 10,000 more bullets into them" (Cooksey 1999). This puts most visitors in considerable awe.

Decisions have been made over what would be preserved, what would be restored, what would be celebrated, and what would be left to obscurity. And the decisions have often been disputed and contested. The question is, when did the changing nature of this battlefield -- that is, the changes to its telling of the story and conveying of its symbolic importance -- become a matter of importance and contention by generations and groups of Americans that would affect the visiting public on a national scale? When did the Gettysburg battlefield become the quintessential *American* battlefield? Determining this momentous occasion is of great importance because it marks when Gettysburg grew to such eminence that the process of shaping and revising the story by Americans would now be played out on the battlefield, not just in the papers, art, or literature. The battlefield, in turn, would constitute a decisive role in shaping the story for generations and groups of Americans and interested foreigners.

Two photographs demonstrate the transition of Gettysburg into a place of national significance. The first is an 1882 image of the Angle and Codori farm fields taken by local photographer William H. Tipton for artist Paul Philippoteaux who visited Gettysburg that April (Figure P.1). This photograph shows the site where Pickett's Charge had reached its apex on the afternoon of July 3, 19 years

earlier. A man is visible balancing himself on a fence that runs along the west-facing stone wall of the Angle, the same wall where Armistead and a few hundred Virginians had penetrated the Union line shortly before the great Charge was repulsed. In the photograph young trees have overgrown the wall to obscure it, and the fields are completely devoid of any monumentation.

This view represents the battlefield shortly before its transformation into a national mecca.² Until 1882 the battlefield had remained virtually dormant, save that portion of Cemetery Hill which Lincoln dedicated as a National Cemetery four months after the battle. Yet during this dormant period at Gettysburg the story of the battle had already begun in newspapers, paintings, and in other public forums. Images by Brady and Gardner taken several days after the battle showing the Wheatfield, Devil's Den, and other war-torn spots at Gettysburg circulated in northern cities for years and appeared in numerous national periodicals. The Philadelphia Weekly Times, Atlantic Monthly, and other major newspapers and magazines published articles by veterans debating who fired the first shots (1878), who commanded troops at critical moments (Howard 1876), or who was responsible for crucial actions (Longstreet 1874). And popular paintings by F. D. Briscoe (1868) and Peter Rothermal (1870), for example, depicted the battle's most climactic moments, at least as the artists interpreted them.

These early images and accounts spawned dispute and revision over the shaping of the story, but more importantly they drew attention to certain aspects of the battle, turning them into the popular highlights, thereby establishing the nature of the story for the public. But while national attention to the story was

being increasingly drawn to art and literature, the battlefield remained of little importance as a forum in shaping the public's interpretation of the battle. Relatively few people, outside of regional residents, Gettysburg veterans, and family members looking for where their relatives fought or died, frequented the battlefield. In addition, photographs of the post-battle battlefield in national periodicals were sparse and scattered.³ This void would not remain.

The second photograph is an 1884 image of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians taken by William Tipton at Devil's Den on their visit to the battlefield that November (Figure P.2).⁴ The Indian leaders and their families pictured include a delegation from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe nations, dressed in their native attire, who had come east to visit their children at Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian School and then continue on to Washington D.C. Among the group are several U.S. government and military representatives and an interpreter who escorted them on this excursion. Parties of Indians making treks to Washington and the East were frequent in the 1880s and occasions of national publicity. But the visit of this party to Gettysburg demonstrated a poignant shift in the battlefield's importance.

Consider the significance of these visitors being Indian and their arrival to Gettysburg prior to visiting Washington the coming week. The U.S. government and military representatives had brought members of another nation to this battlefield because of its perceived symbolic importance in American history. This is an early example of a *battlefield* being used to impress upon another culture the American story. Gettysburg was the first American battlefield to be

preserved through organized efforts to look as it did at the time of battle.⁵ While these early preservation efforts stem from 1863, the 1884 Indian visit confirmed the purpose of those efforts: to transform Gettysburg's role from a stage of battle to a stage used to teach the battle to visitors foreign and domestic. The occasion indeed represented the beginning of the battlefield's transformation into a national and international forum for the public to learn about the story of Gettysburg.

The historiography of Gettysburg has turning points, and if Pickett's Charge is the turning point of the battle, then 1884 marks the turning point of how the story is told: the battlefield itself became an important component or medium for telling it, for from then on the battlefield steadily developed into a national shrine and received national visitation and publicity. Foreign dignitaries and travelers visited with increasing regularity, for example, and monument committees from veterans' organizations began arriving with frequency. The first major wave of monumentation occurred the following year when 47 regimental monuments were placed at their battle sites.⁶ Originally the focus of memorialization was concentrated to the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, placed as it was on a piece of the battleground, but by 1885 monuments were being placed in considerable quantity all over the battlefield -- the Wheatfield, the Round Tops, Cemetery Ridge, East Cemetery Hill, Culp's Hill, and Spangler's Spring.

And with the beginning of national and international attention focusing on the battlefield, as the story of Gettysburg continued to be revised and updated, the battlefield itself (in addition to the art and newspapers) became a principal

forum upon which those revisions were carried out and for conveying the story to Americans and interested foreigners. For example, the placement of a few of those early monuments and their inscriptions that described their regiment's service in battle would generate early debate and necessitate some moving of monuments and changes to inscriptions.⁷ This process of shaping and revising the story of the battle *at Gettysburg* has continued with new generations and groups of Americans contributing their interpretations to fit their values and needs.

Today, no American battlefield rivals the fame of Gettysburg. The immensity of books on the subject make it the most written about battle in world history. Statements abound proclaiming Gettysburg's allure as the quintessential American battlefield. Gettysburg historian Colonel Jacob M. Sheads often passed out cards printed with "The Union was born at Philadelphia 1776, but it was preserved at Gettysburg 1863" (Figure P.3). As one informant said, "Everyone knows Gettysburg, . . . just not everyone knows its in Pennsylvania; some think its in Virginia, that is, until they come." And millions do come. In 1978 a newspaper reporter commenting on the hordes of visitors to the battlefield wrote "For the Moslem there's Mecca; For the matinee idolater, there's Hollywood; For the Civil War aficionado, there's Gettysburg" (Kondrat 1978, 1).⁸ One Civil War enthusiast captured its powerful attraction best: "Gettysburg is the Mother-church of all battlefields" (Warren 1998).⁹ Its influence is undisputed. How the battlefield has influenced us is the subject of this study.

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portions prepared, but the big job is quite some distance in the future” (Tilberg 1964). He died suddenly in 1979, before he could bring such a book to fruition.

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Figure P.1: The Angle and the Fields of Pickett's Charge, 1882.

William Tipton took this photograph of the Angle at Gettysburg as part of a series for Paul Philippoteaux to use as the basis for his cyclorama of Pickett's Charge.

The photo exhibits the bleak, desolate quality of the battlefield that characterized its early years when it lay in ruins and few visited to learn of the battle. Most Americans prior to this turned to art, newspapers, and literature for the story of Gettysburg, and the battlefield remained in relative obscurity.

Source: ACHS.

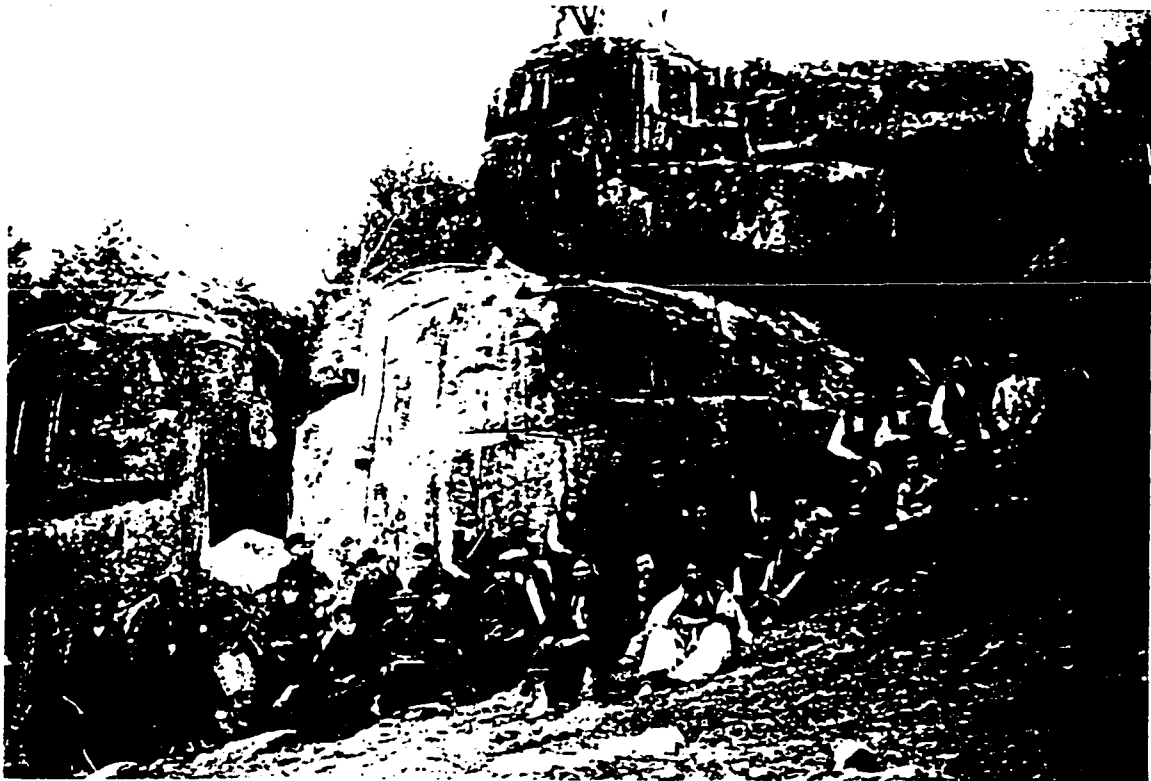


Figure P.2: Cheyenne-Arapahoe Delegation at Gettysburg, 1884.

U.S. government and military officials escorted this delegation of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians to Gettysburg. The Indians were visiting their children, pictured in American dress, at the Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian School while enroute to Washington, D.C. This occasion marks the beginning of national and international visitation to Gettysburg and the battlefield's role as a national symbol for the United States. It also marked when the battlefield became a principal forum through which Americans and interested foreigners would learn the story of the battle.

Source: ACHS.

*Gettysburg
"The Union was Born
at
Philadelphia!
1776
But it was preserved
at
Gettysburg
1863!"*

Col. Jacob M. Sheads

Figure P.3: Colonel Sheads' Gettysburg Souvenir.

Colonel Jacob M. Sheads promoted the above phrase frequently throughout his career as a longterm battlefield guide, Park historian, and history teacher at Gettysburg from the 1940s to the 1970s. His souvenir poignantly illustrates Gettysburg's preeminence among American battlefields.

Source: Courtesy of Ronald Miller.

Notes

¹ Park Historian Kathy Harrison is completing a high-resolution map of the crops being grown in the farm fields of Gettysburg at the time of battle.

² The Tipton photograph would become one of ten used by Philippoteaux for his cyclorama painting -- a painting that would become the most famous rendition of Pickett's Charge and one of the Park's greatest attractions.

³ See Richard Sauer's The Gettysburg Campaign: A Comprehensive Bibliography (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1982).

⁴ The 1884 photograph was first brought to my attention by Mary Jeanne Hanson of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Another copy is found in the ACHS photograph files. See article on the event in Gettysburg Compiler, 2 December 1884, 1.

⁵ Fred Hawthorne's seminar "Gettysburg: From Battlefield to National Shrine," given in Gettysburg, Pa., 24 July 1999.

⁶ I compiled this figure using Kathy Harrison's The Location of the Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on Gettysburg Battlefield (Gettysburg: Thomas, 1993).

⁷ For example, the 8th Illinois first shot marker v. the 9th New York Cavalry, the 56th PA v. the 6th Wisconsin, and the 2nd Maryland v. the GBMA.

⁸ See article by Peter Kondrat, Gettysburg Times, 8 July 1978, 1.

⁹ Quote taken from Steve Warren at the Tulsa Civil War Round Table meeting held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 1998.

Chapter One

A Battlefield To Remember By

Memory believes before knowing remembers

- William Faulkner, *Light in August* (1932).

This is a study of the Gettysburg battlefield landscape since 1863. My thesis is to show that changes in scenery, structures, and stories at Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP) have significantly affected American memory of the Battle of Gettysburg. The way I went about this was to analyze Gettysburg photographs, maps, tourbooks, visitor accounts, and the stories of guides in relation to popular literature, national publicity, and public attitudes regarding the battle and field. My findings reveal how the battlefield has passed through five discernible stages, namely Division (1863-1883), Memorialization (1884-1904), Reconciliation (1905-1940), Promotion (1941-1970), and Restoration (1971-2000).

The remainder of this work describes how each stage is distinguished by pivotal changes in the battlefield's physical appearance, the popular sites and celebrated heroes, the way visitors toured the field, and the public meaning and importance of the place. Individually, these changes mark shifting emphases in the public remembrance of the battle and war; collectively, they transformed the

Gettysburg battlefield into a different place of remembrance for each generation of visitors who came to learn the story. To highlight the impact of these changes, I attempt to “engage” the reader in contemporary tours of the battlefield set at the end of each stage: 1883, 1904, 1940, 1970, and 2000. Moreover, presenting the battlefield at these temporal intervals best reveals how dramatically the collective remembrance of the Battle of Gettysburg has shifted with each generation of visitors and, in turn, how the battlefield itself has shaped those shifting public memories.¹

Battlefields exert powerful roles in public memory. Consider that public memory consists of central issues about the past either contested or shared by various groups within society. These issues are defined by peoples’ perceptions, writings (including news and photographs), and what they demonstrate or create in the landscape (including parades, ceremonies, monuments, museums, and parks).² With regard to the public memory of war, landscape is the most revealing of these three components of memory, particularly national battlefield landscapes, because these places are where central issues of memory are cumulatively exhibited and competing views of those issues struggle for display. Society is compelled to concentrate its display of memories and fight over the issues on battlefields because a battlefield is often the only *place* set aside to remember the specific battle event.³ These landscapes are also perceived publicly as the most enduring of memory because battlefield parks are designed as eternal tributes to lend permanence to the memories displayed. This brings us to the central power of battlefields: the

memories exhibited reflect, substantiate, and influence what is remembered by the visiting public, and the memories not exhibited are frequently relegated to obscurity. Thus, widespread shifts or struggles over public memories are well manifested in battlefields – reflected or constituted by changes to its structures, scenery, guiding, and literature – which collectively prove very powerful to the visiting public. GNMP gives insight into this phenomenon.

I selected Gettysburg for several reasons. It is the largest serving national military park in the U.S., attracting nearly two million visitors annually (Figure 1.1). Moreover, it is nationally recognized as the premier battlefield of the most central war in American historical memory, the Civil War. Indeed, the Civil War is the most remembered of American wars (over 50,000 books on the subject and growing), and the Battle of Gettysburg is the most written about battle in world history (McPherson 1990, 41). The battlefield's reputation as the "Crown Jewel" of the NPS military parks and battlefields is a reflection of this fame. So is the media attention. No battlefield in the U.S. presently receives anywhere near the national press coverage of Gettysburg, nor has any since 1863.⁴

From a practical standpoint, Gettysburg made for the ideal battlefield of study.⁵ It is my home and I have known the place and its history intimately for over twenty-five years. This longterm experience with the Park facilitated my research immensely as I returned to Gettysburg in December of 1998 to pursue this project full time for two years. Moreover, its archives and library are outstanding in comparison to other NPS military parks, and the Park is situated in close proximity to several institutions with unparalleled collections on Gettysburg

memorabilia, photographs, and files (notably Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg College, United States Military History Institute at Carlisle, and the National Archives in Washington, D.C.).

Context for this Study

This research seeks to contribute to the vast and growing literature on public memory, specifically where it concerns the historiographical study of battlefields and other national historic landscapes to gain insight into public remembrance of war and history.⁶ Scholars have demonstrated a variety of landscape approaches, all with distinct advantages and inherent limitations.⁷ My intention here is to explain the approaches I augmented as well as the conceptual gaps I sought to remedy through the methods I devised for studying Gettysburg.

One way scholars have studied national historic landscapes to understand public memory is through a preservation approach. This technique involves examining the preservation history of the landscape to uncover the memories manifested or exhibited by it. Although preservation includes commemoration and interpretation, the common practice by researchers in this realm is to study the physical creation, protection, or reconstruction of the national landscape. The principal landscape features examined include architecture, landscape design, and management. Studying architecture, for example, reflects public attitudes at the time of its preservation, but this technique often restricts the timeframe of memories uncovered. Consider that Colonial Williamsburg reveals chiefly 1930's American perceptions of 18th century life more so than any other genre

because that was when the NPS reconstructed the historic town (Pitcaithley 1987, 209). Admittedly, shifts in public memory may be identified in places where the preserved architecture expands or grows, such as cities or towns where reconstruction and national register nominations continue to the present (Koshar 1998; Rosenfeld 2000; Rossi 1982; Boyer 1994; Hayden 1995; and Ladd 1997). But this is rarely possible at government-run battlefields and national historic sites because the total architecture remains in a preserved state at those sites and new acquisitions are too infrequent to be indicative of trends in memory. Studies of landscape architecture involve examining roads, plantings, and other general layout plans of historic landscapes for evidence of public memory, but this method is often temporally limited as well. Works of this nature most frequently concentrate on public attitudes during a place's early formative years when these landscaping features were constructed (Linden-Ward 1989). Finally, management studies of national historic landscapes are both conceptually and spatially limited. They reveal broad themes in public memory about a given war, but not popular fads or minute shifts in war memory.

On a smaller scale, management is even less indicative of memory of an individual battle. NPS management policies of battlefields, for example, pertain more to the war rather than the specific battle. This means that a collective management study of all Civil War sites is more indicative of public memory about the Civil War (see Abroe 1996) than individual administrative studies of battlefields are about the public memory of those battles (see Unrau 1991).⁸ The reason comes down to lack of autonomy. Individual landscape management must fit the broader NPS agenda. Because battlefield management does not

operate independently of NPS policy, it does not easily respond to or influence shifts in the specific memories of a battle.⁹ Moreover, in matters of acquisition, protection, and maintenance, managerial decisions are made over money, politics, management turnover, and other exogenous factors beyond any relation to public memory (Lamme 1989; Rothman 1989). On the other hand, federal managerial policies and philosophies regarding interpretive guidelines are frequently related to public attitudes, but these sources are limited as well because the specifics of interpreting the story are left to the individual discretion and attitudes of site historians, rangers, and guides.¹⁰

Another way scholars have examined public war memory via historic landscapes is through a commemorative approach. This involves studying art, monuments, and ceremonies for the memories manifested and exhibited by these elements.¹¹ Art and monuments, however, are temporally limited for giving insight into memory. Civil War art, for example, served as a central forum for public memory in the 19th century, but photographs have replaced this medium in modern times (Holzer & Neely 1993).¹² Monuments are most reflective of memory and attitudes of the time they were constructed rather than shifts in memory since then.¹³ The permanence of metal and stone do not lend themselves to be indicative of later changes in memory. Although author Ed Linenthal (1993) points out how defilement of monuments by visitors of later generations offers insight into changes in public memory, instances of monument vandalism at Gettysburg are rarely related to public memory over the battle and therefore not relevant to this study. Moreover, the physical relocation of

monuments over disputed memories is rare, but even when it does happen, occurrences are often within the first years following monument construction. In addition, monuments to a singular event are mostly placed within a finite period, usually just several decades. This explains why monument studies of individual battlefields or singular events are restricted to giving insight into the themes and shifts in memory during those formative decades (Craven 1982; Panhorst 1988; Savage 1997).¹⁴ To identify shifts in public war memory over the longterm, scholars have had to examine memorials at many sites monumented during different time periods to gather a variety of styles indicative of shifting public attitudes (Foote 1997; Mayo 1988; Piehler 1995). But even this technique limits insight to public attitudes about warfare instead of insight to shifts in memory about a particular war. Studies of traditional ceremonies (including parades, anniversaries, dedications, and reunions) are comparatively better than art or monuments for gaining insight into public memory. Research can be concentrated to a single historical landscape where the same ceremonies are held annually, and shifting emphases of memory are better revealed over the longterm because the persons and speeches and foci of such celebratory events are more dynamic and reflective of their times (Bodnar 1992; Kinsel 1997; Linenthal 1993). But there is a conceptual limitation to this technique. Central messages of ceremonies are indicative of the attitudes and memory shared by those attending (and by those reading its regular publicity) to a degree, but provide far less insight than a study of the attitudes and memories given through daily guiding and interpretative programs provided at historic sites that reflect and inform far more of the visiting public annually.¹⁵

Other approaches to studying historical landscapes for evidence of public memory have received considerably less attention among scholars. Some have taken a promotional approach by studying photographs, advertisements, and tour literature used to publicize park sites, activities, and themes to the public (Meyer 1996; Wyckoff & Dilsaver 1997).¹⁶ Others have taken an interpretive, or sense of place, approach. This involves examining visitor accounts of the place gathered through written descriptions, observation, and interviewing. Firsthand accounts are the most direct evidence of memory, but there are limitations even with these sources. The bulk of written descriptions for parks are generally limited to the 19th century (McGreevy 1994; Meyer 1996). Observing and interviewing visitors on-site serves well for recent memories, but this qualitative technique is more feasible to conduct at parks receiving only thousands of visitors annually as opposed to millions of visitors like Gettysburg (see DeLyser 1999).

Considering Gettysburg, the approaches and methods aforementioned have much to contribute collectively, and I borrowed heavily from them. Still, several glaring methodological and conceptual gaps remain to be considered because of the limitations inherent in the approaches. For instance, although scholars recognize the interplay between landscape and memory and discern stages of memory in national historical landscapes, few have presented both concepts *intimately* and *comprehensively* through the study of a *singular place*.¹⁷ By “intimately,” I am referring to an in-depth look into the interplay and stages on a micro-scale, that is, the changes in the landscape indicative of these processes that are subtle and fine, beyond the obvious monuments and architecture to the

memories manifested in changes to a trail, a sign, or a modest exaggeration that concern the specifics of the story told by that site. By “comprehensively,” I am referring to a longterm look into the interplay and stages of memory manifested in the landscape’s remembrance of the story from its creation to the present. But the real significance of this task in the literature of landscape and memory is the need to show the magnitude of these processes in the memory of one event through its historiography at a singular national historic site (in this case, Gettysburg).

Two reasons exist for this need. First, the negligence of scholarly attention to historical changes in active-interpretation such as story-telling, guiding, scenery, traffic routes, and other various active mediums of communicating the story to the public. This is what provides the contextual story and setting for the event being remembered! Active-interpretation is the most responsive and influential of public memory at any site. Unfortunately, methods for studying the history of active interpretation at a national historic site are rarely demonstrated (see DeLyser 1999). For this reason, I spent two years working closely in and among the library and staff of the Interpretation Division at Gettysburg. Second, whilst some scholars have demonstrated a variety of approaches, few have taken a comprehensive historiographical approach to studying the memory of one event as told by one national historic site (see Treese 1995; Sidorov 2000). These two gaps exist because of difficult methodological demands required, namely a long intimacy with the place, firsthand experiences with the place from a variety of visitor perspectives, longterm on-site study during project, in-depth interviewing and close understanding of Park personnel, permission to search beyond

conventional premises for materials frequently scattered, and privilege to insight and trust often restricted to insiders.¹⁸ These requirements typically disadvantage outside scholars, and it took me many years to self-qualify for this study of GNMP.

This study involves a comprehensive approach (including an indepth study of active-interpretation). As I studied Gettysburg, I examined the total landscape for changes potentially indicative of shifts in public memory. By landscape, I am referring not just to the terrain, vegetation, topography or other features of the natural scenery, but also to the monuments, towers, farmhouses and other structures visible; to the brochures, maps, tour books, avenues, signs and guides directing visitors around the field; and to the images, issues, myths, controversies, and stories that have pervaded our sense of knowledge and feeling on the subject. Ultimately, I have attempted to recreate a sense of what it was like to tour the battlefield in the past and today.¹⁹

Methods and Chapters

This work is arranged as an historical geography of the battlefield. Five chapters follow, depicting Gettysburg at 1883, 1904, 1940, 1970, and 2000.²⁰ Each chapter is organized around a tour of the field, preceded by a brief introduction to set the stage and followed by reflective conclusions about the patterns of design and remembrance in the battlefield. Reconstructing these tours required a variety of methods and primary sources, some of which deserve mentioning here.

Photographs were a major source for documenting monuments, scenery,

and structures at Gettysburg. I examined over 10,000 images from the collections at GNMP, ACHS, Gettysburg College, United States Military History Institute (USMHI), and the National Archives.²¹ These repositories contain mostly stereoviews, cabinet cards, postcards, and prints taken between the 1870s and 1940s by local photographers Charles Tyson, William Tipton, Levi and Jacob Mumper, M. F. Williams, and Walter Lane, or by companies like Keystone, Underwood, and L. E. Smith Publishing. Because of the popularity of the personal camera in the last 50 years, significantly fewer images exist in public collections for the 1950s to the present. To fill this gap, I concentrated on images in national magazines and newspapers, supplemented by GNMP staff photographs taken from the 1970s and 80s. Moreover, several private contributors introduced me to an additional 1000 images from the 1870s to the 1970s.²² Using my camera equipment, I duplicated over 2000 of these photographs to use in the field for analyzing changes between then and now and for finding physical relics of the battlefield's past usage, meaning, and appearance.

Park records, newspapers, and maps proved valuable for explaining the reasons for landscape changes, public reactions to the battlefield, and visitor touring patterns. At GNMP I read through the papers and journals of early battlefield commissioners Bachelder, Robbins, Nicholson, and Cope that spanned 1863 to 1922. I read through GBMA meeting minutes dating back to 1879 and official annual park reports from 1893 to the present. These sources provided the best information on monument changes and the controversies surrounding them. The "reading files" in the GNMP archives allowed me to read

through 5000 yellow copies of typed correspondence between Park officials and visitors from 1953 to 1994. These files informed me of park film showings, campfire activities, battlefield news that spurred public debate, and management decisions. The “newspaper clippings files” in the GNMP library included regional and national coverage of Gettysburg in Eastern newspapers (Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia) from the 1890s to the 1940s. I supplemented this press coverage by reading the leading Southern and Northern veterans' newsletters, the Confederate Veteran (1893-1933) and the National Tribune (1881-1929). Scattered magazine articles on file at GNMP and Gettysburg College archives provided national coverage of Gettysburg from the 1950s to the present. Local news coverage from 1863 to the present required going through the Gettysburg Times, Gettysburg Star & Sentinel, and Gettysburg Compiler on microfilm at the local Adams County Historical Society (ACHS). I also reviewed and took notes from over 500 War Department and NPS maps documenting land acquisitions, new structures, road changes, and interpretive plans for the battlefield from 1893 to 1965. Finally, NPS auto tour maps given to visitors were most difficult to find, but the 25 I did uncover documented well the standardized tour route from its inception in 1937 to the present.

I created a MAPS database to organize historical information on park monuments, avenues, property, and stone battle walls and earthworks. There are 519 memorials (not including government markers and tablets) at Gettysburg for which I compiled the date of origin, design, patron, location, and brief history of each. For 67 avenues in the park (16 of which no longer exist), I compiled their

time of survey, date named, construction history, and alterations made to each. Park property involved compiling the date of acquisition, location, boundaries, acreage, and structural history for over 400 parcels and buildings. Stone walls and earthworks involved determining those built by soldiers during the battle and compiling the location, date of acquisition, preservation history, and present condition on each. There are 20 areas where these are found at Gettysburg.

Creating this database proved worthwhile for two reasons. First, no compiled information on these features existed in whole (in the case of monuments and property) or even in part (in the case of avenues, stone battle walls and earthworks) in NPS public records.²³ Remedying this problem involved seven months of finding pieces of evidence scattered throughout hundreds of reports, letters, journals, invoice statements (in short, everything), and then checking my findings through interviews and exploring the park grounds daily. Second, compiling these features served as one way to sift through the voluminous information I had gathered on battlefield changes from photographs, park records, newspapers, and maps, and identify larger trends potentially indicative of public memory that were otherwise not as evident.²⁴ My selections were straightforward: monuments are the largest feature in the memorial landscape; avenues are the largest feature in the interpretive landscape and have long been the fundamental means by which visitors tour Gettysburg; and stone walls and earthworks are the largest authentic evidence remaining from the battle. Thus, the completed database provided an analytical means for revealing broad patterns and themes in historical changes to the memorial, interpretive, and authentic landscapes at Gettysburg since 1863.

Gathering information on popular sites and stories told at Gettysburg required a variety of sources and methods. I paid particular attention to battlefield tour books and brochures. Over 60 tour books are found in the holdings at GNMP and ACHS, ranging from 1873 to 1994 (averaging one tour book for every two years). Many of the tour books have been written by local guides who included the common stories they and their contemporaries shared with visitors over the years. In addition, the 3000-plus images in the tour books proved particularly insightful. By maintaining a statistical record documenting the frequency of subjects pictured (monuments and sites), the composition of subjects in photographs, the space allotted for each photograph, and the subjects of cover shots, collectively allowed me to note definitive trends in popular touring of Gettysburg over time.

Locating old restrooms and mapping guide exams helped to supplement my tour book analysis. For instance, bathrooms, flagpoles, guard stations, guide stations, and Park Ranger stations marked popular spots where visitors congregated frequently before these services were centrally housed in the 1960s. Old bathrooms (or "privies") and guard stations proved the most elusive to find; I spent six months determining their exact whereabouts and timeframe of existence. Guide exams offered much insight into park interpretation. From 1915 to the present, local battlefield guides have been routinely licensed through exams given by the War Department and NPS every three years on average. Because the exams are still given, Park officials were very kind to share these with me, totaling 27 in all. Exams contain about 200 questions and I used these exams in two ways. First, tallying questions and

answers according to content frequency reinforced discernible trends in heroes, stories, and context that I observed in tour books. Second, by using a blank map of the park with each exam, I marked the location of every monument or park site corresponding to the person, unit, or battle event mentioned in each question and answer. This mapping method seemed worthwhile after listening to dozens of guides mention how “we must fit our tours to what is visible on the battlefield” because heroes, stories, and events are meaningless to visitors without seeing a monument or the spot where it happened. Collectively, the maps suggested distinct shifts in tour patterns from one era to the next.

Fieldwork proved especially useful for understanding recent NPS and visitor interpretation patterns at Gettysburg. During the summer of 1999 I attended every program, film, and activity offered by the NPS for the visiting public. For films and taped programs such as the Electric Map, Cyclorama, and Auditorium programs, I transcribed or found the scripts to these programs. With considerable searching, previous scripts to these programs (going back 60 years for the Electric Map) revealed substantial changes in heroes and context. I also concentrated on observing and interviewing battlefield guides and Park interpretive staff who have firsthand experience with visitor needs and interpretations and reach more than a half-million visitors annually at the park.²⁵ This involved accompanying over 75 bus tours and interpretive walks led by guides and rangers, recording in a pocket notebook as I went of the stories and heroes mentioned, the context of the interpretation, visitor reactions and discussions, and the time devoted to every battle site visited and subject mentioned on the tour. These tours averaged two and a half hours, and

immediately following each tour I marked on blank park maps the route taken, where guides simply paused, and where they stopped. Guides and rangers pride themselves on catering their tours to fit their strengths and visitor interests, which was evident, but documenting as many tours as I did revealed common patterns in modern touring and visitor experiences.

Conversations and interviews with park interpretive staff and battlefield guides proved even more insightful. Spending two years among the Park's Interpretive Division acquainted me with the rangers and seasonals and they readily answered my constant questions. In addition, I conducted in-depth interviews with 20 battlefield guides, often lasting 3-4 hours per session, and usually involving at least two meetings. Most voluntarily took me on a tour, just as they would for a visitor, to explain what they show and tell the public as I interviewed them. This method proved far better than interviewing over a table because as we toured the battlefield, revisiting sites, monuments, structures, and scenery reminded them of experiences and observations about battlefield changes and public remembrance of the battle and war that they otherwise would not have recalled. Moreover, many of the guides I selected had been guiding for 30 years and offered much comparative perspective. They spoke readily of old and new popular trends, previous park tour patterns, and the frequent interpretations expressed by visitors of various age groups and backgrounds over the years. With most of the guides, I conducted follow-up interviews, and several of them graciously contributed old photographs, guide manuals, or other personal materials that I would never have found at the Park or in any public collection.

Finally, miscellaneous searching yielded incredible finds. I found private journals, scrapbooks, and printed visitor accounts from obscure newspapers and magazines while exploring storage boxes of uncatalogued and discarded materials at GNMP and Gettysburg College. In addition, my perusal of old files hidden away in filing cabinets, secretary offices, a fall-out shelter, and the basement of the Cyclorama drum uncovered photographs of long-gone waysides and markers, old tour maps, and audio tape manuscripts to name a few. These sources were mostly scattered and I spent many wild goose chases tracking down items “rumored” to be shelved here or there, but occasionally staff leads and unrelenting perseverance turned up a stash of great material in one spot. An old nondescript notebook in the Cyclorama workroom, for example, contained typescripts of presentations made by park interpretive rangers and seasonals for summer programs during the 1960s and 70s (a rare find!).

From these methods and sources, I reconstructed the battlefield at five cross sections in time that best illustrated the different ways the battle story has been exhibited at Gettysburg since 1863. A tour format seemed appropriate for giving readers a sense of this phenomenon.²⁶ By traveling and retraveling over the field each time, shifts and themes in public memory of the battle are discussed as they relate to the changes evident in the sites, structures, and stories visited and revisited. Ultimately, each tour in the chapters to come will reveal the culmination of a different era of remembrance at Gettysburg, which deserves brief mention here:

In *Chapter Two*, I show how the battlefield in 1883 is a local attraction and how evidence of the battle is deteriorating or disappearing quickly. What is

preserved on the field is out of prejudice for the enemy. However, I make the argument that despite such intentions, the battlefield at that time is acceptable to the few Southerners and former Confederates who visited Gettysburg.

In *Chapter Three*, I discuss how by 1904 Gettysburg is created into a National Park through the addition of monuments, roads, signs, and other features. Evidence is presented to show how the battlefield served as a national memorial honoring all Americans while, paradoxically, alienating Southerners and former Confederates more than ever. I also discuss the competition among veterans to memorialize the field, the meaning behind the design of their monuments, and the disputes over property and commercialism obstructing these commemorative efforts at Gettysburg. Furthermore, I argue how monuments, veterans, and other factors shift public attention away from the original heroes and popular sites of Gettysburg.

In *Chapter Four*, I highlight how national Civil War reunions and commemorative celebrations of Lincoln held at Gettysburg changed the battlefield by 1940. Evidence shows the stories at Gettysburg emphasized battle instead of victory, heroics on both sides, and peace above all, but myths and exaggerations pervade these stories more so than at any other time in the Park's history. I discuss the battlefield's new role of educating the public to maintain patriotic fervor in response to the loss of public intimacy with the battle and its veterans. The battlefield is now interpreted more comprehensively than ever before, through attention to several overlooked sites and heroes, a new official auto tour program, and changes in visitation patterns. However, I argue that the authenticity of the battlefield and its story begin to suffer by 1940 with the

disappearance of veteran survivors, the nostalgia of veterans' reunions, and government conservation and military training programs at Gettysburg.

In *Chapter Five*, I describe the battlefield at its authentic nadir in 1970. The reader will see a dramatic difference in battlefield colors and commemorative efforts, the disappearance of battle relics, and the presence of commercialism at its worst. In addition, evidence will show major changes in monument designs, park roads, and visitation since 1940. On the other hand, I highlight the appearance of numerous enhancements that aim to bring visitors closer to the story, but I show they are introduced amidst Gettysburg's dramatic shift at this time from a battlefield and military training ground to a popular nature park. I argue that both these enhancements and Park nature efforts obscure the historic battlefield and its story for visitors as much as commercialism. I also argue that the battlefield and story that is presented to visitors celebrate Pickett's Charge far more than at any other time in Park history because of visitor center and tour route changes, and does so at the expense of other sites and stories key to understanding the battle.

In *Chapter Six*, I reveal how the battlefield today has undergone a remarkable transformation since 1970. The evidence shows that Gettysburg is being returned to its 1863 appearance. I discuss the widespread acquisition and removal of restaurants, lodging, and other forms of commercialism by the NPS in recent years, the return of historic orchards, crops, and fencing to the battlefield, and efforts to correct myths and guide visitors as the battle happened chronologically. I show that for the first time in Park history, authenticity is the dominant theme at Gettysburg today, unlike previous eras when interpretation or

memorialization took precedence. Examples of recent monument rules and visitor access restrictions show how public commemoration and visitation at Gettysburg have been compromised. I also argue that the interpretive experience at Gettysburg is far more pluralistic than in the past. New park programs are discussed showing how the standard Park story of the battle has grown to incorporate women, civilians, causes of war, particular regiments and heroes, specific events in the battle, and other topics for visitors to choose from during their stay. Readers will learn how these programs are the culmination of massive research and interpretive efforts to broaden public understanding of the battle in response to a resurgence in visitor interest driven by fiction and entertainment that acquainted the public to new heroes of Gettysburg.

In *Chapter Seven*, I look at the remains of Gettysburg's different battlefield landscapes still extant on the battlefield today and I present them as cultural relics that allude to how visitors enjoyed and interpreted Gettysburg. Using certain relics, I argue the patterns or lessons learned from the changes made to the battlefield and the public interpretations to which the relics contributed.

My overriding hope is to heighten awareness to the impermanence of national battlefield landscapes, the memories that lay at the root of their changes, and the powerful but imperceptible influence their changes cumulatively exert on public conceptions of the story commemorated by these places. Americans pay much attention to Gettysburg, and whatever changes it undergoes help to substantiate, reinforce, or contribute to literature and public perceptions of the battle with slow but ultimately tremendous effect. Indeed, the Gettysburg battlefield has never simply reflected popular interpretations; rather it frequently

serves as the major force in generating widespread public awareness concerning an aspect of the battle that literature and the public had given little previous attention. Conversely, it has greatly influenced public memory by ignoring aspects of the battle in its landscape.

The Gettysburg battlefield was set aside to remember the battle and the war. And when one considers the millions of Americans who come with little knowledge, or have learned about Gettysburg through previous visits, or through anecdotes, literature, news and items generated or inspired by the park, then we must conclude that for many Americans, it is the battlefield itself we remember by. The story that follows, then, is my attempt to recreate a sense of the battlefield as it is, and has been, for the millions who came and will come annually.



Figure 1.1: Our Nation's Most Remembered Battlefield.

Gettysburg is the most famous of American battlefields. No other has staged more presidential speeches, monuments, ceremonies, national reunions, military training, visits by foreign leaders, education of schoolchildren, publicity, literature, and family visitation. This popular photograph of two former Civil War adversaries shaking hands over the wall at the Angle in 1938 captures well the battlefield's national role in American remembrance. The spectacle served as part of the festivities for the largest reunion of Blue and Gray ever held in U.S. history. Reconciliation had been a popular theme promoted at Gettysburg since the 1890s in an effort to help restore the nation.

Source: National Park Service.

Notes

¹ The dates of the temporal stages in Gettysburg's telling of the story should be considered pivotal, but not absolute. To clarify, a visitor in 1884 did not experience a comprehensive overhaul in the battlefield than a visitor to Gettysburg in 1883. Rather, the beginning of each era has been denoted by a pivotal event or events that set Gettysburg on a different course of remembrance of the battle and war. Thus, the changes in remembrance (and the processes responsible) overlap the temporal bounds of each era, but pivotal events occurring in the dates I set forth mark the shifting emphases in the story told at Gettysburg from one era to the next and I point out these events in each chapter. The final date for each era then is the climax of each course of remembrance prior to the next pivotal event that sets the battlefield on different course of change. For this reason, this book discusses the changes of each stage through battlefield tours at the climax of each era: 1883, 1904, 1940, 1970, and 2000.

² For definitive works on public memory, read Halbwachs (1980) and Nora (1996). Other excellent works on public memory include those by Le Goff (1992), Terdiman (1993), Hutton (1993), Irwin-Zarecka (1994), and Young (1993).

³ Another reason memory is so concentrated on battlefields is the allure that a battlefield has because it was the actual setting of the battle event.

⁴ Because of Gettysburg's fame, studying how it relates to public memory is a daunting task. This requires familiarizing oneself with popular literature on the Civil War and Gettysburg.

⁵ Gettysburg appeared perhaps too ambitious as the choice battlefield for this project. The sheer enormity of studying Gettysburg's relation to public memory since 1863 demanded longterm familiarity with the place and its history, a close understanding of the park's management (particularly its interpretation division and team of park guides), and substantial time spent at Gettysburg observing the millions of visitors in all kinds of situations and researching in the Park's archives and library.

⁶ For readers interested in works on landscape and war memory, please note the popularity of Germany in this literature. Scholars have paid tremendous attention to how public remembrance of Nazism and the holocaust has been manifested in the post-war German landscape and they have demonstrated a variety of approaches. Recent excellent examples include works by Herf (1997), Koshar (2000), Rosenfeld (2000), Weidmar (1999), and Young (1993). For readers interested in excellent general works concerning American memory, I recommend reading Kammen (1991) and Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983).

⁷ There exist several excellent works that collectively demonstrate a variety of techniques for studying memory via landscape (see Mitchell 1994; Leon & Rosenzweig 1989; Lowenthal 1985; Schama 1995; and Winter & Sivan 1999).

⁸ Case in point is a common local complaint at Gettysburg that new superintendents bring with them an NPS agenda rather than a local perspective in managing the park.

⁹ Piehler argues that any single management group cannot easily manipulate the memory of a pluralistic society like ours, and conversely, management changes do not always reflect shifts in public memory (Piehler 1995, 4).

¹⁰ An excellent case in point is the recent Congressional mandate "suggesting" the inclusion of slavery and other issues in the interpretation at NPS military parks and battlefields related to the Civil War. Rangers and guides at GNMP still determine individually how to incorporate these issues in their programs, and many paid no attention to the mandate.

11 The preservation and commemoration approaches are the most commonly used techniques for studying landscape and memory and scholars have frequently incorporated both in their research (see for example Patterson 1988, 1989; Kinsel 1992; Rosenfeld 2000).

12 Art has experienced a resurgence in the 1990s through such artists as Mort Kunstler, Dale Gallon, and Don Troiani, but their work is not near the popularity of 19th century sketch artists and painters like Edwin Forbes, Peter Rothermal, and Paul Philippoteaux.

13 Monuments on Civil War battlefields are reflective of cultural attitudes, not just the individual tastes of sculptors, because each monument had to meet the designs or approval of a three-to-seven man committee of veterans and the approval of park managers as well.

14 It is virtually impossible to study the historiography of memory comprehensively through the memorials at one site. For instance, new memorials do arise at Gettysburg occasionally, but they are not representative of public memory as the earlier, more numerous memorials were. One might think that the rarity of new memorials may generate greater public and press attention to equal that of earlier eras, but this is not the case. The amount of public and press attention to monuments today is less than when the majority of monuments went up between 1883 and 1929. Wes Craven's The Sculptures at Gettysburg (1982) reveals more about memories in the late 19th and early 20th century at Gettysburg than at any other era.

15 Ceremonies are also limited as a means for understanding the reciprocity between landscape and memory. They are most apt to be reflective of public memory, but not at the root of it. For example, the dedication of the Delaware and 11th Mississippi monuments in 2000 reflected group efforts, but the ceremonies did not greatly compel the public to continue remembering these units because publicity was short lived. Admittedly, anniversary ceremonies that receive regular publicity may influence public memory, by focusing and refocusing attention on the same place, event, or hero. But gaining insight into specific shifts in memory beyond just the place, event, or hero being remembered at a ceremony is difficult. The words spoken and the specific context of the message are rarely remembered and rarely reach more than several thousand persons. Where landscape reciprocates with memory on the micro level is found in the daily guiding and interpretive programs offered at a park.

16 For more on the power of promotional photographs, read Schwartz (Journal of Historical Geography 1996).

17 One exception is Sidorov's analysis (2000) of the interplay between antireligious practices and politics as exhibited through stages in the history of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Also, read Schein's study (1997) of Ashland Park for a comprehensive look at the reciprocity between American ideals and a single cultural landscape, but Schein takes a thematic approach rather than identifying stages in Ashland's shaping indicative of shifts in popular American ideals.

18 Gaining firsthand experiences from a variety of visitor perspectives is extremely difficult. This involves understanding different age groups, education levels, ethnicity, places of origin, social groups, and organizations. Through my 25 years at Gettysburg, I have benefited through experiencing the place from youth to adult, from a naive know-nothing to an interested learner and then a buff, from a local resident to an out-of-state visitor, from an "outsider" to an "insider" with close ties to Park staff, and from a boy scout and school student to a Civil War roundtable member, preservation group member, and battlefield guide associate. Sharing these experiences has provided me with a better understanding of the different needs and interpretations of the many groups that visit Gettysburg. But I often find myself constantly torn emotionally when trying to balance my feelings between groups I belong to that often oppose each other over contentious issues.

19 To summarize, my contributions to the literature of landscape and memory are methodological and conceptual. Methodologically, my study involved (1) demonstrating a comprehensive approach to a single place, (2) augmenting the rarely used method of studying active-interpretation, and (3) pioneering innovative methods to account for limitations by standard research methodologies. Conceptually, I have (4) provided a more intimate look at the reciprocal processes of landscape and memory at one place (micro-reciprocity), (5) revealed the many stages in longterm public remembrance of a single event, and (6) developed a general framework for replicating this insight into similar places.

20 The chapters present Gettysburg at cross sections in time that best illustrate the different ways the battle story has been exhibited by the battlefield since 1863. But these are not static portraits of the battlefield. I chose the years carefully. Each landscape is the culmination of a different era at Gettysburg. As I take the reader on a tour of the field at the end of each era, I discuss changes in the battlefield since the previous chapter as related to shifts in public remembrance of the battle. By referring to these changes in the battlefield we are touring, the reader is concurrently reminded of the influence of the preceding battlefield landscape. In this manner, I discuss the shaping of the Gettysburg battlefield through all years.

21 All total, there are more than 50,000 Gettysburg photographs within these repositories, but there are several outstanding individual collections that deserve mention. The Paul Roy Collection at GNMP covers the 1930s. The General Photograph Collection at GNMP spans the entire history of the battlefield. The William Tipton Collection covers 1880s to the 1920s and is found at GNMP and duplicated at the National Archives. Also at the National Archives is the Charles Porter Collection from the 1940s. The Tipton Sample Albums and the 1886 Stewart Photographs stand out at the ACHS.

22 The most notable private contributors of photographs were Sue Boardman, Clay Rebert, Johnny and Betty Johnson, and Sandy Dixon.

23 In the case of property and stone walls and earthworks, the NPS staff most familiar with information on these features were hesitant to share at first because of their concern that the information might be abused publicly. For example, there has been a long history of vehement locals attacking the park over property acquisitions and demolitions and a compiled list of this nature could add fuel to the fire. In the case of stone walls and earthworks, public knowledge of the ones built by soldiers might attract relic hunters and rock takers and other vandals. These fears may explain the lack of compiled information on these features in NPS public records. If compiled records for these features do exist, those records are undoubtedly restricted.

24 The danger with a comprehensive approach of study is being overwhelmed by data and failing to see the larger picture. Compiling a database from select, representative data helps to avoid this pitfall and identify patterns and themes not plainly evident.

25 Monthly Travel Reports kept by the Division of Interpretation at GNMP indicate guides escorted over 259,000 visitors around the Park from October 1999 to September 2000, but this does not include the number of visitors on GTC guided bus tours which is just as many.

26 Reconstructing the battlefield required reconstructing the authentic, memorial, interpretive, indecorous, perceptual, and cultural relic landscapes for each cross section in time. Using a tour format allowed me to show how visitors encountered these landscape features synchronously from place to place on the battlefield, and to simultaneously highlight patterns and themes within these features at a point on the tour where visitors were likely made aware of those patterns. This structure replicates the battlefield experience.

Chapter Two

Divided Ruins, 1883

I noticed in Evergreen Cemetery ... in which were buried Union soldiers ... graves are still marked by boards just as they were placed 16 years ago by their comrades, excepting most of the boards are rotted off and lying on the graves...

- Union veteran of Company G, 53 Pa. Volunteers (1879).

The wet spring made the roads to and around Gettysburg muddy and impassable in 1883, and arriving via rail from even the nearest cities such as Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Philadelphia necessitated a lengthy, indirect trip involving at least three rail lines.¹ Because of this remoteness, visitors to the battlefield in the postbattle years were mostly local residents, veterans, or families of soldiers who died at Gettysburg. The veterans came to mark where they fought or where their comrades died. Families came to search for where their dead were buried, and, if they were Southern, remove their dead and take them home. For twenty years the battlefield lay in ruins. And the frequenting locals or few excursionists who visited out of curiosity often added to the state of decay by taking relics and cutting souvenir canes from the unprotected lands and forests of the battlefield.

Gettysburg remained dominantly a small, local attraction in 1883. The principal battlefield lands set aside to remember the battle consisted of Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, the Round Tops, and the Wheatfield -- the very lands upon which the Union Army of the Potomac had anchored its flanks during the battle (Figure 2.1). The total lands amounted to roughly 400 acres. Aside from the National Cemetery atop Cemetery Hill, the remainder of the battlefield had deteriorated since 1863. The entire field, including the cemetery, exhibited the qualities of death or destruction and reflected a nation still divided and mourning over the war that claimed 600,000 Americans.

To see this battlefield, visitors frequently began their tour with Cemetery Hill. "If the visitor to Gettysburg has but one hour at his command," wrote Colonel John Bachelder, "Cemetery Hill would unquestionably be the place to spend it" (Bachelder 1881, 45). This statement appeared in Bachelder's tour book, Gettysburg. What to See. And How to See It, the principal guidebook on the battlefield for visitors to Gettysburg in the 1880s.² The hill lay just south of town, divided by the Baltimore Pike which visitors used as the main thoroughfare to reach what Bachelder called the "great central point of interest" (Bachelder 1881, 110).

"The Great Central Point of Interest": The Soldiers' National Cemetery

Visitors to Gettysburg invariably saw the Soldier's National Cemetery atop Cemetery Hill well before reaching it. Indeed, the cemetery stood out from the remainder of the battlefield (Figure 2.2). A huge flag, flying atop a towering 107-

foot pole from the grounds made for the most visible marker of the cemetery and denoted its national significance. In addition, approaching visitors could see the marble Soldiers' National Monument, 60 feet high, protruding from the center of the grounds on the hill's summit. Indeed the entire monument and a few rows of grave stones were visible from town, but the remainder of the grounds around the hilltop was shielded by a wall of stone, iron fencing, and evergreen trees (roughly 20 feet high) which lined the entire perimeter and isolated the cemetery from the rest of the battlefield.³

The cemetery entrance consisted of iron gates anchored by columns on either side atop which stood draped urns and federal eagles meant to symbolize "the fallen warrior" (Figure 2.3). This and the series of bronze plaques on the columns with the names of "loyal states" that lost men at Gettysburg hinted at the decor and tribute within. Just inside the entrance, on the right, stood the Cemetery Lodge which housed a superintendent employed by the Army to care for the grounds. The cemetery belonged to the War Department, unlike the rest of the battlefield which remained privately owned, and federal law stipulated the superintendent must be a disabled veteran. Nicholas G. Wilson had filled the position for ten years. A local veteran who served with the 138th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the war, he lost the two middle fingers of his right hand in the battle of Monocacy. Although Wilson desired to help local efforts acquire, preserve, and care for the remainder of the battlefield, the Army demanded he devote his full attention to maintaining the exquisiteness of the cemetery that so impressed visitors.⁴

Upon entering the cemetery, visitors encountered an eight-foot bronze portrait statue to Major General John Reynolds standing atop a classical, ten-foot base in the middle of the road (Figure 2.4). It stood on a small island of grass surrounded by flowers and arbor vitae bushes. Reynolds had been killed in action on the first day of battle and northern visitors, especially Pennsylvanians, considered him the most popular and celebrated general at Gettysburg. Much evidence indicated his heroic status. The statue remained the first and only portrait sculpture to a general or soldier at Gettysburg in 1883. In addition, members of Reynolds' staff from the Union Army began raising funds for a monument in his honor just months after Gettysburg, making their efforts the first of any attempt to memorialize a hero of the battle. They even employed the most successful portrait sculptor of the day, John Quincy Adams Ward, to create the statue, and they had the base designed by architect Richard Morris Hunt. Moreover, Reynolds was a Pennsylvanian (born and raised in Lancaster), killed in action on his home soil, and the only Major General on either side to die at Gettysburg. Ever since the monument had been placed in 1872, visitors, including families, veterans, and politicians, frequently had their picture taken at the Reynolds monument (Craven 1982, 55-57).⁵

Just beyond Reynolds' statue, the layout of the cemetery soon came into view (Figure 2.5). The road split and visitors could drive their carriage around the entire perimeter in one continuous wide loop referred to as Main Drive. Main Drive consisted of two stretches, Upper and Lower, because the cemetery sat on the gentle slope of Cemetery Hill. Lower Main Drive continued straight

ahead from Reynolds' statue, along the hillside, skirting the outer row of graves, and Upper Main Drive led to the left, over the summit, behind the graves and the massive Soldiers' National Monument. Spaced along the drives were 17 tablets placed by Superintendent Wilson the year before. Each tablet featured a stanza from Theodore O'Hara's poem, *The Bivouac of the Dead*.⁶ Visitors could read the stanzas and look out onto the burials before them as they circled the loop.

Within this loop lay several thousand graves in a series of great semicircles reflecting the contours of the hill they were on. The graves were flat and flush with the ground but rimmed by continuous lines of granite headstones, ten inches wide and nine inches above the ground.⁷ The rows of gravestones were set 12 feet apart and formed a series of terraced lines up the hill summit that appeared as rows of seats in a great outdoor amphitheater. At center stage stood the Soldiers' National Monument, highlighted by a continuous wall of young Norway Maples planted behind it to line the entire horizon of the cemetery, completing the amphitheater effect. The monument stood apart from the burial section because it sat on a green rimmed by shrubbery that separated it from the innermost row of graves. The shrubbery stood several feet high, hiding several benches that were placed within the green to promote solitude and reflection.⁸

The cemetery layout originated with William Saunders, a landscape architect with the federal government. His plans incorporated several features important to visitors in 1883. For instance, visitors could easily drive their

carriages to the grave sites and up to the central green. Three gravel roads, or great semicircles, provided access to the graves from Main Drive. An outside road rimmed the outermost row of graves. A middle road separated the rows of graves into two corridors: an outer and an inner. And a third road followed around the central green along the inside of the innermost row of graves. Intersecting these great semicircles were three gravel roads that radiated out from the Soldiers' National Monument, like spokes on a wheel, to lead visitors to the central green.⁹ All of these roads were important. Since the battle, families and friends of the dead frequented the grave sites. The roads provided these visitors, especially the aging and crippled veterans, the ease of reaching grave sites without having to leave their carriage or desecrate the graves by walking on them (Figure 2.6).¹⁰

Passing among the burials, visitors were made aware of the enormity of the battle. There were 3,577 graves in the cemetery in 1883 (Unrau 1991, 33). In addition, all the buried were Union dead, grouped according to their home state. Saunders divided both corridors of grave rows into state lots. Those states with more dead were grouped in lots constituting the outer corridor, and states with fewer dead occupied the inner corridor.¹¹ No southern states had a burial lot. Only those who fought to save the Union were buried in the cemetery -- 18 lots for 18 "loyal" northern states who lost soldiers at Gettysburg.¹² Most of the bodies were exhumed from the field several months after the battle and reinterred in the cemetery by 1864, but a few dozen had been added over the years after later discoveries on the battlefield.¹³ The fortunate dead had

inscriptions on their gravestone, painted in black, identifying their name, rank, regiment, and company. Black inscriptions on rows of raised granite stones helped emphasize "the numbers of the dead" (Engle 1994, 45). But not all the stones were granite with black inscriptions. Saunders anchored the ends of the corridors of graves with lots marked by small marble headstones inscribed with a number. These were the unknown Union dead, totaling 979 graves. Many of the unknown came from the fields of the first day of battle because they awaited initial burial for five days, until after the Confederate Army retreated. Rapid decomposition in the summer heat that July left no identifying remains and little more than skeletal remains existed by the time they were reinterred.

Scattered among the burial lots were 34 decorative urns with flowers planted in their vases. Cinerary urns specifically honored the dead and were popular cemetery decorations in the late nineteenth century. All were terracotta, but one. In Minnesota's burial lot stood a lone marble urn about five feet high. The 1st Minnesota Volunteers placed it in 1867, making it the first monument placed at Gettysburg. Despite its importance, it did not stand out amidst the other urns.

The Soldiers' National Monument did stand out (Figure 2.7). Saunders designed the entire cemetery around this central monument. Its height, mass, and beauty made it the most impressive and popular memorial at Gettysburg in 1883. Visitors entering the green could not approach it because of a chest-high iron fence that surrounded the memorial, setting it apart from the entire cemetery. Standing 60 feet high and decorated with five statues sculpted in Rome, its neoclassical design alluded to the greatness of the Greek and Roman

democracies to which the United States compared itself. On a panel on the reverse side of the monument were inscribed the last lines of Lincoln's Address to remind visitors of the importance of the cemetery and the preservation of the Union for which the dead had died.¹⁴

The erection of this magnificent marble monument received much publicity, from the laying of its cornerstone in 1865 to its dedication in 1869.¹⁵ At the dedication ceremonies, General George G. Meade gave the main address. Meade, the victorious commanding general of the Union army at Gettysburg, had received little newspaper coverage because of his ill relations with the press and after Gettysburg reporters kept him in Grant's shadow for the remainder of the war. But his popularity as a hero among Gettysburg tourists ranked him with Lincoln and Reynolds and made him the most suitable choice among living heroes to dedicate the Soldiers' National Monument before a crowd estimated at six to 15 thousand. In his speech, Meade called for the remains of Confederate dead at Gettysburg to receive an equally dignified burial as the Union dead had been given. Despite his words, the message fell largely on deaf ears. Confederate dead remained strewn in their scattered and mass graves that had been dug by locals just to get rid of the stench. For the most part, few were ever identified, and so the only hope for Confederate dead to be honored and not forgotten was their family. During the 1870s, Southern families and organized parties searched the battlefield, dug and identified as best they could, and took home their soldiers for a proper burial, knowing full well the bodies were deemed worthless by the original founders of the Soldiers' National Cemetery.

In 1883, anti-confederate sentiment still ran strong among Gettysburg tourists, especially Union veterans and relatives. Most did not consider their feelings prejudicial but simply patriotic. To many the battle and war remained too recent for forgiveness. After all, it was a divisive civil war that took their loyal friends, sons, husbands, and fathers, and threatened the future of their country. Confederate dead did not deserve a decent burial for such rebellion. The fact that the central monument was a national memorial to only half the dead at Gettysburg was a blatant statement of such patriotic fervor. The cemetery and its monument in 1883 served a dual role: to commemorate the victors and remind the defeated that insurrection would not be tolerated nor forgiven.

Another importance of the Soldiers' National Monument was its placement at the summit of Cemetery Hill. Its green afforded visitors a tremendous view. By looking back over the cemetery, visitors could gaze over the well manicured grounds and to the town of Gettysburg beyond. Around the green were three cannon, complete with authentic wooden carriages, pointed toward town. Although the guns were decorative, they alluded to the original importance of this hill and the reason the original founders chose it as the site for the cemetery.

Since the battle, locals, historians, and veterans interpreted Cemetery Hill and adjacent Culp's Hill as the key ground to Union victory at Gettysburg. On the first day of battle, the Union army staved off Confederate victory by retreating through town to these heights. Cemetery Hill appeared as a barren rocky hilltop and made for an excellent defensive position.¹⁶ On the second and third days of battle, the Union army reinforced it with approximately 40 guns to

fire west, north, and east against “every position of the Rebel lines” (Soldiers’ National Cemetery Committee 1988, 162). Indeed, the hill served as the pivotal defensive position from which both flanks of the Union army extended. After the battle, local citizens David McConaughy and David Wills purchased and donated the land atop Cemetery Hill for the Soldiers’ National Cemetery because of its role as the “centre” of the Union line of defense.¹⁷ They felt only the most important ground in the battle would be appropriate for a national burial site.

Twenty years later, the tactical importance of the hill could still be appreciated from the central green because the evergreen trees lining the cemetery wall had yet to grow high enough to obscure the views of town and surrounding lands occupied by Confederate forces. Still, the cemetery grounds were a far cry from the original barren hilltop, and the greatest contrast were the elaborate plantings that decorated the cemetery and attracted sightseeing visitors. Over 20 species of trees had been planted along the drives and over the lawns of the cemetery, including ash, cedar, hemlock, laurel, several maple varieties, norway spruce, weeping willow, and dogwood (Figure 2.8). There were exotic plants too, from madagascar vinca and pampas grass to heliotrope and cypress trees. Numerous flower beds of geraniums, hyacinths, tulips, azaleas, and rhododendrons scattered the grounds. The cemetery appeared highly exquisite – there were 40 dwarf arbor vitae for just the border around the Reynolds statue alone! Tremendous upkeep went into maintaining this appearance and the care of these plants occupied the cemetery superintendent fulltime. Trees, hedge, and shrubbery were constantly pruned and trimmed. In

addition, numerous plants which died, or had their beauty damaged, from storms or winter frosts had to be replaced annually. Moreover, flowers and exotic species often required regular watering, fertilizing, and replanting. The collective impact of these plantings made the cemetery a virtual Garden of Eden compared to the remainder of the battlefield.¹⁸

The cemetery served as the most popular, elaborate, and patriotic portion of the entire battlefield in 1883.¹⁹ It merited greater attention than the remainder of the battlefield because of Lincoln's dedication in 1863, federal designation as a national site in 1864, and careful design and maintenance by Saunders and specifically-appointed superintendents. More importantly, the cemetery grounds were the first monumented and the grandest marked part of Gettysburg. But in 1883, no sign marked where Lincoln spoke.

Evidence of the Fiercest Fighting: East Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill

The remainder of battlefield lands set aside to remember the battle belonged to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA). David McConaughy started the organization by purchasing East Cemetery Hill, Culp's Hill, and the Round Tops in 1863 and asked local citizens to share the cost and help preserve the lands in their exact condition at the time of battle. In the 1870s the organization became inactive, but Col. John Vanderslice from Philadelphia, a veteran of the battle who fought with the 69th PA Volunteers, reinvigorated the organization in 1880 by raising funds and membership from Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) veterans all across the North. In 1883, he, Col. John

Bachelder, and Nicholas Wilson were the most active GBMA members acquiring, marking, and making accessible to visitors the battlefield lands outside of the Soldiers' National Cemetery.

The most popular lands outside of the national cemetery were adjacent East Cemetery Hill, Evergreen Cemetery, and Culp's Hill. These lands were exciting to visitors for several reasons. Foremost, they were publicly perceived as being the hotbed of the fiercest fighting during the battle. East Cemetery Hill, for example, was "one of the few localities where hand-to-hand fighting actually occurred" (Bachelder 1881, 39). According to contemporary accounts, Union battery men fought off a Confederate attack up the hill on the evening of July 2nd that nearly captured the Union supply wagons on the Baltimore Pike and threatened to divide the entire Union line of defense. In the midst of fighting, several Louisiana brigades temporarily seized Union cannon atop the hill before being driven back in hand-to-hand combat by the men of Stewart's, Wiedrick's, Rickett's, and Reynolds' batteries using handspikes, rammers, pistols, and clubs. The concentration of Union artillery pieces, the visible remains of their earthworks, and the fact that East Cemetery Hill belonged to Cemetery Hill contributed to the site's fame among Northerners as part of "the key to the whole line of our defences" (Georg 1982, 9). The importance of this event prompted David McConaughy to purchase East Cemetery Hill lands ahead of other battlefield lands outside the national cemetery because he felt "the heights ... resisted the fiercest assaults of the enemy" (McConaughy 1863). Indeed, the earthworks on these lands were the first restored by the GBMA and visitors in 1883 could see over 20 artillery lunettes still spread along the hilltop much as they had been at

the time of the engagement.

By 1883, East Cemetery Hill's popularity was evident in other ways too. A 60-foot wooden tower, constructed by the GBMA five years earlier, stood atop the hill and provided visitors with impressive views of the national cemetery, town, and surrounding battlegrounds (Figure 2.9). In addition, the Pennsylvania chapter of the G.A.R. held its annual summer encampments on East Cemetery Hill every June since 1878. The reunion of these veterans attracted much press among northern newspapers. Furthermore, the GBMA had placed early markings of the battle on the hill. These markings included cannon tubes mounted on metal tractor-wheel carriages placed in the lunettes and paper signs on wooden posts identifying where Union regiments and batteries stood in position at the time of battle (Figure 2.10). Together, these things increased East Cemetery Hill's popularity among visitors as much as they reflected it.

The early posted signs deserve more mention because of their importance. GBMA member John Bachelder oversaw the placement of these signs marking regiments and batteries at Gettysburg because many veterans regarded him as the leading historian and guide of the battle and field. Bachelder arrived in Gettysburg a few days after the battle, spent 84 days mapping the field and interviewing wounded Confederate and Union soldiers in nearby hospitals, gathered accounts of the battle from Union officers and men during their winter encampment outside Washington in 1864, and produced the first authoritative map of the battle that year. In subsequent years he generated enormous correspondence with Gettysburg veterans from both sides and

served as a consultant for the historical accuracy of popular paintings and writings on the battle. Whenever possible, he traveled around the Gettysburg battlefield with visiting veterans to determine and mark the positions of their units. On these outings Bachelder and his party of veterans frequently posted such paper signs identifying the regiment on the spot approximately where the party remembered the middle of their unit's line stood in formation prior to engagement. The signs were intended to serve as temporary markings until the veterans of those units could raise funds to place a permanent memorial on the spot that would better identify the regiment and its strength, losses, and participation during the battle. Bachelder and the GBMA actively encouraged veterans to place memorials but there were few in 1883. One stood alone on East Cemetery Hill. The veterans of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery, Battery B, had placed a small memorial shaft in 1879 on the spot where their unit fought, making it one of the first memorials placed outside of the national cemetery (Figure 2.11).²⁰

Evergreen Cemetery did not belong to the GBMA but it proved popular among visitors because of its perceived involvement in the fighting atop East Cemetery Hill and therefore added to the hill's popularity. A brick gatehouse marked the entrance to the cemetery just down from the Soldiers' National Cemetery and across from East Cemetery Hill. Visitors came to see the cemetery's gatehouse because of its depiction in popular sketches and photographs made during or after the battle. Artist Edwin Forbes, whose sketch appeared in Leslie's Weekly, featured the gatehouse as the prominent landmark atop Cemetery Hill, looming large as if to stand as the fortress around which the

Union defenses were positioned and the objective of the Confederate charge up East Cemetery Hill on the evening of July 2nd (Figure 2.12). In fact, local and national photographers photographed the bullet-riddled and shell-damaged gatehouse more than any other subject on the battlefield (Figure 2.13). Adding to its allure were the grave sites of local hero John Burns and heroine Virginia "Jennie" Wade within the cemetery grounds. Visitors frequented the graves regularly. "Old John Burns" gained fame as the lone Gettysburg civilian who marched out to fight the Rebs on the first day's battle. He was 69 years old then, and he fought until wounded three times. Photographer Mathew Brady took a picture of him with his bandaged wounds in front of his house shortly after the battle and Bret Harte authored a poem eulogizing his actions. Burns became an instant national hero, upheld as a model patriot. Even President Lincoln requested Burns' company as an honored guest at the ceremonies for the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. In 1872, Burns was buried in Evergreen. Jennie Wade made for the most tragic story of the battle. She was the lone Gettysburg civilian killed during the entire battle, shot in the back by a Confederate bullet that pierced the door of her sister's home where she was baking bread for Union soldiers. Her family buried her body in her sister's garden but reinterred it in Evergreen a year later. The national publicity of both Burns and Wade gave them hero status among Northern visitors comparable to that of Reynolds, Meade, and Lincoln.

More evidence of the battle lay on Culp's Hill which visitors could see easily to the east of East Cemetery Hill. Woods covered Culp's Hill in 1883, just as they did 20 years earlier, and fascinated Northern and Southern visitors

alike because many trees exhibited “the fearful effects of [shell and] musketry fire” (McConaughy 1863) (Figure 2.14). There were still long lines of breastworks along the heights as well, initially constructed and used by Union soldiers during the second and third days of battle. David McConaughy purchased the hill precisely for preserving these bullet-shattered trees and breastworks. The bullet-shattered trees were especially popular. Unfortunately, the GBMA had difficulty monitoring the woods nor did they own all woods on and around Culp's Hill so locals gathered many bullets, shells, and other relics from the area to sell to tourists from stands they set up along the Baltimore Pike. This custom had become especially popular in recent years during the week of the Annual Pennsylvania G.A.R. encampment. Posted signs along the road over Culp's Hill warned that those caught removing relics or otherwise defacing any GBMA lands would be punished.

In 1883, Culp's Hill was newly accessible to the general tourist populace despite being long-frequented by relic-seeking locals. The breastworks were new, and so was the carriage road from East Cemetery Hill leading visitors to and over these heights alongside the fortifications. Just the year before, the GBMA ordered the breastworks to be reconstructed and an avenue opened to provide better access to and over the hill. The order was part of a larger GBMA effort in 1882 to begin repairing or reconstructing all earthworks on GBMA lands and begin building avenues along the former lines of battle to afford easier visitor access. Until 1882, most battlefield lands outside of Cemetery Hill (meaning the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Evergreen Cemetery, and East Cemetery Hill) were inaccessible by carriage, and stonewalls, breastworks, and other battle

fortifications remained in a state of decay having never been repaired or reconstructed since the battle.

Nicholas Wilson carried out this work in addition to his job as Superintendent of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Developing avenues proved most work-intensive because it involved more than constructing a road. Because of the scattered nature of GBMA lands, Wilson frequently had to purchase strips of land to connect GBMA properties with existent roads. These strips were to follow as much as possible the Union battle lines, had to be wide enough to include any battlewalls, fortifications, and space for placing markings (cannon, signs, and memorials), and had to be fenced to denote the GBMA's ownership. When completed, a GBMA "avenue" referred to the entire corridor of property, fenced on either side, often at least 60 feet in width, with a central road and land on either side for markings. John Vanderslice and John Bachelder usually designed how proposed avenues were laid out to properly follow the lines of battle, and then left the details to Wilson. Whatever spare time he had, Wilson devoted to negotiating with property owners to purchase necessary lands, securing title for the GBMA, fencing the lands, contracting for the construction of battlefield roads, and seeing to it that all earthworks on GBMA lands were reconstructed.

Visitors who traveled the avenue over Culp's Hill could see the fruits of Wilson's labor. Lunettes on Steven's Knoll were freshly reconstructed, as were the breastworks that formed a continuous line up the west side of Culp's Hill to the summit and down the south slope. Between Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill, no other part of the entire battlefield contained as great a concentration of

earthen fortifications used in the battle and still visible. The only difference between the 1883 appearance and the original look of these defenses was the absence of timber on the breastworks and the type of cannon and carriages placed in the lunettes. The original breastworks consisted of dirt and piled logs cut from the woods by Union soldiers, but Wilson and the GBMA felt it more appropriate and permanent to reconstruct the breastworks without cutting any timber from the war-torn woods that would otherwise not withstand weathering. As for the cannon, some were surplus guns from the Revolutionary War and the GBMA had them mounted on makeshift, metal tractor-wheel carriages, just like those on East Cemetery Hill. Civil War-era cannon and carriages were still in use by the Army in 1883 and only the national cemetery had the few which the Army could spare.²¹

On the south side of Culp's Hill, where the avenue terminated, lay Spangler's meadow and spring. Visitors frequently picnicked here and got their picture taken drinking from the spring (Figure 2.15).²² At the western edge of Spangler's meadow, over on a big boulder bordering private property, stood the 2nd Massachusetts monument. Survivors of the regiment placed it in 1879, making it the first regimental monument placed outside of the national cemetery. This memorial appeared as a large gravestone with bronze plaques inset on either side. The front plaque described the unit's charge against three Confederate regiments as they attempted to retake captured Union defensiveworks on the morning of July 3rd, and the back plaque listed the 45 men in the unit who died during the engagement. This was the first memorial on the battlefield to pay tribute to an entire regiment, not just its dead.

Weed's Hill and The Whirlpool of Battle: Little Round Top, and the Wheatfield

The remaining GBMA lands consisted of Little Round Top, the Wheatfield, and several contiguous strips of land along Cemetery Ridge. The lands along Cemetery Ridge constituted "Main Avenue" – a fenced corridor containing a new road that led visitors along the Union line of defense from Cemetery Hill to the GBMA's properties at the south end of the field (GBMA 1982, 86). Main Avenue was new for tourists in 1883. Just the previous year, Nicholas Wilson acquired the land, fenced its borders, and constructed the road at the GBMA's request. Although Cemetery Ridge bore the brunt of the third day's battle, Little Round Top and the Wheatfield were the primary destinations for tourists on this part of the field in 1883 and Main Avenue remained a corridor to afford visitors better access to these places.²³

Visitors could enter Main Avenue from the Taneytown Road, opposite the west end of the national cemetery (Figure 2.16). The avenue ran through a stand of oaks called Zeigler's Grove and south along Cemetery Ridge, parallel with a stone wall that formed an angle, and past a small clump or thicket of brush and trees. These features were unremarkable and most visitors paid little attention to them in 1883, but they faced the fields where Longstreet's men charged on July 3rd, and they stood where the assault temporarily penetrated the Union line of defense before being turned back. Bachelder's guidebook described the clump as the famous "Copse of Trees" where "Longstreet's Assault" reached its zenith before being repulsed, and that the trees were

"indeed the High Water Mark of the battle, and of the war" (Bachelder 1881, 54-56).²⁴ His words were more promotional than reflective of the site's popularity. Indeed, the defense of Cemetery Ridge on July 3rd was as famous as the battles over Little Round Top, the Wheatfield, Cemetery Hill, and Culp's Hill in 1883, but the difference in the popularity of the sites originated with how the battles had been publicized and remembered up to that time.

During the 20 years since the battle, the popularity of Cemetery Ridge -- despite the Copse of Trees, the Angle and the fields of Pickett's Charge -- paled in comparison with Cemetery Hill, Culp's Hill, Little Round Top, and the Wheatfield. Prior to 1882 this part of the battlefield remained privately owned and visitors had to ask permission from local farm owners to travel out to the site. Comparatively few tourists visited the clump of trees, much less recognized its importance, and even the few that did saw no protective fence, memorial, or profound marker to reinforce its prominence as the spot where Longstreet's Assault reached its zenith. The names "The Angle" and "Pickett's Charge" were not popular either. In 1883, the Angle remained a nondescript stonewall to visitors, and art and literature of the day more often referred to Pickett's Charge as Longstreet's Assault.

By 1883, Longstreet's Assault had proven to be a popular subject among well-circulated paintings and sketches from such artists as Alfred Waud, James Walker, and Peter Rothermal. But few photographs or sketches of the stonewall itself, the copse of trees, or the fields over which the assault occurred, ever appeared in print.²⁵ Therefore, the image of the actual landscape at Gettysburg was not synonymous with Longstreet's Assault in the public mind.

In contrast, images of Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top frequently accompanied descriptions of the fighting that occurred on these heights. In addition, the battles of Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top were synonymous with their sites because these battles were named for the hills they occurred on. Not so for "The Repulse of Longstreet's Assault" and other titles artists and writers used to name the engagement (Figure 2.17). Moreover, Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top were dramatic heights commanding impressive views from which the Union army made a victorious stand and from which tourists could enjoy the splendor. The landscape of Longstreet's Assault lacked such flare; Cemetery Ridge remained a low-lying stretch between these crucial and imposing heights.

In the spring of 1883, the lands along Cemetery Ridge were also disinteresting to visitors because they remained the least marked (Figure 2.18). A few signs were posted identifying positions of Union regiments, but there were no memorials, cannon, or other significant markings along Main Avenue. Instead, the stonewall occupied most visitors' attention and which Nicholas Wilson had freshly repaired. The GBMA had preserved this part of the Union defense line last because for nearly 20 years its members and the visiting public (with the exception of veterans who defended it) ranked Cemetery Ridge last among the "most striking and interesting portions of the battleground" (McConaughy 1863).

The most striking and interesting grounds on this end of the battlefield were atop Little Round Top. David McConaughy purchased lands on the hill's summit and slopes for the GBMA nearly 20 years earlier because of "its

massive rocks and wonderful stone defences [sic] constructed by the Pennsylvania Reserves" (McConaughy 1863). Indeed, visitors and veterans perceived the importance of the hill immediately after the battle. In 1864, the Ladies of Valley Forge erected a commemorative flagpole at the summit. Visitors to the summit in 1883 could still see the stonewall breastworks and they most enjoyed the impressive view the hill commanded.²⁶ The Ladies of Valley Forge flagpole no longer stood, but in its place were several commemorative memorials and other markings that collectively made Little Round Top far more decorated than Cemetery Ridge and all other lands on the south end of the field at this time.

Memorials on Little Round Top paid tribute to three heroes in 1883: Colonel Strong Vincent, Brigadier General Stephen Weed, and Lieutenant Charles Hazlett. According to contemporary accounts, on the afternoon of July 2nd, Vincent and Weed rushed their brigades to the summit to support Hazlett whose battery of guns had staved off oncoming rebels until infantry could arrive. Together, these officers saved Little Round Top, and the Union army's left flank, from being overrun by several Confederate brigades that reached the slope of the hill before being turned back. All three officers were killed in the engagement. Hazlett and Weed died on the same spot -- the former having rushed to Weed's fallen body, only to be fatally shot as he bent over the dead general. In the immediate years after the battle, John Bachelder attempted to popularize Little Round Top as "Weed's Hill" in "honor of the [highest ranking] officer who died in its defense," although the name never became common (Bachelder 1881, 11).²⁷

In 1883, the most prominent monument on Little Round Top marked the position of one of Weed's regiments, the 91st Pennsylvania Volunteers. Visitors to the summit were easily drawn to this memorial because it stood anchored to a rock at the highest and most central point on the summit's edge (Figure 2.19). Returning survivors of the 91st PA Regiment had the monument erected there three years earlier to stand in front of the three artillery guns that the GBMA had placed to represent Hazlett's battery. In addition to the monument and guns, a boulder lay a few feet back marking the spot where Weed and Hazlett were killed so that visitors would never forget the importance of these two heroes. This was the first memorial on Little Round Top. In 1864, someone had carved on its face the words, "Brig. Gen. Weed and Lt. Hazlett ... fell here July 2d, 1863."

A disparity in tribute existed on Vincent's spur, a rocky extension out of the south slope of Little Round Top which Bachelder named in memory of the heroic colonel who died defending this part of the hill. Visitors at the crest of the spur could read a large boulder inscribed with the words "Col. Vincent fell here..." while approximately 30 yards further down slope a white, marble tablet in the shape of a headstone identified the boulder it stood on as the spot where the colonel fell mortally wounded. The boulder inscription dated from 1864, same as the rock inscription to Hazlett. The marble tablet had been placed by veterans of the General Strong Vincent Post of Erie, Pennsylvania, during their visit to the field as part of the Pennsylvania G.A.R. encampment in 1878. The GBMA recognized their tablet as "the first memorial of any kind ... erected outside of the [national] cemetery" (Vanderslice 1899, 364).

Visitors leaving Little Round Top could follow a new avenue, around Devil's Den (which remained privately owned), to the Wheatfield that Bachelder's guidebook promoted as "the whirlpool of the battle" (Bachelder 1881, 83). In 1883, the Wheatfield appeared as a barren expanse of roughly 10 acres bordered by woods on all sides. On the edge of the field near the road stood a marble, obelisk-shaped monument on a boulder marking the spot where General Samuel Zook fell mortally wounded while leading a brigade in a charge against the enemy prior to the Confederate attack on Little Round Top. The engagement lasted two hours and the Wheatfield exchanged hands no less than six times resulting in nearly 6,000 total casualties. Bachelder and the veterans who survived felt the confusion and slaughter in such a small area over such a short time warranted its comparison to a bloody whirlpool.²⁸ But few visitors in 1883 were aware of the historic importance of the Wheatfield and the GBMA had just purchased it the year before. The Wheatfield was the second place on the battlefield where hand-to-hand fighting occurred (the other being the more accessible and better marked East Cemetery Hill), but its private ownership until 1882, its lack of markings and memorials, and its distance from town kept it from being well-known to the visiting public outside of the Union veterans who survived it and returned with their families.

Overall, Cemetery Ridge, Little Round Top, and the Wheatfield were not as popular as Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill because of being inaccessible by carriage for nearly 20 years after the battle (until Main Avenue). Despite Main Avenue, this history of inaccessibility made for several problems. These sites varied in markings, visitation, and how they were publicly remembered. But

more importantly, Cemetery Ridge, Little Round Top, and the Wheatfield had several factors in common that gave this part of the battlefield a more disturbing quality. Since the battle, these lands had been the most difficult for the GBMA to preserve (because of the distance from town and only recent accessibility by carriage). Many important sites on this end of the battlefield remained privately owned, namely Devil's Den, the Sherfey Peach Orchard, the summit of Big Round Top, and the fields of Longstreet's Assault. Also, all of these sites, whether private or owned by the GBMA, attracted attention because of historic fame or impressiveness or both (in the case of Little Round Top and Devil's Den). Together, these factors allowed this part of the battlefield landscape to be highly threatened, abused, and tainted with indecorous objects in 1883. Visitors left these grounds having seen evidence of commercialism, vandalism, and other changes that threatened the historical integrity and sacredness of the battlefield. For example, Ziegler's Grove on Cemetery Ridge had been reduced by locals cutting timber for farm needs before the GBMA acquired it. In addition, tourists had repeatedly damaged Ziegler's Grove and the Copse of Trees by cutting off branches to make souvenir walking canes. Tourists and relic-hunters repeatedly took rocks as souvenirs which left the stone wall at the Angle and the breastworks on the slopes of Little Round Top in shambles. Painted advertisements appeared on rocks as well. Visitors to Little Round Top could read "Cann's Kidney Cure" in big letters on a boulder next to breastworks built by the 16th Michigan Regiment. Finally, the boulders constituting Devil's Den were speckled with names crudely chiseled by visitors.²⁹

People were not the only threat to the integrity of these sites. The original

appearance of Little Round Top's west face, which had been cleared the year before the battle, was threatened by returning underbrush and young trees. John Bachelder wrote, "It is hoped that the bushes ... will again be cut away, as they materially change the character of this part of the field, and almost completely obscure the magnificent view formerly had from its summit" (Bachelder 1881, 11). Bachelder overexaggerated the disruption of visitors' views from the summit in 1883, but his early concern would eventually prove to be well founded.

Other Popular Battlefield Spots

Visitor accounts tell of other popular sites on the battlefield outside of the national cemetery and GBMA lands. Close proximity to town proved to be the main factor for public visitation and local marking of these sites. The fields where the main cavalry actions of the battle took place, for example, were several miles south and east of Gettysburg and devoid of markings and visitors. But the battlegrounds of the first day on the northern limits of town had several spots that visitors regularly frequented in 1883.

The Lutheran Seminary Cupola and Reynolds Grove attracted a great deal of visitors, for instance. The seminary occupied the west edge of Gettysburg, and the cupola from its main building garnered notoriety as the lookout from which Union General John Buford first spotted the Confederate Army. The seminary allowed visitors to the cupola and it doubled as an observatory where tourists could "enjoy the entire northern half of the battlefield" (Bachelder 1881, 21). Buford's fame following the battle contributed to the

cupola's popularity. National press celebrated him as the cavalry commander who first engaged the Confederate army and heroically kept the rebels west of town for two hours with his small division of dismounted cavalymen until General John Reynolds could arrive with the 1st Union Corps of infantry. Shortly after his arrival, Reynolds was shot and killed while standing by a tree near the edge of a woodpatch on the McPherson farm. Although Reynolds' monument stood in the National Cemetery, his heroic status made the woods he died in a great attraction that early battlefield guides referred to as Reynolds Grove. In 1883, the grove made for a popular picnic area and visitors came to see the tree marked where Reynolds had died (Figure 2.20). The only problem for visitors was that by 1883 at least three trees, at different times, had been identified and marked as the tree where General Reynolds fell (Frassanito 1995, 61-62).

In addition to these sites, visitors frequently rode over to nearby Oak Hill to see the town of Gettysburg. It made for another good sightseeing spot, and veterans familiar with it, or accompanying local guides, would point out that Confederates saw Gettysburg from the ridge when the 1st and 11th Union Corps "withdrew" in the afternoon of July 1st.³⁰ Visitors would also note a large, long series of shallow pits in the fields on the hill. In 1883, these pits had a name: Iverson's Pits. Earlier in the morning of July 1st, Brigadier General Alfred Iverson's brigade of North Carolinians had been slaughtered while advancing across the fields to a stone wall along the crest of the hill defended by Brigadier General John Robinson's division. Over 100 North Carolinians were killed and subsequently buried in a mass grave where they had fallen, approximately 60

yards from the stone wall. At the time, the fields belonged to the Forney family and the burial remained untouched until the early 1870s. Between 1870 and 1873, several Southern Ladies Memorial Associations, formed from families of Confederate veterans and dead, raised funds for the return and reinterment of their soldiers from Gettysburg. Over 3000 Confederate bodies were found and removed from the battlefield, including the North Carolinians in Forney's fields. Iverson's grave pits were never filled, but left open and the Forney family continued to plow around them. Legends fail to explain satisfactorily the Forney family's motive for leaving the pits open, but they proved to be an attraction and reminded visitors of the mass burials that dotted the battlefield for the first ten years following the battle (Frassanito 1995, 401).³¹

The first day's battlegrounds drew visitors nearly as much as Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill, although visitors spent overwhelmingly more time on the hills. Travelers who kept memoirs or published their visits to Gettysburg during the 20 years following the battle usually mentioned visiting either the Lutheran Seminary Cupola, Reynolds Grove, or Oak Hill. Though these sites remained privately owned, the local owners readily accommodated visitors and tourists because they, and the entire local community, understood the magnitude of the battle and its victims, the large area over which it was fought, and the fact that only a fraction of the lands were publicly owned, leaving scores of veterans and their relatives to search private lands for spots important to them.

The 1883 Battlefield in Retrospect

The Gettysburg battlefield in early 1883 exhibited several patterns. First, the

battlefield appeared as a funerary memorial rather than a park to the battle. The Soldiers' National Cemetery served as the focal point of interest. The monuments were funerary too. With the exception of the 2nd Massachusetts monument, all memorial stones specifically honored officers or men of a particular unit or state who died at Gettysburg. Indeed, there were no heroics depicted on these grounds, only solemn tribute for the supreme sacrifice paid by soldiers defending the Union cause. Moreover, the bulk of visitors were veterans or relatives of those who fought at Gettysburg and families searching for the graves of their dead frequented the battlefield. Even the names of battlefield spots recognized the dead, such as Weed's Hill, Vincent's Spur, and Reynolds Grove. And images of dead soldiers by Brady, Gardner, and other photographers remained fresh in the public memory, continued to appear in popular weeklies and newspapers, and contributed to this culture of death.

Second, the architects of this memorial intended to celebrate one side of the story, that of the victors. Only Union dead lay buried in the national cemetery. The popular heroes memorialized or remembered most were Reynolds, Meade, Lincoln and local patriotic citizens John Burns and Jennie Wade. Also, all lands set aside to remember the battle were those occupied by Union forces. Any lands occupied by the Confederate army remained privately owned and often inaccessible. The divided nature of the battlefield paid tribute only to soldiers and supporters of the Union cause at Gettysburg so that visitors would "never forget the difference between those who fought to save the Republic and those who fought to destroy it" (Blight 1989, 1156).³² Interestingly, the GBMA's actions unintentionally helped to preserve the Confederate side of the

story. Outside of the national cemetery, the remainder of the battlefield appealed to some Southern visitors because they had an interest in seeing Union-held positions preserved by the GBMA. Since the Union army fought a defensive battle at Gettysburg, their lands were the same lands Confederate soldiers fought on. Moreover, despite the battlefield being created by those with patriotic sentiments interested in celebrating loyalty to the Union, the overall sparseness of monumentation and descriptive markings helped to maintain a neutral quality for the lands preserved.³³

Third, memorialization overshadowed authenticity and interpretation at Gettysburg in 1883. Consider the Soldiers' National Cemetery, which served as the dominant centerpiece to the battlefield. Its grounds were the most carefully landscaped and stood apart from the rest of the park. William Saunders designed the cemetery as a memorial and incorporated landscaping principles in direct opposition to the original 1863 appearance of Cemetery Hill at the time of battle. Moreover, northern public and political sentiment approved of this dramatic change from the authentic look of the hill. Locals selected the key Union grounds for the site, northern state governments agreed with Saunders' plan, and families of those buried found the new beauty and magnificence of the hill most appropriate for honoring their dead. Authentic battle damage could be found in great quantity on the remainder of battlefield lands, to be sure, but even GBMA efforts to select and preserve the authentic were part of a larger effort to turn the battlefield into a "fitting and expressive memorial." Interpretation paled in comparison too. Few of the guides who accompanied visitors around the battlefield were knowledgeable of the battle. Posted signs only identified

positions of regiments, not the course of action, and few monuments and other markings offered any description of battle.

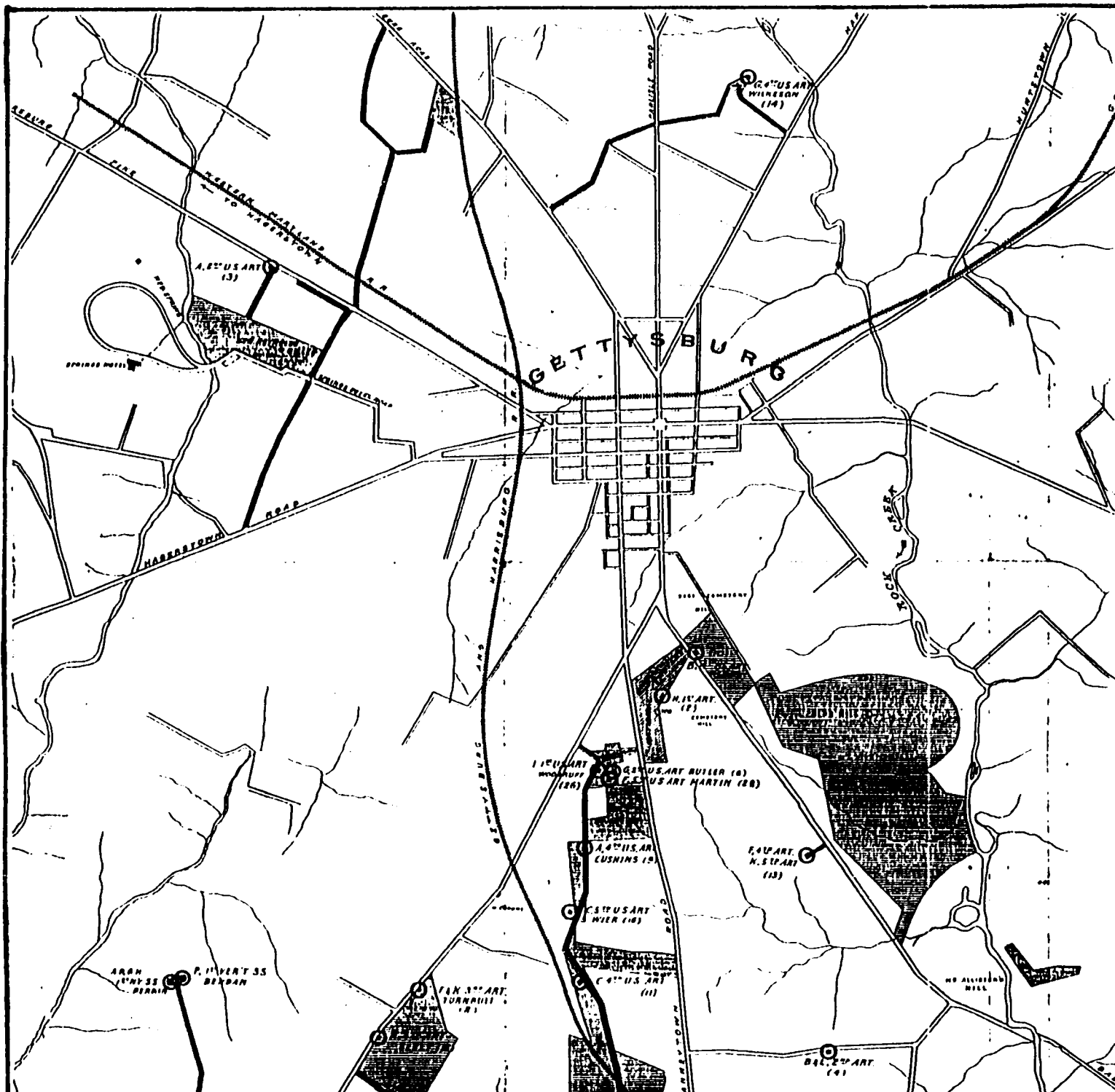
Fourth, most visitors' experiences of the Gettysburg battlefield revolved around a sightseeing tour. The "most striking and interesting" portions of the battlefield were scenic: Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, Little Round Top, and Oak Hill. These heights were the most frequented spots because of the impressive views they offered of battle damage, the town, or landscape beauty. Also, climbing to the top of the wooden observatory on East Cemetery Hill or to the cupola of the Lutheran Seminary constituted a highpoint for many a visitor at Gettysburg. In addition, the Evergreen Cemetery gatehouse and the Soldiers' National Monument attracted scores of visitors because these were highly publicized landmarks. Unfortunately, visitors to the battlefield received a very fragmented account of the battle, which reinforced the popularity of scenic spots and impressive landmarks. No thorough history of the battle existed in print, signs marking regimental positions failed to offer battle descriptions, and outside of John Bachelder and a handful of knowledgeable veterans, local guides knew only scattered stories of the battle they learned from returning veterans (Wensyel 1994). Confusion even existed in the marking of the field, notably where Vincent fell wounded on Little Round Top and which tree Reynolds stood by when he was shot on the First Day. This lack of battle information, combined with popular images and sketches that appeared in press, made the scenic sites and landmarks the most popular icons of the field to the visiting public in 1883.

Another important pattern concerned visitors' interpretation of the key battleground at Gettysburg. Most recognized Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill as

where the turning point of the battle occurred. Photographs, sketches, stories, locals, and the GBMA celebrated these hills as the heights where the “centre” of the Union army stood, where Union batteries heroically repulsed the Confederate attack on the evening of July 2nd in hand-to-hand combat, and where the greatest concentration of artillery lunettes, earthen breastworks, and bullet and shell damage remained extant. The national cemetery, the annual Pennsylvania G.A.R. encampments, and the main concentration of tourism and sightseeing were all found on these hills because of the perceived importance of the heights in the battle. Conversely, all of these factors, and their close proximity to town, further contributed to the hills’ notoriety.

Finally, preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield remained in its infancy and most evidence of battle remained in ruins (either continuing to decay or being slowly returned to the farm landscape that existed prior to the battle). The Battle of Gettysburg occurred over 25 square miles and the GBMA and the War Department controlled only about 400 acres. However, the recent transformation of the GBMA into a larger and more active organization, including new leadership, the new access provided by three avenues, and the reconstruction of breastworks and lunettes demonstrated substantial progress. Before the year was out, several events foretold of changes to come. Locally, survivors of the 72nd Pennsylvania Regiment placed a monument in the Angle near the Copse of Trees, the Harrisburg Rail Road Company worked on extending their rail line to Gettysburg, and John Rosensteel purchased a house for his collection of relics on the north side of Little Round Top in preparation for the coming Harrisburg Rail Road Extension. In literature, John Bachelder continued to labor over the battle’s

first potential history text, former Confederate Generals James Longstreet and Jubal Early debated viciously in the pages of the Southern Historical Society Papers over who lost Gettysburg, and war journalist Charles Carleton Coffin wrote in the National Tribune of when *he* first identified Gettysburg as the “High Tide” of the Confederacy (15 November 1883, 9:1-2). And in art, French painter Paul Philippoteaux completed the greatest mural of Pickett’s Charge in his Paris Studio, and in politics, the Massachusetts state government appropriated \$500 to each of its veterans’ organizations wishing to place monuments to their units at Gettysburg, setting a trend other Northern states would follow. Meanwhile, a self-serving, former Confederate General named Henry Heth, unaware of the eventual repercussions of his action, continued to avoid blame for starting the horrific battle by maintaining he and his men came to Gettysburg, on July 1st, “looking for supplies, especially shoes” (Official Records 1889, 44: 637; Heth 1877, 157). The story of Gettysburg continued to fascinate readers of newspapers and periodicals nationwide and news of these events would bring greater national attention to the battlefield, and change how the story of the battle would be told.



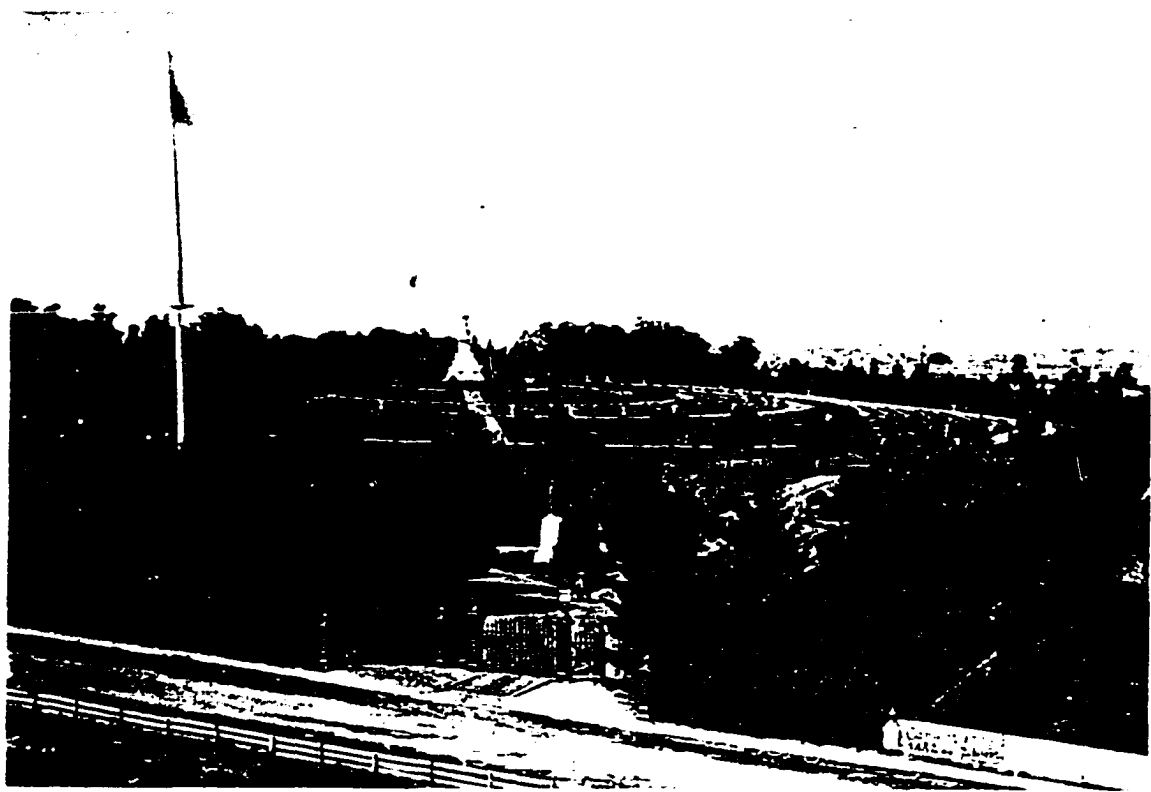


Figure 2.2: The Soldiers' National Cemetery.

The Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg was the nation's first, but intended for interment of Union soldiers only. The photo shows how this once-barren hill is being transformed into a beautifully landscaped shrine by the 1880s. Note the 130-foot flagpole, which could be seen from all points of the battlefield. The cemetery served as the centerpiece to the park and as the most visited spot on the field.

Source: U.S. Army Military History Institute

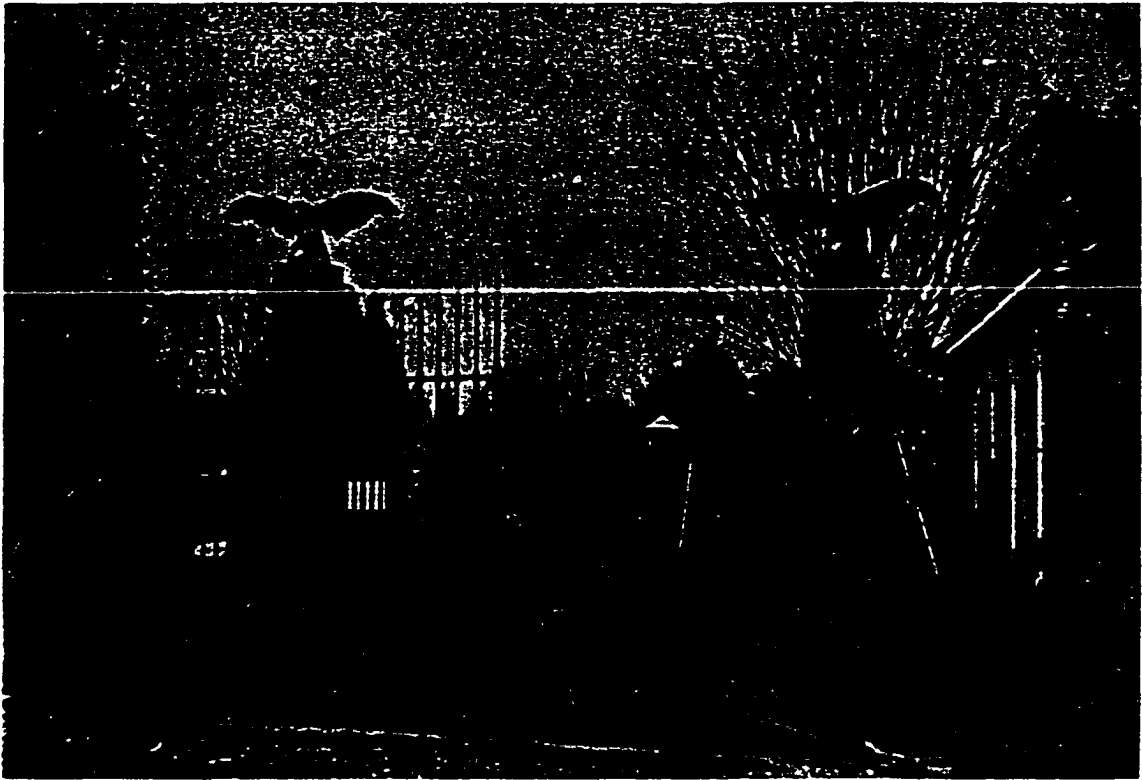


Figure 2.3: Soldiers' National Cemetery Entrance.

The ornateness of the cemetery entrance fit the decor of the landscaped grounds within.

Nine bronze plaques lined either column flanking the entrance gates to show

the 18 loyal Union states who lost soldiers at Gettysburg

and had them buried in the cemetery.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

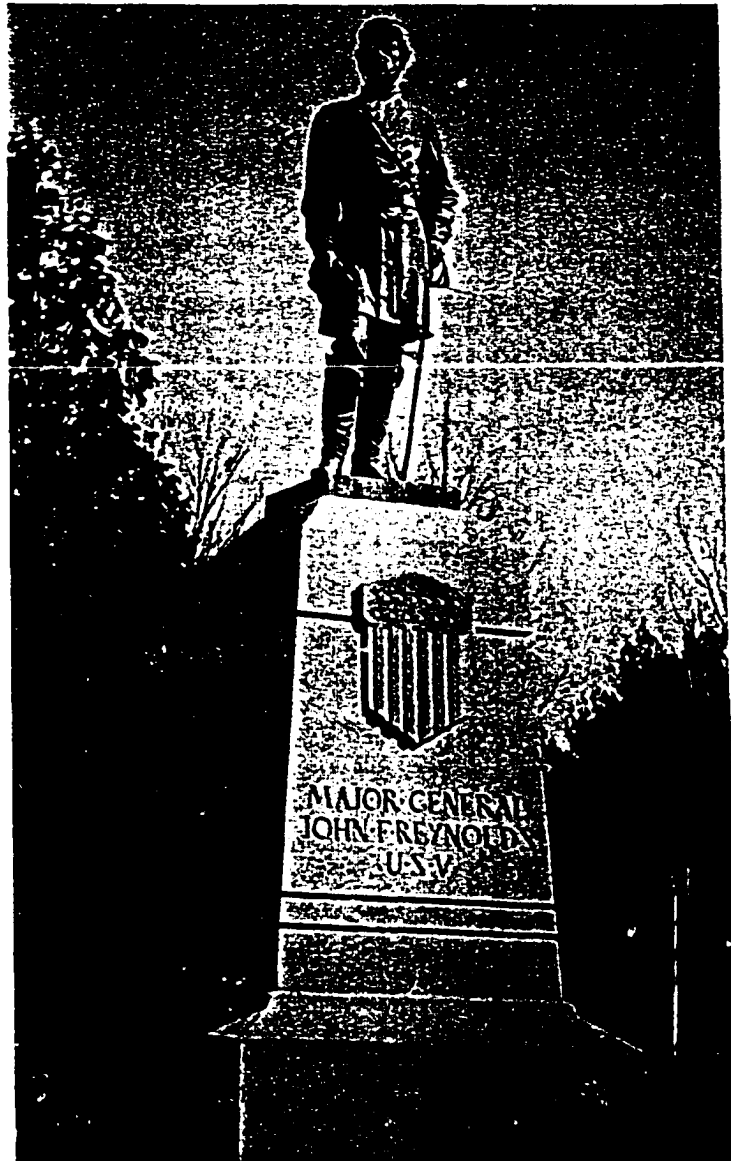
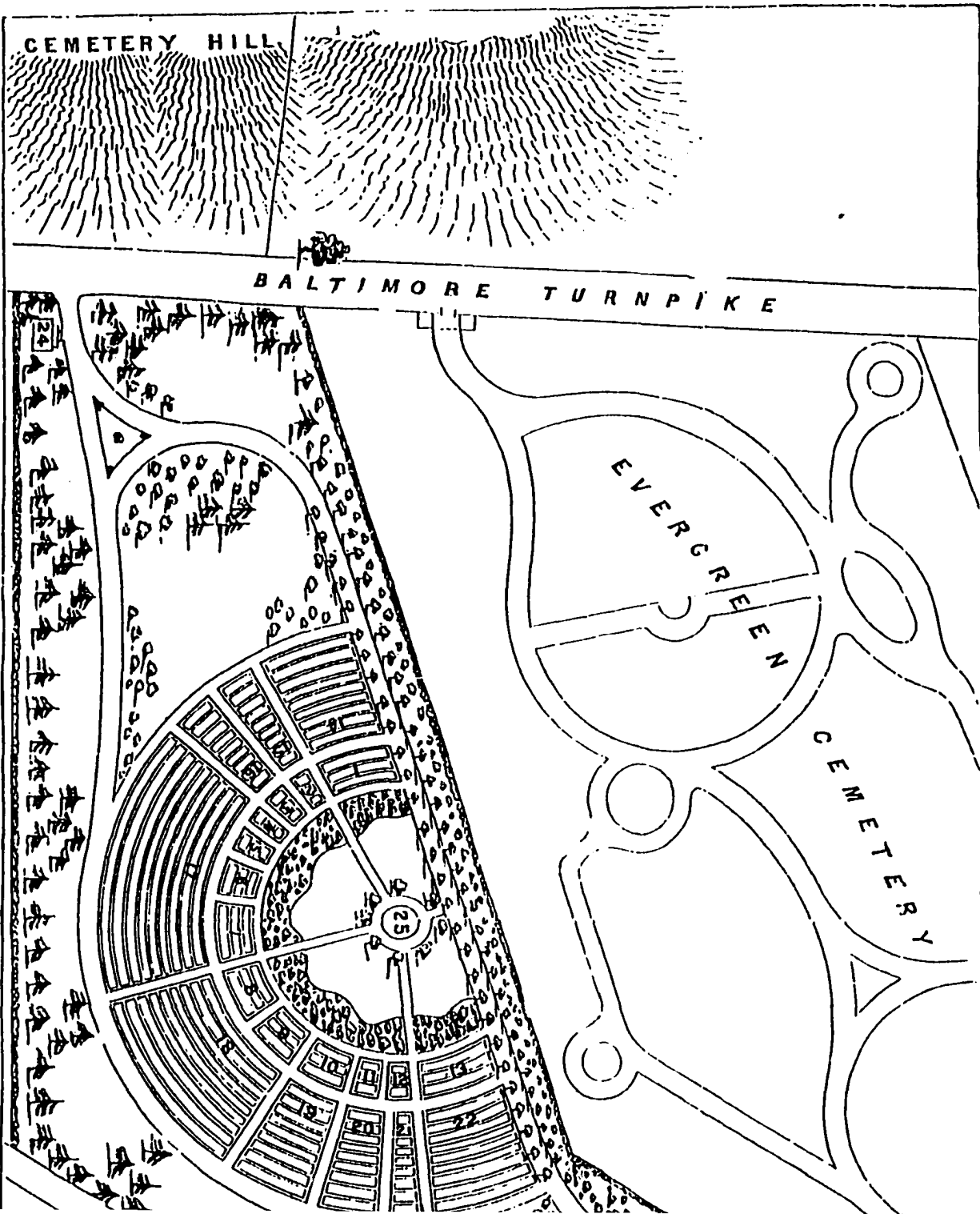


Figure 2.4: Major General John Reynolds Statue.

Members of Reynolds' staff placed this memorial in the Soldiers' National Cemetery, the first bronze statue to a hero at Gettysburg, in 1872. The general's early fame among visitors made the monument a great attraction and justified its commanding placement just inside the cemetery's entrance.

Source: Adams County Historical Society



PLAN OF THE SOLDIERS CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.

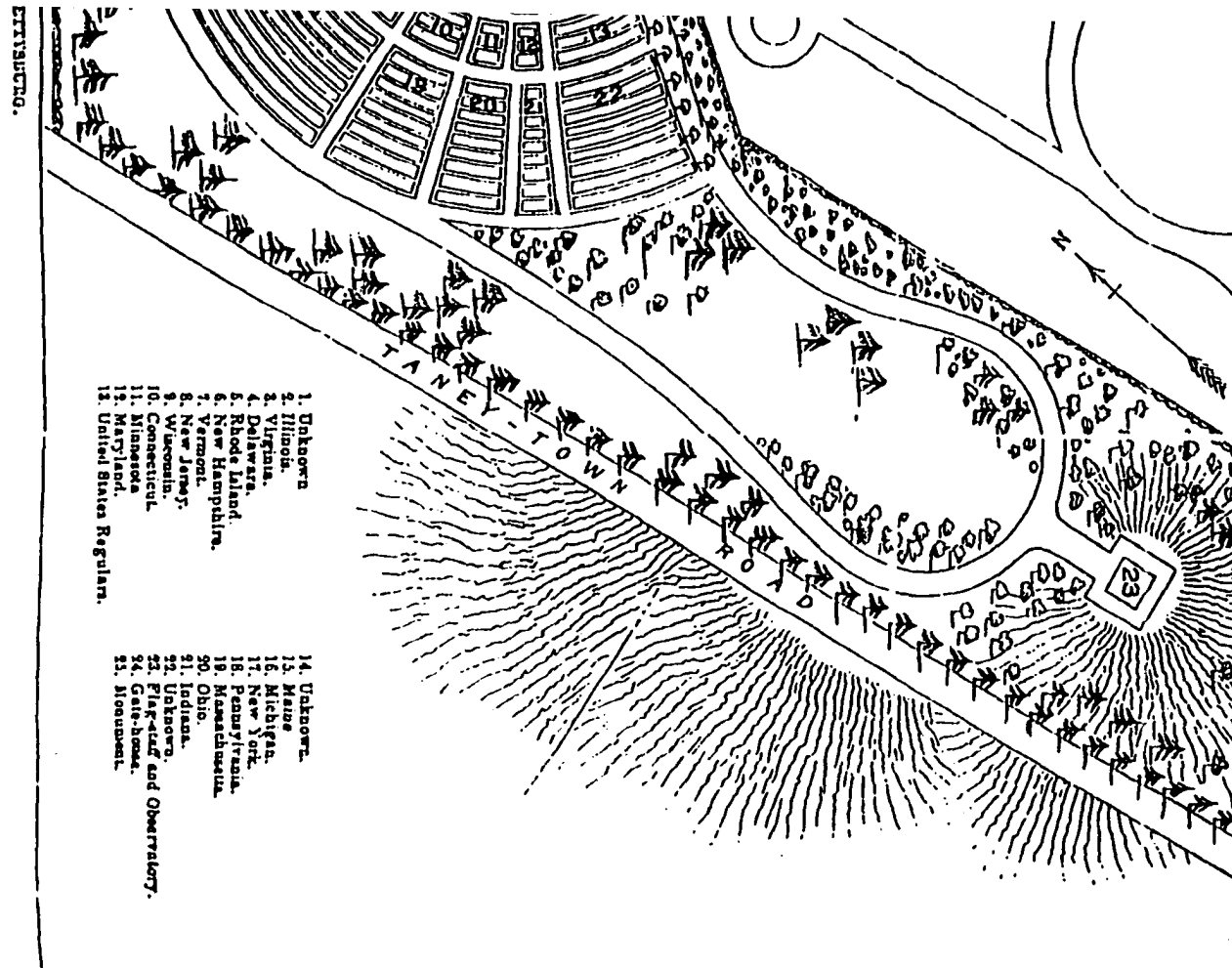


Figure 2.5: Soldiers' National Cemetery Plan.

William Saunders designed the national cemetery at Gettysburg to be isolated from town. His 1864 plan called for evergreen trees and hedge to line the entire perimeter, deciduous trees to dot the interior grounds, and Norway maples to serve as backdrop to the semicircle of graves on its south side. Saunders arranged the state grave sections in a semicircle to maintain their equality in relation to the central monument honoring their dead.

Source: Harper's Weekly July 1865.

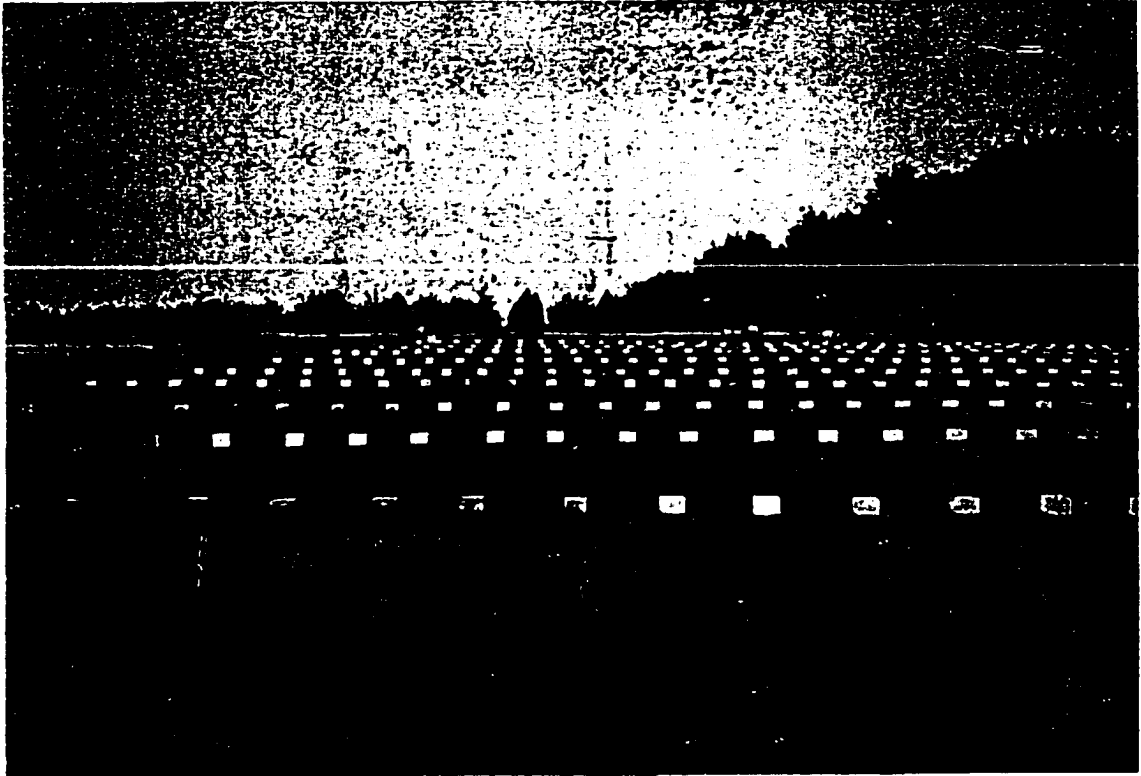


Figure 2.6: No Walking on the Sacred Graves.

The plaque in the foreground contains a stanza from Theodore O'Hara's 1847 poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead." It reads, "Rest on embalmed and sainted dead, Dear as the blood ye gave, No impious footstep here shall tread, The herbage of your grave."

The view is taken from the outer carriage path along a section of unknown dead.

Saunders designed several carriage and foot paths throughout the burial section of the cemetery to provide visitors access to the dead without desecrating the graves.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

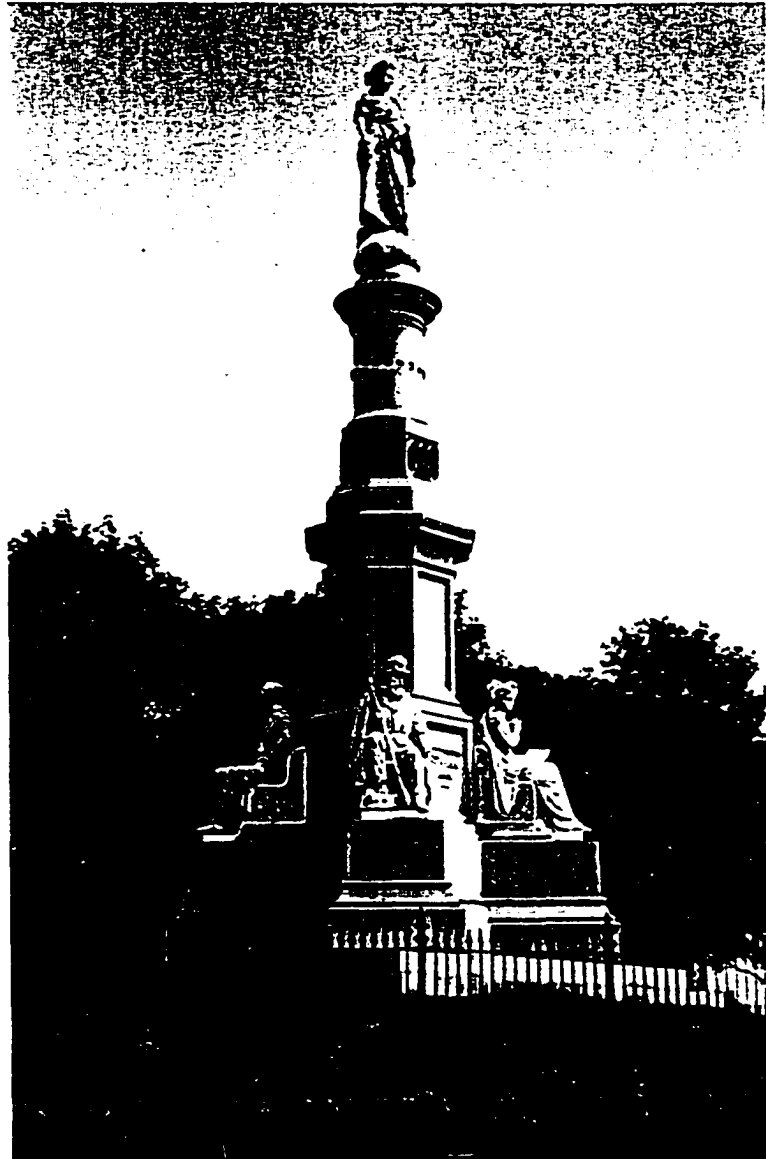


Figure 2.7: The Soldiers' National Monument.

Saunders designed the cemetery around this 60-foot monument, which was placed in 1869. Sculpted from marble in Rome, the monument includes statues to War, History, Plenty, and Peace around the base and crowned by the Goddess of Liberty. Visitors could not touch this memorial because of a high iron fence.

Source: Gettysburg College



Figure 2.8: The Elaborately Planted Grounds on the Battle-field.

*William Saunders recommended over 50 varieties of trees and plants be placed
around the cemetery grounds to make the entire site a beautiful
and fitting memorial to the dead.*

Source: U.S. Army Military History Institute

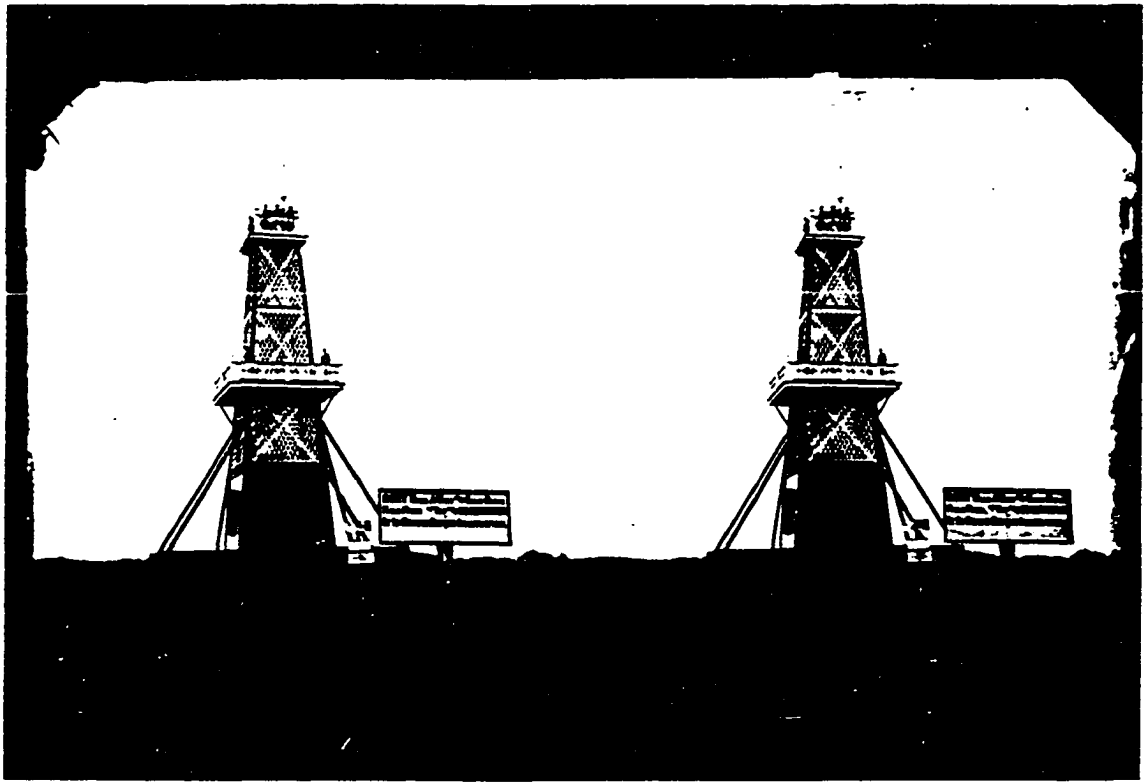


Figure 2.9: The Battlefield Observatory on East Cemetery Hill.

This stereoview shows the 60-foot wooden tower constructed by the GBMA on East Cemetery Hill in 1878. The tower made for a popular tourist attraction. The sign reads, "Don't Miss A View of the Great Battle-Field From the Top of the Observatory.

It Is Grand Beyond Imagination."

Source: The National Archives

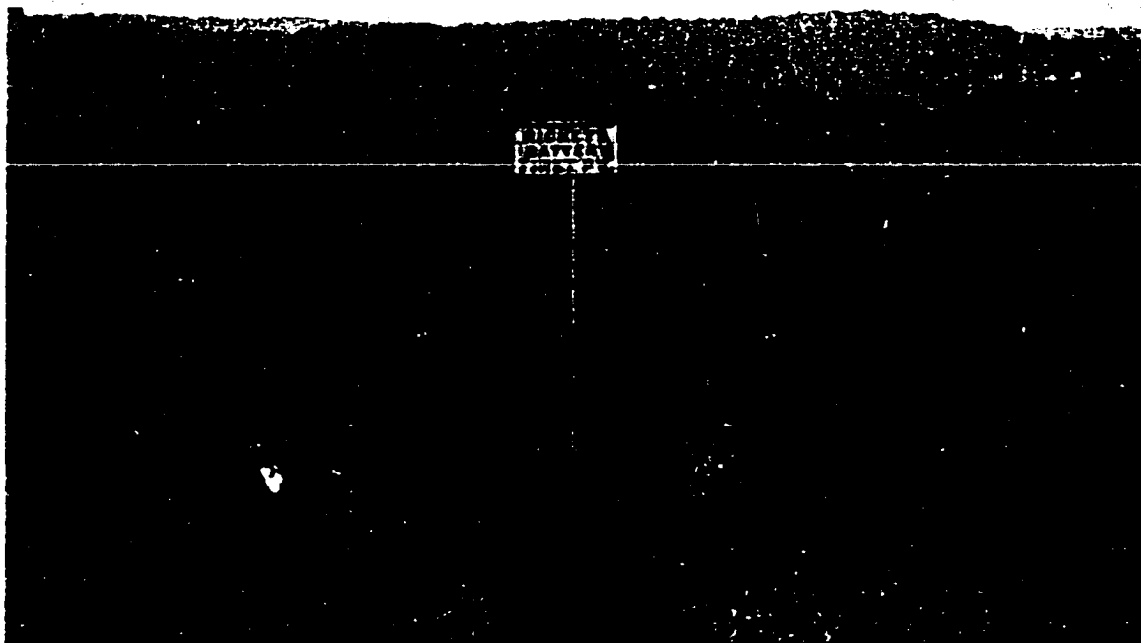


Figure 2.10: Marker to Position of “Rickets Battery” on East Cemetery Hill.

Posted signs such as this one were the first markers placed by survivors of regiments with John Bachelder's approval. The view is looking east from the crest of East Cemetery Hill, facing as Rickett's Battery did when attacked by the Confederate Louisiana brigades on the evening of July 2nd, 1863.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 2.11: Rickett's and Cooper's Batteries on East Cemetery Hill

The marble shaft in the left foreground marks the position of Cooper's Battery of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery. Survivors of Cooper's Battery placed their memorial in 1879, making it the first battery memorial marker placed outside of the national cemetery. The posted sign in the center of this photograph

marks the position of Rickett's Battery.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 2.12: Battle of Gettysburg by Edwin Forbes, 1863.

Forbes' sketch appeared in national press widely after the battle of Gettysburg. It helped to popularize the Evergreen Cemetery Gatehouse atop Cemetery Hill, pictured at left, and the Confederate attack on the evening of July 2nd, 1863. Battle sketches by Forbes, Alfred R. Waud, Charles Reed, Walton Taber, Edwin Meeker, and W. L. Sheppard were reprinted in the 1870s and 1880s. Many of the sketches by these leading artists duplicated and popularized war-time photographs by Brady, Gardner, and other photographers.

Source: The National Archives



Figure 2.13: Evergreen Cemetery Gatehouse, 1863.

This photograph by Mathew Brady taken a few days after the battle helped to popularize the building in the years afterward. The gatehouse became an early icon of the battlefield to Gettysburg visitors.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 2.14: Trees on Culp's Hill showing the effects of battle.

Local photographer William Tipton sold this stereoview and other souvenir photographs in the 1870s and 1880s showing bullet and shell damage of the battle still extant at Gettysburg.

Source: The National Archives



Figure 2.15: Spangler's Spring.

The spring had two outlets, one for humans and the other for horses. Its use by soldiers during the battle helped make it a popular picnic area for visitors in the 1880s who occasionally drank from the waters.

Source: National Park Service

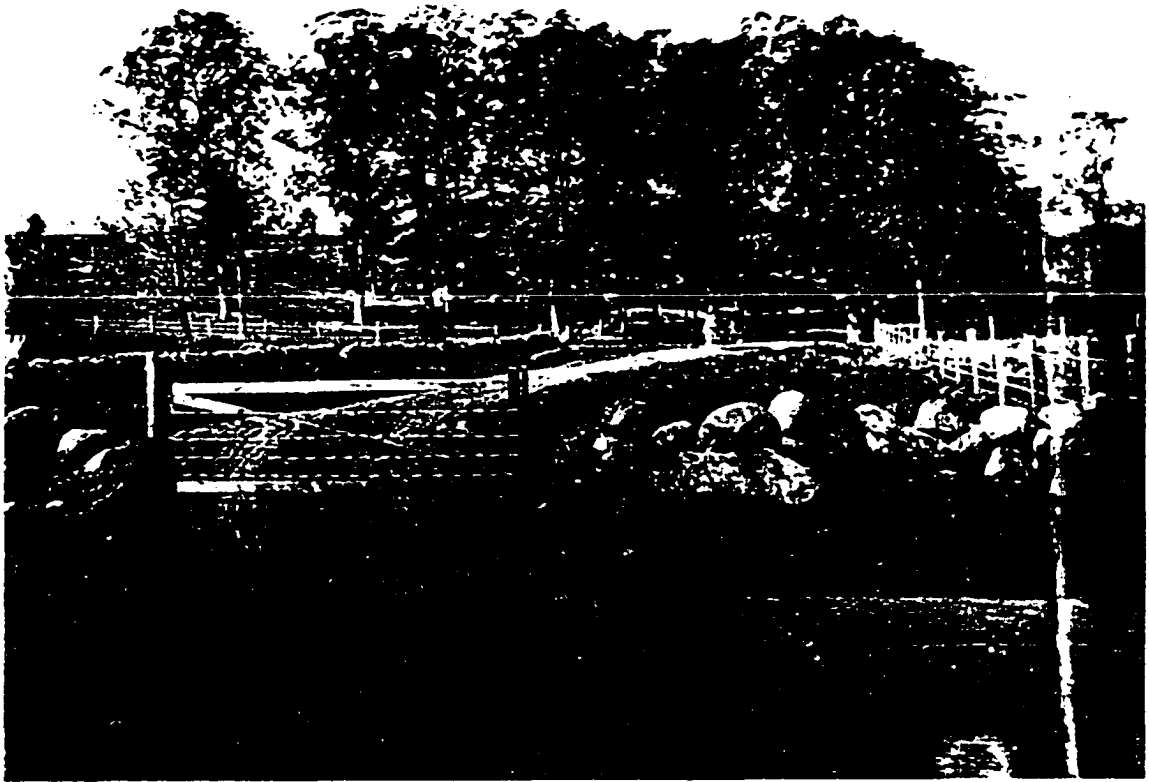


Figure 2.16: Main Avenue Entrance and Ziegler's Grove.

This view is taken from the Taneytown Road looking west onto Main Avenue shortly after its construction by Nicholas Wilson for the GBMA in 1882. Note the reconstructed stone wall marking the left boundary of the avenue and the post and wire fence marking the right boundary of the avenue. The avenue passed through Ziegler's Grove and turned left to run southward along Cemetery Ridge to the Round Tops. The avenue provided the first public access to the lands where Longstreet's Assault reached its zenith on Cemetery Ridge.

Source: National Park Service

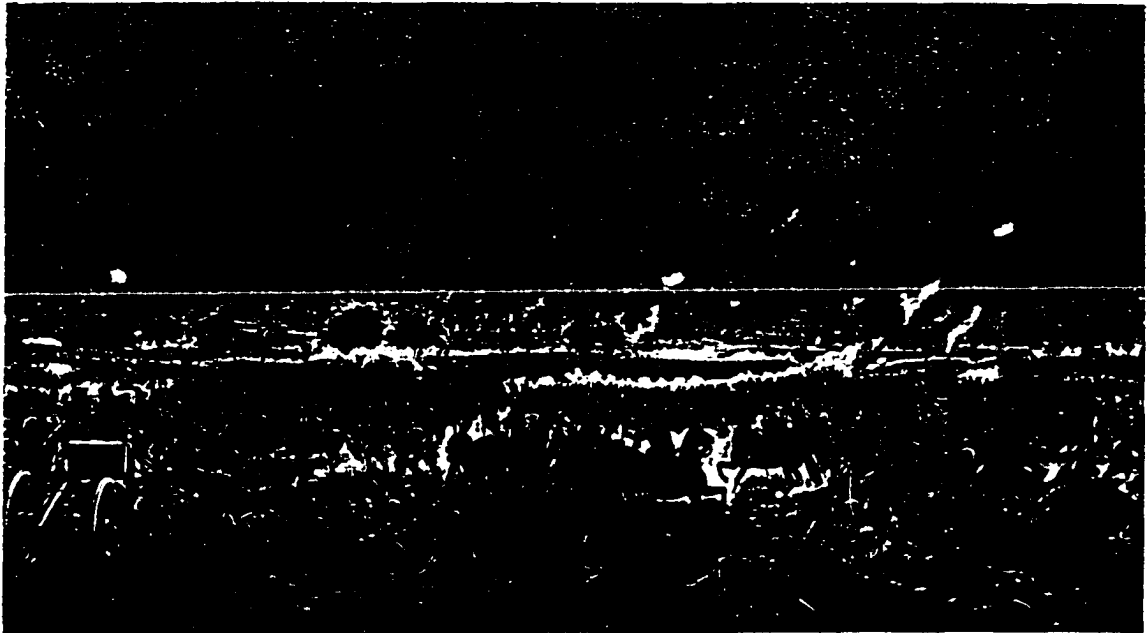


Illustration courtesy of John B. Schindler
BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
 Repulse of Longstreet's Assault
 Painted by James Walker, 1870, Boston, Mass.

Figure 2.17: “The Repulse of Longstreet’s Assault” by James Walker, 1870.

Walker’s painting was one of several artistic portrayals of Longstreet’s Assault well known to the public by 1883. And like the other portrayals, key landmarks are hidden or obscure and give little indication of the site where the momentous event climaxed. This contributed to the lack of public attention given the clump of trees and the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge for twenty years following the battle.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 2.18: The Angle before it became popular.

This August 1883 photograph by William Tipton shows several new posted signs marking Union regimental positions at the Angle along Cemetery Ridge. The view is taken from Main Avenue (renamed Hancock Avenue in 1887) looking southwest over reconstructed stone walls and new fencing toward the Codori Farm. Prior to the construction of Main Avenue in 1882, this part of the battlefield remained in ruins and received few visitors.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 2.19: 91st PA Monument and Hazlett's Battery, circa 1883.

The GBMA placed early cannon tubes on rocks until they could afford to mount them on metal substitute carriages, beginning about 1880. Little Round Top did receive metal carriages for its guns, but not until after the guns on the more visited sites of East Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill were mounted.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute

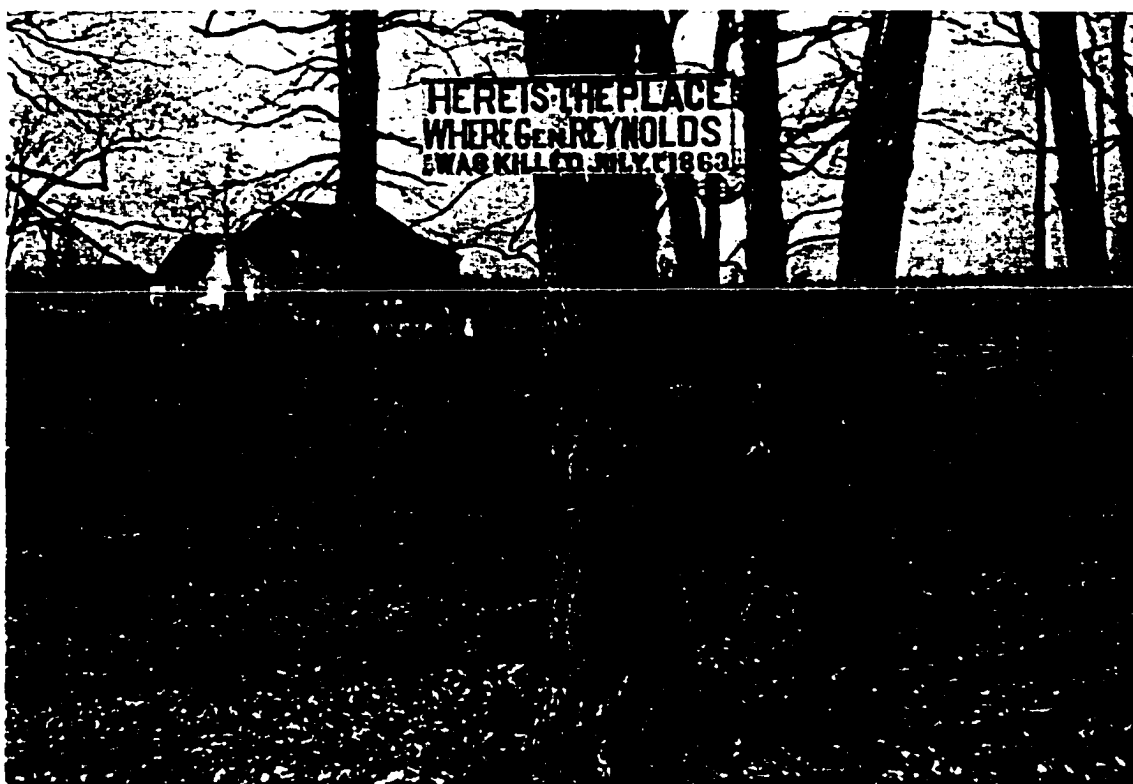


Figure 2.20: The Tree Where Major General John Reynolds Was Killed.

This 1880s photograph is taken looking east from Reynolds' Grove (formerly McPherson Woods) toward the McPherson farm in the background. The grove did not belong to the GBMA, but it made for a popular picnic area and tourist stop because of Reynolds' early fame among visitors. This tree was the third to be marked in the grove as Reynolds' death spot.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

Notes

¹ The only rail linkage to Gettysburg was the Hanover Junction & Gettysburg Railroad, a small line that handled few passengers, and visitors from Harrisburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia or other cities had to travel to York to take another small line to Hanover to use it (Denney 1997, 16-22).

² Bachelder's book was initially published in 1873 and went through several editions until his death in 1894.

³ The cemetery grounds were the first monumented at Gettysburg, beginning with the 1st Minnesota Urn in 1867, followed by the Soldiers' National Monument in 1869, and then the Reynolds statue in 1872. Not until 1878 did veterans associations begin erecting markers and monuments outside of the cemetery grounds.

⁴ Wilson had to step down as Superintendent in 1887. He served simultaneously as Superintendent of Grounds for the GBMA, which the Army did not allow.

⁵ See photos at ACHS and USAMHI showing families and prominent visiting parties photographed at the Reynolds monument in the cemetery.

⁶ Theodore O'Hara's poem written in 1847 for the dead Kentuckians buried at Frankfort State Military Cemetery who fell at Buena Vista (H. Long 1927, 125).

⁷ The graves were originally mounded until being leveled in 1879. Evidence suggests the dead were laid out with their feet toward the Soldiers' National Monument, and their gravestones placed at their feet (Warren 1926, 14; Frassanito 1995, 162; Soldiers' National Cemetery Committee 1988, 147-148).

⁸ William Saunders was Superintendent of Gardens and Grounds for the U. S. Department of Agriculture and designed the cemetery in the fall of 1863 at the request of David Wills.

⁹ A hierarchy existed among the cemetery roads. Main Drive had a width of 21 feet, the great semicircles around the graves were each 13 feet wide, and the radial paths from the Soldiers' National Monument were each 10 feet wide (Engle 1994).

¹⁰ Saunders designed the roads and walks among the grave plots "out of necessity" so veterans and relatives of the dead could easily visit the graves.

¹¹ Saunders' plan to bury the dead in state lots reflected the wishes of northern state representatives appointed to help govern the reinterment of their state's dead. He purposely arranged the state lots in a semicircle to maintain equality in their relative placement to the central monument in their honor.

¹² Loyal is a key word used in contemporary accounts referring to Union states.

¹³ Between October 17, 1863 and March 18, 1864, a total of 3,512 dead were reinterred in the Soldiers' National Cemetery.

¹⁴ According to Bachelder's guidebook, the monument marked the spot where Lincoln spoke (see Bachelder 1873).

¹⁵ Harper's Weekly, July 1865 and 1869. See also, Craven 1982, 11-18.

¹⁶ There were a few trees atop Cemetery Hill, most were cut down by the soldiers for defensive earthworks. One witness tree still stands in the cemetery -- a honey locust.

¹⁷ See paper by Kathy Georg 1982. The cemetery covers 17 acres from McConaughy and Wills.

¹⁸ Saunders chose heavily on evergreen plants because they were “the most permanently beautiful” (Engle 1994, 8).

¹⁹ The ornateness of the cemetery and its designation as a national burial site made it the most suitable place for commemorative events. At the south end of Main Drive stood a rostrum for nationally important speakers on solemn occasions and patriotic holidays. It was constructed in 1879 and covered with wisteria and ivy. Its placement away from the graves allowed for enough lawn for spectators. Decoration Day in May was the most popular holiday. Conversely, events were rarely held on the anniversary of the battle because of the summer heat. The only other structure at the cemetery’s south end was a gazebo, called the Summerhouse, which had been built in 1881. It overlooked Cemetery Ridge and the Round Tops.

²⁰ Marker is a memorial that marks the advanced or secondary position of a regiment or unit.

²¹ A brief comment on the historic appearance of the woods over Culp’s Hill is in order. First, the original woods gave a park-like appearance -- mature growth with little underbrush. Farmers used it as a woodlot and farm animals grazed in it, both of which kept the underbrush down. The battle that raged over Culp’s Hill involved thousands of men on either side fighting within close quarters for three days. The entire woods were damaged. Much of the original woods were replaced by new growth in 1883, but many trees with battle damage remained. Question remains whether the new growth had dense underbrush, or timber cutting and animal grazing in the parts of the woods still privately owned helped to maintain the open, park-like appearance.

²² Spangler’s Spring consisted of two springs, each covered by stacked rocks. No marker mentioned the spring as a source of water to both blue and gray during the battle, but the proliferation of souvenir photographs of veterans and visitors drinking from the spring suggest that early photographers and stories may have promoted the spring’s role in battle. On the other hand, Bachelders’ tour book mentions the spring only as a popular picnic spot.

²³ The avenue was laid out in 1881 under a new GBMA, reorganized by Vanderslice in 1880. With the increase in membership and funds, the GBMA could acquire the remainder of Union lands. The GBMA intended Main Avenue to lead visitors along the Union line of defense on their way to Little Round and the Wheatfield.

²⁴ Bachelder claimed the “umbrella-shaped copse of trees” were “selected by General Longstreet” as the objective of his assault (see his correspondence in Ladd 1995, 1854-1858).

²⁵ The Copse of Trees, the Angle, and the fields occasionally appeared as part of the setting for images of Longstreet’s Assault, but even in this capacity they were not displayed prominently to capture the viewer’s attention.

²⁶ Bachelder described the appeal of Little Round Top -- “from its summit the battlefield in all its vast expanse opens in magnificent grandeur before you” (1881, 86).

²⁷ In the immediate years after the battle, Little Round Top went by several local names, namely “Sugarloaf” or “Round Top Spur” for example. The hill was never referred to as “Little Round Top” until after the battle, but it became common by the late 1860s.

²⁸ In Address of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association (1882), the wheatfield is referred to as “the vortex of this great battle” (see also Unrau 1991, 50).

²⁹ Other non-historic features include a wooden tower atop Big Round Top built in 1882 by the Hanover Junction & Gettysburg Railroad without the GBMA’s approval, and the new Codori barn built in 1883 to replace the one that Pickett had stood behind on July 3rd.

³⁰ Early descriptions, in memoirs or press, of Union performance on the first day of battle never described it as Union defeat or retreat, rather the noble boys in blue "withdrew" or "retired" to "better ground."

³¹ Several Southern Ladies Memorial Associations contracted with local Gettysburg resident Dr. Rufus Weaver to have the bodies found and shipped home. He helped locate and remove 3,247 Confederate bodies (Frassanito 1995, 401).

³² Frederick Douglas quote. Of course, the pro-Union sentiment at Gettysburg stems from three factors: the battlefield is on northern soil, it is most immediately accessible to and visited by locals (Southerners have the greatest difficulty in reaching it, and many wish to forget it), and most of the battlefield is privately owned by persons whose land and property were damaged or destroyed because of a rebel invasion.

³³ See memoirs of a visitor to Gettysburg in 1879 reprinted in Potter County [PA] Historical Society Bulletin, July 1977.

Chapter Three

Creating A National Memorial Landscape, 1904

Though yet incomplete, this is already the best marked battlefield in the world

- John P. Nicholson, Annual Report of GNP Commission (1899).

... the United States Government is making this battlefield ... the Mecca of pilgrimage to all lovers of our Union

- Mumper & Miller, *Historic Views of Gettysburg* (1904).

Decoration Day ceremonies in May 1904 were especially popular because

President Teddy Roosevelt served as the principal guest speaker. The festivities were held in the national cemetery and attracted a large gathering of aging Union veterans, their families, politicians, and visitors, all from numerous states. After Roosevelt gave his speech from the rostrum, local schoolchildren with flowers in their hands formed around the central green where the Soldiers' National Monument stood. At the signal of their teacher, the children proceeded to walk down the slope, pausing at each row of burials to lay flowers on the gravestones before them. In addition to this decorative commemoration, nearly 4,000 small American flags had been placed beforehand to mark each grave.

In 1904, Union soldiers remained the only dead buried in the cemetery,

but about two hundred more graves existed than in 1883 because of individual and mass burial remains unearthed during the battlefield's recent makeover. In 20 years, the Gettysburg battlefield had been transformed into a patriotic mecca. Decoration Day served as the most popular holiday at Gettysburg and in addition to the thousands of miniature flags and the cemetery's usual huge flag atop its 107-foot pole, six other large American flags flew from scattered points around the battlefield. A similar flag atop a 100-foot pole flew over Meade's Headquarters, and the remaining flags flew from masts atop five new observation towers, each 60 or 75 feet high, that visitors could enjoy. The tower flags had been raised just for the occasion and only appeared again when a president or an important leader died or on the anniversary of Lincoln's dedication of the national cemetery.

There were other reasons for celebration at Gettysburg this year. The lands set aside to remember the battle totaled 1,381 acres (over four times more land than in 1883). The final volume of the Gettysburg National Park Commission Reports would soon appear in print showing a battlefield transformed into a new "National Military Park."¹ And local photographers William Tipton and Jacob Mumper published the first pictorial booklets showing "all the monuments, important views and historic places of the Gettysburg Battlefield," including several dozen new monuments and several new avenues on lands north and west of town -- Oak Ridge, McPherson Ridge, and Seminary Ridge (Mumper 1904, 1). These were exciting times. The first-day's battlegrounds were being made accessible to visitors and veterans. In fact, the entire battlefield had been paved, marked, and restored by the Gettysburg

National Park Commission.

Colonel John Nicholson (USA), Major William Robbins (CSA), and Major Charles Richardson (USA) comprised the GNP Commission. Each a veteran of the battle, they had been appointed by the War Department to restore the field at Gettysburg. The War Department specifically appointed former Confederate veteran Robbins to oversee the placement of new markers detailing the Army of Northern Virginia's role in the battle. The War Department took over care of the grounds in 1893 when the GBMA found it lacked the resources to maintain the battlefield lands adequately and protect the many new monuments against vandalism. Soon after, signs for both Union and Confederate troop placements were ordered. Confederate markings were just one of several radical changes to the park's landscape design in 1904 (Unrau 1991, 70-74).²

Nicholson headed the commission as chairman and provided the War Department with an annual report on recent activities carried out at the park. Since the beginning of his tenure, his reports discussed in detail the new property, avenues, monuments, markers, tablets, trees, and towers added to the park under his direction. Most of these changes had been made south of town where virtually the entire park at that time was laid out over the former grounds of the Union defensive fish-hook. It was these park grounds that attracted most visitors to Gettysburg (Figure 3.1).

The Hills and the Spring

Public roads in and around Gettysburg still became muddy in rain and had developed deep ruts from the increasing traffic of visitors to the battlefield. The rise in visitation started when the Gettysburg & Harrisburg Railroad brought 50,000 visitors over their new Gettysburg line in 1884 and this number steadily grew to several hundred thousand visitors by the turn of the century. The local guiding and carriage business had boomed so that in 1904, every passenger coming off the train was besieged by several dozen guides offering carriage tours of the field.³ Arriving visitors also had the option of taking an electric trolley from the station to all parts of the field south of town, or they could take another passenger car down the line's extension that terminated at the Round Tops. The trolley and rail service catered to new fun-parks built adjacent to battlefield lands, and young visitors, local college students, and fun-seeking travelers frequently took these excursions for a dollar a ride. But carriage tours remained the most popular form of transportation among battlefield enthusiasts and allowed visitors to reach more parts of the park.

Those who slogged or jostled their way out Baltimore Pike to visit the park expressed relief as they turned their carriages onto the new telford road named Slocum Avenue. Not muddy, the telford-style road consisted of four layers of stone, from football-size rocks on the bottom to a fine top layer crushed by a fourteen-ton steam roller, and with a little clay mixed in for binding. There were 15 miles of new telford roads throughout the park, running from Spangler's Spring to Confederate Avenue. The roads followed the Union defense lines of the second- and third-day's battle (GNMPC 1905, 21, 59).

Visitors to Gettysburg at the turn of the century often traveled to Spangler's Spring. The Spring itself had a tidy appearance (Figure 3.2). A black tablet with big, white letters reading "Spangler's Spring" stood in front of a small, cement half-dome rising up to waist-height with an iron rail and steps that led down two feet to the water hole. Of the two stone outlets that constituted the original spring, one had been removed and the other memorialized by the GNP Commission. A famous spot, local guides told visitors it was here that Confederate and Union soldier's displayed honor and camaraderie by forming brief truces when gathering water together during the first and second nights of fighting.

Leaving the spring, visitors traveled the road up Culp's Hill where stood a 60-foot iron and steel tower that offered a view of the immediate region (Figure 3.3). Cemetery Hill to the west and Gettysburg to the northwest were easily seen from the top. The all-season tower had a roof to protect visitors from sun and rain. Five such towers rose above the field. Emmor Cope, the Commission's engineer, had them erected in 1895 and 1896. The War Department ordered the towers built to permit military study by visiting army officers and West Point cadets.⁴

Riding west down Slocum avenue from Culp's Hill, visitors passed a few earthworks and cannon, but little else. There were few trees between the tower and Baltimore Pike at this time.⁵ Turning right onto unpaved Baltimore Pike, riders headed for the entrance to the Soldier's National Cemetery up ahead several hundred feet. Lining the right side of the street stood a high iron fence

and in between the iron bars passersby could catch glimpses of the Union General John Hancock atop his horse, whose one front leg raised above the high pedestal base as if horse and rider were trotting among the troops in the midst of battle (Figure 3.4). This beautiful, golden-brown, bronze equestrian statue crowning East Cemetery Hill was the first equestrian statue at Gettysburg, having been placed in 1895 to replace the wooden tower that had made the hill a popular sight-seeing spot during the 1880s. East Cemetery Hill now appeared as sacred ground, commemorated by a statue and cordoned off by an iron fence. Visitors could pass through a narrow-gated entrance and follow a path past the statue, but not to it. Post-and-wire fencing surrounded the statue's immediate ground.

Hancock's statue was the grandest monument on East Cemetery Hill, but others attracted attention too. Several yards to the right of Hancock stood an impressively high monument to the 4th Ohio Infantry regiment, having been placed by the regiment's surviving veterans in 1887 (Figure 3.5). Standing over 30 feet high with a life-size statue modeled in the regiment's uniform at the top of its shaft, the 4th Ohio monument appeared like a column of solid marble and granite towering over the field. Only the monument was hollow, made of an experimental white bronze by the Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The GBMA had allowed its placement but was ultimately suspicious of its durability and ruled shortly thereafter that no further monuments would be made of anything but real bronze, granite, or marble. While the battlefield remained a sacred, hands-off museum, only a few uninhibited visitors, mostly children, ever touched the monument and learned of

its hollow nature (GBMA 1982, 147-167).

On the opposite side of the street lay the Soldier's National Cemetery. In the street at the entrance were trolley tracks. The trolleys in Gettysburg always stopped at the cemetery because of its popularity among passengers (Figure 3.6). From the outside, the cemetery grounds were impossible to see because the pines lining the cemetery's perimeter had matured to isolate the grounds from the rest of the battlefield (as William Saunders intended). Upon entering the national cemetery, visitors found a few, but significant, changes both visually and interpretively.

The Soldiers' National Cemetery

The cemetery remained in the care of a Superintendent separate from the War Department's GNP Commission. In 1904, Calvin Hamilton filled the position. Like the park commission members, he too fought in the battle of Gettysburg. The cemetery he oversaw remained the centerpiece of the park. As before, no other site on the entire battlegrounds appeared more elaborately configured and received as much visitation.

Several changes had occurred to the plantings over the past 20 years. First, behind the Soldier's National Monument, the Norway maple trees along Upper Drive had matured. Their limbs and foliage covering the entire drive provided a popular place to get out of the sun in summer and a beautiful experience for all visitors who wished to stop and sit on the many benches that lined the road (Figure 3.7). In fall, when the maples peaked in color, the trees

further amplified the cemetery's appearance as a great amphitheater, with its terraced rows of graves like seats on the hillslope leading up to the Soldiers' National Monument standing at center stage in the midst of the maples' peak brilliance.

Another change lay in the evergreen trees and arborvitae hedge along the cemetery's perimeter. Despite the maturity of their growth, visitors to the central green could still get in an impressive view of town, just as visitors had in 1883, only this time, a sizable portion of the plantings had since been removed. No trees and hedge existed from the center of the cemetery's west stone wall bordering the Taneytown road to the center of the cemetery's north stone wall facing Gettysburg. This allowed visitors looking north over New York's grave rows, above the center of the north stone wall, to see down Baltimore street all the way to the clock tower that topped the Adams County Courthouse. This large opening in the pines and hedge was not in keeping with William Saunders' plan. Prior to 1890, Saunders' plantings had enclosed the entire cemetery to isolate it from the town.⁶ But by 1892 Superintendent Hamilton had removed much of the north and west perimeter plantings at the recommendation of the Army's D. H. Rhodes who felt it more important for the cemetery to have a view of the battlegrounds on which the dead had fought.⁷ Also, Saunders had originally kept most of the interior grounds devoid of trees, but Rhodes ordered scattered plantings of evergreen and deciduous trees throughout the cemetery to increase its park-like appearance and beautify the burial section (Engle 1994, 97-99).

As one continued scanning the cemetery grounds to the right, the back of

Reynolds' statue appeared as if centered within the Baltimore Street entrance gates. To the far right, just beyond Maine's graves, stood the New York State Monument (Figure 3.8). Placed in 1893, its height and sculpture made it as prominent as the Soldiers' National Monument. Almost 60 feet high and made of granite, its striking form consisted of a tomb-like base and a tall Corinthian column on top of which stood a weeping female goddess holding a wreath of flowers in her right hand to be placed on New York State's dead (Hawthorne 1988, 134). Adding to its prominence in the cemetery were four paths that led from various points on Main Drive up to a 12-foot wide gravel walk surrounding its base. Superintendent Hamilton added the paths so visitors could approach the monument easily (Engle 1994, 191). The New York State Monument intentionally stood out because New York led all states in dead buried at Gettysburg. The New York grave plot was the largest in the cemetery, and the monument overlooked its rows of headstones. From the Soldiers' National Monument, the New York State Monument appeared especially grand because the 107-foot flagstaff and perimeter pines served as its backdrop.

Leaving the Soldiers' National Monument, visitors could take Upper Drive west toward the cemetery's new back entrance that fronted the Taneytown Road. Added in 1891, it gave the cemetery a second entrance after nearly 30 years. Its addition was most significant because it represented a turning point in how visitors could explore the battlefield grounds. Prior to 1890, relatively few visitors saw the battlefield west of the cemetery. Culp's Hill and the cemetery were the main points of interest, and tourists used Baltimore Street as the main thoroughfare to and from town to reach these sites. But with the battle's 25th

anniversary held in 1888, more veterans' groups placed monuments in the fields west of the cemetery and these grounds then received greater attention in the press. This made the Taneytown road a major route for visitors to access these battlefield grounds and necessitated a new entrance to the cemetery to accommodate those following the new thoroughfare. Although the cemetery remained the park's centerpiece in 1904, developing focal points on the battlefield west of the cemetery were beginning to rival the cemetery's popularity and its grandeur.

Monument Avenue

For 20 years after the battle, the cemetery and adjacent Culp's Hill area received great attention while the third day's battle area – the scene of Pickett's Charge, the Angle and the Copse of Trees – remained obscure to most visitors.⁸ Beginning in the mid-1880s this began to change, and by 1904 an estimated "36,000 tourists passed over Hancock Avenue in a single month" (GNMPC 1905, 52).

The GBMA renamed Main Avenue "Hancock Avenue" in honor of the Union Major General whose Second Corps defended Cemetery Ridge (Figure 3.9). The entrance to Hancock had new ornamented iron gateposts. As visitors entered this drive, they could see the stone wall on the left had recently been reconstructed by the GNP Commission. Many of the stone walls on the battlefield, whether or not they had been reconstructed by Nicholas Wilson in the 1880s, were repaired and reconstructed again by engineer Emmor Cope for the

GNP Commission in the 1890s. Only, Emmor Cope's reconstruction appeared more elaborate and formal. Cope constructed the stone wall very tightly -- five or six rows of stones, one on top of the other, every rock fitted carefully to make for a straight upright wall, and topped by a line of jagged capstones. This made for a formal wall unlike the original piling of rocks it had been in the battle.

As visitors passed through Ziegler's Grove, Hancock avenue curved southward and on the left at the end of the curve stood Ziegler's Grove Tower amidst freshly planted trees where the grove had originally reached (Figure 3.10). The GNP Commission planted the trees to return Ziegler's Grove to its original size at the time of battle. Prior to acquisition by the GBMA in 1881, locals had cut some of the oaks from the grove for farm needs and tourists had repeatedly damaged many of the trees by cutting off branches to make souvenir canes.⁹ This prompted the GNP Commission to plant fresh trees in Ziegler's Grove and at other various sites in the park as well to restore all forests and groves that endured clearing and cane-cutting after the battle (GNMPC 1905, 30).

The tower was built in 1896, the last of five observation towers constructed at the park by the Variety Iron Works of Cleveland, Ohio, under the supervision of Emmor Cope. It stood 75 feet high and provided visitors with a superb view of the mile-wide fields between the tower and Seminary Ridge that Pickett's Division charged across on the third-day's battle. From the top, looking west across those fields, observers could see a railroad line traversing the middle of the fields in front of them from right to left. These tracks were part of the

Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road extension completed in 1884 (Patterson 1989, 135). Scanning from right to left, observers from the tower's deck could see that the tracks cut across the entire length of view. To the right and north the tracks led southward out from town through the middle of the fields in front of Seminary Ridge. At right center of view, halfway between the Emmitsburg Road and Seminary Ridge, observers could see the tracks bending slightly inward toward Cemetery Ridge and coming closer into view. At due center, the tracks were clearly visible 500 yards away, passing just beyond the Emmitsburg Road. At left center the tracks cut across the Emmitsburg Road and followed the length of Cemetery Ridge south toward Little Round Top. Looking due left and south, observers saw the tracks traverse the southern end of Hancock Avenue, turn due south, and disappear from view in the forests behind Little Round Top. There the tracks terminated at the eastern base of Little Round Top where Round Top Park was situated. Round Top Park consisted of a dance pavilion, kitchen, picnic tables and wells. Visitors frequently rode the rail spur to view the field and enjoy a picnic at Round Top Park before heading back to town (Adelman & Smith 1997, 78-79).

Looking south from the top of the tower, the most remarkable view was not the tracks nor the Round Tops nor the observation tower topping Big Round Top: indeed the half-mile stretch of Hancock Avenue, running south from the base of the tower, impressed visitors with approximately 60 monuments! This was monument avenue (Figure 3.11). No other half-mile of park road was so venerated.

In 1904, there were about 360 monuments throughout the park and,

aside from Hancock Avenue, the remaining 300 were comparatively well spread along the park's 13 or so miles of remaining avenues and paths (GNMPC 1905, 30). The only other concentrated cluster of monuments were found on Culp's Hill. Local photographers sold souvenir postcards of both locations because of their monumental appearance. The significance of the cluster of monuments along Hancock Avenue is that it represented a shift in the battle's perceived turning point. Now, the entire hook of the Union defensive line, from the Angle to Culp's Hill, constituted the main grounds where the fiercest fighting had occurred.

The monuments along Hancock were placed after the mid-1880s by state memorial commissions from northern states, namely Delaware, New York, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. The commissions consisted of three to seven men, usually veterans, organized by their state government to oversee the design, construction, and placement of an appropriate monument (or monuments) to honor their state's regiment (or regiments) that fought at Gettysburg. Each commission received money from its state government, selected an architect or sculptor, and came to Gettysburg to choose the monument's site (and bought land if necessary for its placing). The monuments were placed as close as possible to where the regiment had fought; however, their final placement was determined in conjunction with the local GBMA that oversaw the decoration of the field at that time prior to the GNP Commission. Usually, John Bachelder aided the state memorial commissions in locating the exact place of fighting where the monument should stand, but there were instances of disagreement, notably at the Angle (Panhorst 1988, 63-80).

Coming down from the tower, visitors could follow Hancock Avenue south

through the parade of monuments that lined either side. The first significant monument visitors encountered was the Meade equestrian statue standing on the left just past the intersection with Meade Avenue (Figure 3.12). The statue had been placed in 1896, a year after Hancock's equestrian statue on Cemetery Hill. Two cannon marking the 11th New York Independent Battery stood in front of Meade's statue, flanking a small monument. The guns and their iron carriages were new to the field, having been placed by the GNP Commission at about the same time as Meade's statue. These were not the only cannon on the field in 1904, however. The GNP Commission had recently erected over 300 guns on iron carriages to mark battery positions around the park and to replace the few old guns and their rotting wooden carriages previously erected by the GBMA. The original guns and wooden carriages were not the correct type used in the battle, and in some cases, even the war (GNMPC 1905, 96).

The Meade equestrian statue stood golden-brown, its bronze quite shiny, but its striking quality was that it appeared to follow a common pattern with the equestrian statues to Reynolds and Hancock. Henry Kirke Bush-Brown sculpted Meade atop a horse with all four legs firmly planted on a pedestal. Later perceptive visitors or guides suspected that the placement of the horse's legs represented the rider's fate in battle. This suspicion grew into a tradition passed on to visitors by battlefield guides: that all four legs on the pedestal supposedly meant the rider survived unscathed, three legs meant that the rider had been wounded in battle, and two legs on the pedestal meant the rider had been killed. This pattern fit the Meade, Reynolds, and Hancock statues, but the "tradition" was unintended. When later asked if the legs signified the general's fate during

the course of battle, Bush-Brown claimed that such symbolism was purely coincidental (Craven 1982, 52).

The Meade equestrian statue had two other notable qualities. First, it stood on a small grassy mound surrounded by a fence which disallowed visitors from walking up and standing next to or touching the monument. The mound purposely heightened the statue's prominence on the field and the fence made it sacred. Second, the Meade statue was one of the few monuments to a commanding officer along Hancock Avenue. Most of the avenue's monuments paid tribute to regiments and several featured sculptures of common soldiers in active battle action, commemorating their heroics and triumph in the battle of Gettysburg. A good example of this stood at the Angle.

The Angle lay just beyond Meade's statue on the opposite side (Figure 3.13). Visitors could turn right onto a half-circle called Webb Avenue that went out to the recently reconstructed stone wall where Pickett's Division had spearheaded its attack on the third day's battle. Coming around the loop visitors passed by a monument to the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry that stood close to the stone wall. Designed by J. Reed, a private in the regiment, the monument features a common soldier in the regiment's Zouave uniform charging toward the wall, commemorating the regiment's repulse of Pickett's men who made it over the stone wall on the afternoon of the third day's battle. Veterans of the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry dedicated their monument in 1891 following a three-year court battle between the GBMA (Nicholson 1914, 416-417). In 1888, soon after the 25th anniversary of the battle, the GBMA had ruled that further monuments, including the 72nd Pennsylvania, were not to be placed at the

Angle. The Angle was a popular spot for guides, visitors, and returning veterans after 1888 and the GBMA wanted to avoid a clutter of monuments there. Although veterans of the 72nd managed to place their monument, the Angle remained free of further monumentation in 1904. The GNP Commissioners, like the GBMA, prevented further monumentation at the Angle because they felt clutter would detract from the appearance of the Angle and the nearby Copse of Trees and that it would distract attention from the High Water Mark memorial (Figure 3.14).

The Copse of Trees and High Water Mark memorial were the intended centerpieces of Hancock Avenue. Standing immediately south of the Angle, the Copse of Trees consisted of 20 or 30 oak and hickory trees surrounded by an iron fence to prevent tourists from cutting branches for souvenir canes.¹⁰ The Commission and battlefield guides celebrated this spot as the High Water Mark of the Confederacy. Here several Confederates had temporarily breached the Union defense lines on the third-day's battle before being captured. Lee's army never again penetrated the Union defense lines at Gettysburg and his deepest invasion of the North halted here.

John Bachelder and other Union veterans of the GBMA wanted Gettysburg to symbolize the "High Tide of the Confederacy," and with the help of a member of Pickett's staff, Bachelder identified the Copse of Trees as the "High Water Mark" where the tide crested and Union forces turned it back. The purpose had a dual role: first, to recognize the strength of the Confederacy and help bring Southerners north in an effort to reconcile a still divided nation, and second, to further national perceptions of Gettysburg as the most important

battle of the war. Inadvertently, this helped reconcile Northern sentiments as well. By recognizing the Confederates' strength, the Union veterans appeared all the more powerful for defeating such a formidable foe. The effort began shortly before the 25th anniversary of the battle in 1888 when the GBMA requested Bachelder to design a memorial commemorating the High Water Mark. His monument was completed in 1892 and placed on the east edge of the Copse of Trees fronting Hancock Avenue (Vanderslice 1899, 388). It consisted of a pyramidal base on top of which stood a large, bronze open book propped up by two pyramids of cannonballs and flanked by cannon and cannonball pyramids on either side. The design commemorated both the Confederate forces who participated in Pickett's Charge and the Union forces who repulsed it on 3 July 1863. Visitors to the monument could read the names of the participating Confederate and Union units inscribed on the bronze pages of the open book. In addition, Northern states paid for the monument. This signified major changes from the pro-Union spirit that dominated the design of the field. The monument simultaneously recognized both sides and promoted Gettysburg as both the pinnacle Union victory and the Confederacy's zenith. It also represented a stronger affirmation of peace: that reconciliation efforts between the two sides had progressed beyond a cessation of war to the point of mutual recognition. The monument was the first of its kind (Foote 1997, 129-131).

In actuality, however, the reconciliation effort behind Bachelder's monument remained predominantly one-sided. Although some Confederate veterans returning to the field in 1888 (for the 25th anniversary) and in the years

thereafter supported the idea and Northern states contributed funds for the monument because Southern states were poor and strapped for funds, Southerners and their state governments by and large did not want anything to do with Gettysburg. Even in 1904, most Southerners did not recognize Gettysburg as the High Tide of the Confederacy and likewise ignored the field. Most Southern veterans at the turn of the century viewed Gettysburg as an embarrassing defeat and the place where the Confederacy bled to death, so it was difficult for many of them to see the field more positively as the Confederacy's High Tide. Not until Lee's popularity peak in the years ahead would Southern sentiments begin to turn. Similarly, many Union veterans did not feel Confederate forces deserved any recognition at Gettysburg. The monument was thus a precedent-setter for both sides.¹¹

Visitors continuing south down Hancock Avenue could see on either side pipe-rail fencing standing four-and-a-half feet high. The GNP Commission had begun placing pipe-rail fencing four years earlier to line the property edges of the park. The fencing along Hancock Avenue was only two years old, and both sides stood 100 feet apart with the avenue and monuments in between. Park property along Cemetery Ridge consisted of a 100-foot wide strip in 1904 (GNMPC 1905, 37). The GNP owned the avenue and about 40 feet of grass on either side. With few exceptions, this corridor was sufficient to accurately place most monuments and markers identifying Union regimental positions in the line of battle on the second and third days. Outside of this fenced corridor lay private property, mostly farms owned by families since the battle. Visitors could not venture outside into their fields unless they or their guide obtained permission

from the owners. Few did venture, but occasionally zealous guides worked out a fee arrangement with farm owners in exchange for gaining permission to take visitors over certain privately-owned parts of the battlefield.¹²

As visitors continued southward down Hancock and passed the intersection with Pleasonton Avenue, they neared the end of the remarkably continuous line of monuments. One of the final monuments standing on the right was a dramatic tribute to the 1st Minnesota infantry (Figure 3.15). Built in 1893, visitors saw a bronze statue of a soldier in the regiment's uniform elevated by a 20-foot granite-block pedestal, commemorating the regiment's valor on 2 July 1863. Jacob Fjelde sculpted the bronze soldier running with bayoneted rifle in hand to symbolize the heroics of the regiment's soldiers. On the evening of the second-day's battle, the 1st Minnesota ran forward to a position shortly in front of the monument and repulsed a Confederate advance that nearly took Cemetery Ridge. In the course of the repulse, the regiment sustained 82 percent casualties (or 215 of the regiment's 262 men), a level unequalled before or since. The veterans of the 1st Minnesota had earlier placed the very first monument at Gettysburg, the memorial urn, to honor their soldiers lost in this engagement and buried in the Soldiers National Cemetery (Hawthorne 1988, 81).

The 1st Minnesota memorial appropriately ended the line of monuments along Hancock Avenue. Like many of the other monuments, it commemorated the heroics and triumph of Union forces on the second and third day of battle and honored the entire regiment's veterans, not just the dead or its commander. Continuing southward to the end of Hancock Avenue, visitors crossed over the tracks of the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Rail Road before coming to the

intersection with United States Avenue. The GNP Commission had constructed United States Avenue in 1895 to lead visitors out to the Union lines formed by General Daniel Sickles on the second day of battle. Visitors looking west down the telford road could see new pipe-rail fencing lining its sides. The GNP owned only the avenue in 1904 and some property at its western terminus. Straight ahead lay Sedgwick Avenue and it too had pipe-rail fencing along its border (Figure 3.16). Sedgwick led visitors to the park's most recently accessible and controversial sites: the Round Tops and Devil's Den.

The Road to the Round Tops

Visitors to the southern portion of the park in 1904 were among the first to enjoy comparatively easy access to Little and Big Round Top. In 1897, the GNP Commission constructed a telford road from Hancock Avenue south over Little Round Top to Big Round Top (GNMPC 1905, 21). They named the northern half that led to the base of Little Round Top "Sedgwick Avenue" and the southern stretch over Little Round Top "Sykes Avenue," after the commanders of the Union Corps that lined these respective stretches of battlefield. Prior to this, few visiting families and groups ventured up the Round Tops' slopes in carriages. While the previous avenues over Culp's Hill and Cemetery Ridge had been telfordized recently too, they overlay well-worn carriage paths constructed by Nicholas Wilson for the GBMA. The Round Tops' slopes were rugged, and the original paths were cruder and difficult, so earlier visitors had to ride horse or hike their way to the top of the Tops. Of course, the Round Tops were not ignored prior to Sedgwick and Sykes avenues. A wooden

observation tower crowned Big Round Top during the 1880s, like the one on Cemetery Hill that same decade.¹³ It received visitors, but not nearly in the same quantity as the iron and steel tower by Commissioner Cope that now stood prominently protruding from Big Round Top's forested canopy.

In the fall of 1904, Sedgwick Avenue led visitors south to the Round Tops past a Union defensive-stone wall on the right reconstructed by Emmor Cope for the GNP Commission.¹⁴ Wherever stone wall did not exist, pipe-rail fencing lined the park's property-corridor in the grass on either side. Visitors passed by occasional ornamentation in the form of individual cannonball shells mounted on six-inch cubic stone pedestals that lined the edge of the avenue. These same mounted-cannonball ornaments appeared along Baltimore Street in front of the iron fencing lining East Cemetery Hill, and along Slocum and Hancock avenues, and were easily overlooked amidst the monuments. But along Sedgwick there were few monuments, and these were virtually the only ornaments visitors saw. The cannonballs were simply decorative.

Sedgwick ended at the intersection with Wheat-Field Road, and there the pipe-rail fencing stopped as well. Visitors continuing onto Sykes Avenue crossed over trolley tracks that terminated at the immediate left of the intersection. The Gettysburg Electric Railway placed the tracks in 1893.¹⁵ Looking left a few yards farther, the end of the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Railroad line crossed the Wheat-Field Road and terminated just beyond view. Both the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Railroad and the Gettysburg Electric Railway stopped here to drop off passengers wishing to visit Little Round Top or eat at Round Top Park that

was situated around to the left amidst the woods on the back side of Little Round Top.

Sykes Avenue meandered up to the right, through forested slope, to the top of Little Round Top's western face. The avenue was not lined with fencing because the park owned a large parcel of land south of Wheat-Field Road that included the Rose Woods, the Wheat-Field, Devil's Den, and the Round Tops. Beautiful, formal stone retaining walls lined the outside of the avenue on its right to allow the road to venture gently up the right side of Little Round Top's northern slope. The GNP Commission hired laborers to construct the retaining walls out of granite that matched the fieldstone of the stone walls being reconstructed around the park. In the same fashion as preventing clutter at the Angle, the granite retaining walls demonstrated the extent of the commissioners' meticulous attention to detail throughout the park. No small task, it deserves recognition, and it contributed to the formal appearance of the new battlefield park.

Supervising Sykes's construction and many other projects around the park kept the GNP commissioners and their engineer, Emmor Cope, extremely busy. The War Department funded them annually to pay for and design the reconstruction and improvement of the battlefield for veterans and visitors.¹⁶ They purchased property, condemned private lands through court action if necessary, and oversaw the placement of monuments and markers and ornaments, the construction of towers and avenues and fencing, and the restoration of stone walls and key farmsteads, forests and fields. Drawing up design plans and directing the many improvements around the battlefield occupied the commissioner's full-time and they frequently contracted out to local

laborers to rebuild or construct the battlefield and its structures according to their specifications. One of the two Northern commissioners, either Nicholson or Richardson, designed Sykes avenue, for example, and Emmor Cope assigned contracts and saw to it the construction and restoration work was properly carried out. This is how the commissioners operated. Nicholson, Richardson, or Robbins designed and planned the field's reconstruction and improvements, and their plans were implemented by Emmor Cope who directed most of the actual construction and restoration work. The improvements, like Sykes Avenue, gave the battlefield a park-like appearance and visitors new access to key terrain, features, and views of the field. And the restoration work carried out by the commissioners gave visitors new visible access to the field's wartime appearance; visitors could now see the field much as it had been in 1863.

At the crest of Little Round Top, Sykes Avenue turned right and west out of the woods to the hilltop's bare and heavily bouldered western summit where it formed a loop. At the bend in the loop stood the 155th Pennsylvania Infantry monument placed at the summit in 1886 (Figure 3.17). The monument consisted of a granite statue to Samuel Hill, a private in the regiment, standing on a granite pedestal (Hawthorne 1988, 57). From this vantage point visitors could see west across the Valley of Death and southwest to a mammoth outcropping of huge boulders, popularized as Devil's Den by John Bachelder, from which Confederate sharpshooters attacked Little Round Top on 2 July 1863 (Adelman & Smith 1997, 7). They could also see the Gettysburg Electric Railway trolley track traversing the Valley of Death from left to right, detracting from the valley's wartime appearance. The track ran out from the narrows between Devil's Den

and the foot of Big Round Top, cut across the entire Valley of Death in front of Little Round Top, and as visitors scanned right they could see the track curve around to the north foot of Little Round Top where it terminated, just out of view, at the junction of Wheat-Field, Sedgwick, and Sykes avenues. The GNP Commission attempted to condemn the railway beginning in 1894, but court proceedings still continued in 1904 and the railway remained in operation (GNMPC 1905, 15; Unrau 1991, 75).

As visitors continued around the Sykes Avenue overlook and followed the loop back toward the woods, they passed a big boulder on top of which stood a nine-foot, bronze statue of Gouverneur K. Warren, the savior of Little Round Top. His likeness still stands today and is positioned looking west in the direction where Warren first spotted oncoming Confederates on 2 July 1863, moments before he called Union troops to the hill in time to defend it. The Veteran's Association of the 5th New York Infantry placed the monument in 1888. Sculpted by Karl Gerhardt, the statue's significance lay in the fact that it had been anchored to the ground on an existing boulder. This was the first statue on any Civil War battlefield erected without a pedestal and Gettysburg visitors could view it standing on the same common ground with them (Panhorst 1988, 251-255).

In front of Warren's statue and to the left running the length of Little Round Top's crest were restored breastworks the Union forces had built defending the hill. The GNP Commission reconstructed the breastworks with fieldstone from Little Round Top and were still rebuilding a few unfinished portions on the hill in 1904. The breastworks lay in ruins prior to the commissioners' work because

rock-and-relic-takers, souvenir-hunters, and the cumulative effect of visitor wear-and-tear had destroyed these works in the 30 years following the battle. This and other acts of vandalism and degradation were major reasons the War Department assumed maintenance of the battlefield from the GBMA four years earlier. The GBMA found itself unable to prevent rock-taking from stone walls and cane-cutting from key forests on the field, and for that reason it specifically solicited the War Department to care for the grounds.¹⁷

Sykes Avenue curved right, around behind Warren's boulder, and followed the crest of Little Round Top with the woods to the left and the breastworks and bouldered-west face to the right. The road entered a second overlook loop near a one-room, stone Romanesque castle placed by the veterans of the 44th and 12th New York Regiments six years earlier (Figure 3.18). General Daniel Butterfield, one of the regiment's commanders, designed the castle monument with one chamber and an adjacent cylindrical tower. Butterfield proportioned the castle's geometric dimensions to symbolize the 44th and 12th regiments: the tower stands 44 feet high and the chamber is 12 feet square. Tourists could enter the castle chamber through a low, heavy archway, turn left, and climb an interior winding staircase to the roof, from where they could look out over the turreted wall at the huge boulders comprising Devil's Den. The castle's architecture was significant because it demonstrated the influence of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture through its heavy proportions, coarse stone, turrets, and low hanging archway (Panhorst 1988, 172-173).

At the 44th and 12th New York Monument, the avenue looped out a

second time for a closer view of Devil's Den before heading down the south slope of Little Round Top to its intersection with Warren Avenue, a dirt path that led south to Devil's Den. Past Warren Avenue, Sykes continued ahead several hundred yards to the north base of Big Round Top where it curved to the right. Just after the curve, on the left lay a trail to the top of Big Round Top (Figure 3.19). Sykes Avenue did not go to the top; instead, it continued past the trail on a gentle leftward curve around the north and west slope of Big Round Top. The trail's entrance appeared as a flight of six steps ornamented at the base on either side by mounted cannonballs. The GNP Commission installed the trail to follow the Union left flank and defensive stone wall up Big Round Top, terracing the trail so that visitors could walk up a flight of six steps, continue on a paved straightaway for several yards to the next flight of six steps, and so forth. At the top stood Big Round Top Tower, 60 feet high atop the summit. Because of the tower's incredible elevation, it was subject to high winds and had its roof blown off in a severe storm shortly after being constructed in 1895 (GNMPC 1905, 34).¹⁸ This did not deter tourists, however, from taking the stairs to the observation deck. Occasional visitors claimed that the high point of their visit to Gettysburg involved climbing to the top of Big Round Top tower where they could get the grandest view from the highest hill, overlooking the Valley of Death, Little Round Top, and seeing up the valley between Seminary Ridge and Cemetery Ridge all the way to Gettysburg's courthouse tower and the National flag waving on the horizon above the Soldier's National Cemetery.¹⁹

Southern Markings and the New Playground: Confederate Avenue and Devil's Den

Carriage riders following Sykes Avenue west around Big Round Top in 1899 were not aware of any change in the telford road, but at a point on the hill's western slope they entered Confederate Avenue. The GNP Commission constructed Confederate Avenue in 1895, two years before building Sykes Avenue, but they designed Sykes to merge with Confederate Avenue. Unremarkable, Confederate Avenue appeared as a continuation of Sykes, meandering west away from the base of Big Round Top, until it left the woods completely and entered a clearing. On the left at a curve in the road stood cannon and tablet marking the position of Reilly's Alabama battery. The GNP Commission designed Confederate Avenue to loop visitors around easily to the grounds occupied by Southern forces (GNMPC 1905, 21).

From Reilly's battery Confederate Avenue curved right and led visitors north across the Emmitsburg Road to follow the Confederate battle line along Warfield Ridge, the southern stretch of Seminary Ridge. Here Longstreet had positioned his division during the second- and third-day's battle. The avenue ran behind Longstreet's battle lines. Visitors traveling the avenue saw to their right a reconstructed parallel stone wall in the grass several feet from the road (Figure 3.20). The occasional mounted cannonball ornamented the roadside, and pipe-rail fencing lined the avenue on the left. Along the avenue, visitors passed by several cannon and pyramids of cannonballs or canister that marked the positions of other Confederate batteries. The cannons stood in the grass on the avenue's right edge pointing over the stone wall east toward the Round Tops and

Cemetery Ridge. Also on the right, near each cannon, iron tablets detailed the Army of Northern Virginia's commands, positions, and activities of 2-3 July 1863. There were other descriptive markers as well. At the end of the avenue, just before the intersection with Wheat-Field Road, stood another iron and steel observation tower placed by Commissioner Cope. Visitors who climbed to the deck of the 75-foot tower could read plaques fitted to the deck's outside railing that described the position and activities of Lee's Army. The plaque on the deck's north face, for instance, informed viewers that Seminary Ridge in front of them was where the main battle line of the Confederate Army concentrated.²⁰

The GNP Commissioners considered marking and monumenting the Confederate Army's role at Gettysburg a major goal since they were first appointed. In 1895, chairman Nicholson reported:

The position and evolution of the various commands of the Union Army were mostly determined and marked by the Memorial Association [GBMA]. But those of the Confederate Army remained for the the commission to ascertain and locate. Much attention has been given to this. Surviving Confederate officers and soldiers have been invited to visit the field; also the authorities of the Southern States have been requested to send commissioners representing Confederate commands to point out positions (GNMPC 1905, 23).

Two years later, Emmor Cope mapped "the positions of every command of both armies" so that tablets and markers could be placed on the field (GNMPC 1905, 38-39). As of 1904, over 200 iron tablets marking Union and Confederate troop placements had been placed. In addition, iron markers on granite pedestals designated Confederate division and brigade positions within the park, and iron markers for Confederate regimental positions were to be

placed soon. Commissioner William Robbins, a former Confederate veteran, wrote the descriptions on these tablets and oversaw their placement. The War Department demanded a former Confederate veteran sit on the GNP Commission to conduct these tasks. But despite this work, a balance had yet to be achieved on the field and the Commissioners' efforts along Confederate Avenue generated much controversy, even among Southerners and Confederate veterans (Unrau 1991, 70-74).

Monuments of any kind to the Confederate Army were virtually absent on the battlefield. Several reasons account for this. First, economics and how Southerners felt about Gettysburg go a long way to understanding the lack of Confederate monuments. The GNP Commission actively invited Confederate veterans from all Southern states and solicited Southern state governments to send veterans or representatives to aid in the marking and monumentation of the field, but relatively few Southerners ever appeared. As I mentioned earlier, Southern states were poor and strapped for funds, and Southerners and their state governments by and large did not want anything to do with Gettysburg. Although every year since 1895 some former Confederate commanders and small groups of Confederate veterans did return to Gettysburg at the Commission's request, they were too few to raise funds for memorials, and they lacked financial support from their states that Northern veterans' associations received (Panhorst 1988, 41-80).

A second contributing factor regarding the lack of Confederate monuments concerned the GNP Commission's rule for placing markers and tablets and monuments. According to the rule, markers and monuments to corps, divisions,

brigades, and regiments could be placed where these forces had formed in battle line or occupied ground. Since Union soldiers fought a defensive battle, marking where their units stood simultaneously marked where they fought. The Confederate Army main battle line formed along Seminary Ridge, and because they were never able to occupy Cemetery Ridge, the GNP Commission did not place markers or allow monuments on the fields where Pickett's Charge had taken place or at the stone wall where some Confederates had heroically breached the Union line, albeit temporarily. This slighted many Confederate veterans (Martin 1986, 12-15; Unrau 1991, 95).

Another point of controversy concerned the lack of available property for the placement of Confederate monuments, as well as markers and tablets. Until 1900, grounds occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia along Seminary Ridge remained in private hands. Between 1895 and 1900, Confederate Avenue ended at the intersection with Wheat-Field Road, far short of its intended destination because five property owners refused to sell rights-of-way through their lands along Seminary Ridge to the GNP Commission. In 1895, the GNP Commission planned to construct Confederate Avenue the entire length of Seminary Ridge and offered to purchase rights-of-way at fair market prices, but the owners stubbornly refused, speculating that the offers would eventually go up or that they would receive better offers elsewhere. Later that year, the GNP Commission filed condemnation proceedings against the five property owners, but court proceedings lasted for five years (GNMPC 1905, 51-52).

This incident raises questions about the design behind the placement of the park's five observation towers. Were it not for the Seminary Ridge property

dispute, I suggest Emmor Cope might have placed Confederate Avenue's 75-foot observation tower farther north near the center of Seminary Ridge, due west of the Angle. Consider several rationales. First, the center of the Confederate Army's main battle line stood near the middle of Seminary Ridge, opposite the Angle. Second, this placement would have been more in keeping with the axes formed by the other four towers Cope placed at cardinal compass points around the park. Looking at the towers on an 1899 map (Figure 3.21), for example, one can see the Ziegler's Grove tower at center, the Oak Ridge and Big Round Top towers situated at the north and south ends of the park, and the Culp's Hill tower positioned nearly due east. The Confederate Avenue tower appears to be out of line with the western end of the horizontal axis suggested by Culp's Hill and Ziegler's Grove towers. In addition, the tower at Ziegler's Grove was not among the four original towers planned for construction in 1895. Placing towers at the north, south, east, and west compass points is an excellent way to cover the entire field without necessitating a central tower, and the towers at Oak Ridge, Culp's Hill, and Big Round Top fit this pattern. The inability to place Confederate Avenue's tower at center west on Seminary Ridge may have contributed to Cope's decision to add the tower at Ziegler's Grove the following year. Certainly, the importance of the Union's center also contributed to Cope's placement of the Ziegler's Grove tower. Still, we must consider that the new tower afforded a view of Pickett's Charge and Seminary Ridge, which the Confederate Avenue tower could not, thereby serving in place of the Confederate Avenue tower which may have otherwise provided that view were it not for the property dispute. Finally, further evidence for this notion that Cope

placed the towers according to compass points is manifested in the towers' designs: Cope included circular, iron "direction tablets" that were actually maps in the shape of a compass on the towers' observation decks to inform visitors of key battle sites within the quadrant of the field visible from each tower.²¹

Whether or not the Seminary Ridge property dispute affected the placement of towers around the field, it did limit the amount of monuments and visitor access to Confederate battle positions. Thus, Confederate Avenue remained two-thirds devoid of monuments, and aside from the High Water Mark memorial at the Angle, this portion of the park offered visitors in 1904 the only physical markings and tablet descriptions of the Confederate Army at Gettysburg. Controversy, however, did not stop here.

Visitors leaving Confederate Avenue could follow the Wheat-Field Road east to the park's new Sickles and Crawford avenues constructed the previous year. The avenues formed a loop to Devil's Den and passed by nearly 30 markers and memorials to Union troops. Upon reaching Devil's Den, carriage drivers and horse riders could tie their steeds to a hitching rail across from the Den's massive boulders. The hitching rail signified a shift in the battlefield's importance. The GNP Commission placed the rail at the Den two years earlier to accommodate the rising number of visitors to the rocks. Visitors to the park in general had steadily increased since the 25th anniversary celebration in 1888. Roughly 200,000 tourists traveled to Gettysburg annually at the turn of the century, up from 50,000 reported in 1884 (Wensyel 1994, 107). Prior to the 1890s, the field served chiefly as a place of remembrance for Union veterans. Sightseers were few, and most had been either locals or Union veterans and

their relatives. In contrast, tourism began to flourish in the 1890s. Tour books and circulars advertised Gettysburg as a summer resort, and the GNP Commission proclaimed it the best marked battlefield in the U.S.²² Indeed, the placement of markers and monuments made Gettysburg an initial attraction over other battlefields to military strategists, politicians, historians, and wealthy traveling enthusiasts by 1904, and Northerners especially recognized Gettysburg as one of the premier spots in the U.S. to visit (Sears 1989). Greater numbers of veterans made pilgrimages and held reunions at Gettysburg; important visiting politicians and generals from other countries were escorted there; and the field's fame further attracted others intent on recreation.²³ The GNP Commission, in turn, had placed hitching rails at Culp's Hill, too, and had built catchment basins at various spots to keep up with the manure left on the field by visitors' horses.

Facing Devil's Den from the hitching rail, visitors saw an impressive collection of mammoth boulders (Figure 3.22). Once again, individual cannonballs mounted on stone pedestals stood out on the grass in front. Iron chains linked the mounted cannonballs to form an ornamental fence at the base of the rocks as if showcasing the site. The GNP Commission's frequent use of cannonballs as ornament around the battlefield, and as armament in the form of cannonball pyramids at battery positions, added considerably to the battlefield's awesome appearance, especially at the Den. The cannonball-and-chain fence framed a path through which visitors could enter this amazing wonder. As visitors approached the huge rocks, they saw hundreds of chiseled patches covering the boulders where the Commission had removed name engravings and the

occasional advertisement left by tourists and locals over the years.²⁴

Devil's Den may have been the most popular spot in the park, but in contrast to the popularity of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and the Angle among visitors and veterans. Unlike these key spots, the Den attracted attention both as a natural phenomenon and as a controversial recreation spot on the field. Visitors frequently had their picture taken among the rocks. Until 1903, William Tipton ran a photo studio, dance hall and refreshment stand across from the Den at the foot of Big Round Top (Figure 3.23). Tipton's Park, he called it, and it made for a popular spot. The Gettysburg Electric Railway tracks passed right by the park and dropped off thousands of tourists annually (Figure 3.24). The railway and Tipton's park generated much debate following construction in 1893. Veterans and visitors claimed the railway and park desecrated the field, and the controversy made national press. The outcry against the electric railway and fun-park as sacrilegious gained support early on, and the GNP Commission filed a court order to condemn the park and railway in 1894. Court rulings condemned Tipton's park in 1903, but the railway remained in operation and continued to bring travelers intent on visiting the playground they called Devil's Den.²⁵

The 1904 Battlefield in Retrospect

The GNMP in 1904 exhibited several patterns. The park concentrated on the Union-held lines of the second and third day's battle. Only the section of Confederate Avenue south of the Wheat-Field Road was marked with Confederate tablets. Confederate main lines and the first-day's engagements

were on privately-owned lands, minimally marked and still in ruins. The nation was still divided, and nowhere was this more evident than on the fields at Gettysburg, where lands occupied by Confederate forces remained privately owned and bare of markings, and where Confederate ruins had yet to be restored.

The park exhibited the qualities of a museum. Fencing was frequent in the form of post-and-wire, pipe-rail, iron, and decorative cannonballs with chains. The GNP Commission's practice of cordoning off equestrian statues and key grounds gave the effect that much of the park was on display and not to be touched. This discouraged visitors from walking the fields, standing next to or touching monuments, or crouching behind reconstructed stone walls to relive the battle. The field was not designed as a place for visitors to reenact the experience, but for visitors to pay great reverence by humbly passing through intangible, sacred ground.

In 1904, the park was very new: new roads, fencing, monuments, ornaments, markers, tablets, cannon, and caretakers. Nearly all the monuments were less than a decade old, having proliferated around or after the 25th anniversary in 1888, and the remaining design features of the park were less than four years old, having been placed by recently appointed GNP Commissioners under the park's new ownership, the War Department. These changes contributed to the park's new popularity and encouraged increasing numbers of tourists to visit new key spots: the Angle, Round Tops, and Devil's Den. The new popularity of these sites rivaled that of the park's original centerpieces: the Soldiers' National Cemetery and Culp's Hill. The new telford roads especially

account for the new popularity of the Angle, Round Tops, and Devil's Den. Roads were fundamental to increasing visitation because they gave access to these new sites. Even with cannon, monuments, markers, and ornaments highlighting these spots, they would have been considerably less visited were it not for roads. Consider, for example, the importance of Sykes Avenue in allowing visitors easy access to Little Round Top, and the close proximity of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and Culp's Hill to town roads which facilitated the original popularity of these sites. Finally, even the way visitors entered the park was new. Whereas Baltimore Street provided the original main thoroughfare to the park, by the turn of the century the Emmitsburg and Taneytown roads served equally as major thoroughfares to the battlefield.

There were several distinct patterns to the monuments and ornaments decorating the park in 1904. Neoclassical monuments were popular, for example, and dominated the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Greek and Roman columns, goddesses and allegorical statues, and vases and urns decorated the cemetery's monuments, grounds, and gates. They paid tribute almost exclusively to the dead. In contrast, heroic and triumphant monuments placed by state memorial commissions and regimental veteran's associations decorated the field. They frequently featured statues of common soldiers and honored the bravery, service, and sacrifice of an entire state's or regiment's force, not just its dead.

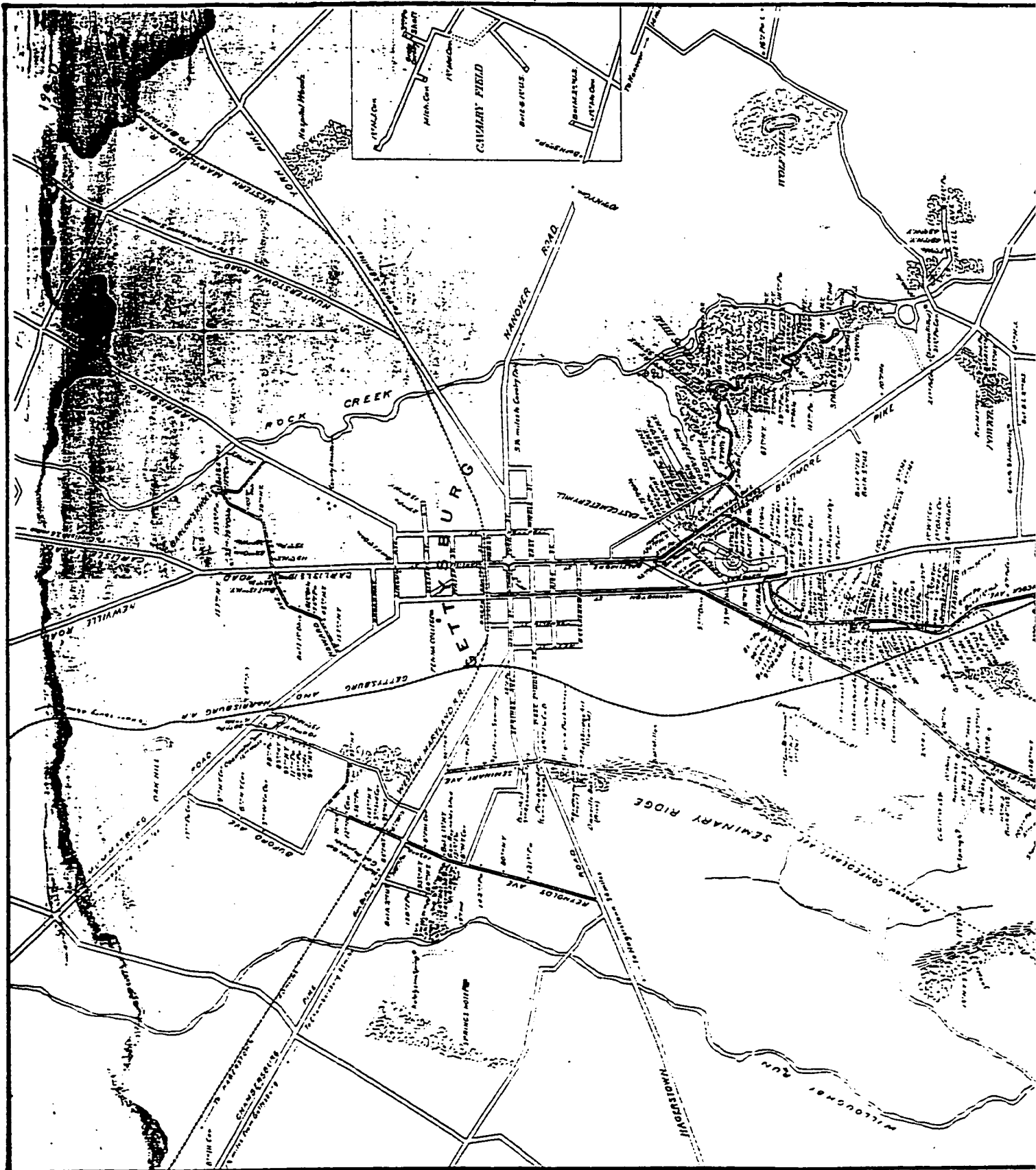
The pattern most apparent to visitors in 1904 was that the monuments were mostly Union and they concentrated at the Angle where the final major engagement of the battle had taken place. Confederate monuments were

virtually absent, and monuments to peace and reconciliation between the two sides were rare. Although the GNP Commission had taken great steps to remedy this disparity, their work remained too recent and unfinished to produce a significant effect in curbing the problem of pro-Union sentiment and Southern resentment still manifested in the field and its memorials.

Finally, cannonballs overwhelmingly ornamented the park. Individual mounted cannonballs lined avenues, marked entrances, and served as fence posts to decorate and venerate the field. Cannonballs in the form of pyramid piles usually marked batteries but also decorated memorials as well. To visitors at Gettysburg, the sheer frequency of these ornaments greatly added to the monumental effect of the battlefield.

Park controversies in 1904 exhibited two patterns. They frequently concerned the crisis of representation on the field and the commercial and vandalistic threats to the park's integrity. The underrepresentation of Confederate forces, for example, disturbed Southerners and the War Department greatly. The High Water Mark memorial at the Angle and the short stretch of Confederate Avenue offered visitors and military students in 1899 the only physical markings and tablet descriptions of the Confederate Army at Gettysburg. In addition, the placement of markers and monuments generated debate among both Union and Confederate veterans concerning the representation of their acts in battle. Confederate veterans were offended by the GNP rule of placement because they felt it disregarded heroics of their forces. Union veterans, such as the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry, found the commissioners' attempts to keep the Angle from being cluttered inconsiderate of their heroics as well. Concerning

commercialism and vandalism, the commissioners' agenda included efforts to condemn property and control field damage. Round Top Park, Tipton's Park, and the Seminary Ridge property speculators demonstrated how commercial ventures in 1899 threatened their attempts to secure and preserve the battlefield for later generations. And cane-cutting and rock-taking by souvenir hunters threatened the breastworks, stone walls, and forests of the field and led to patrol guards and fencing.



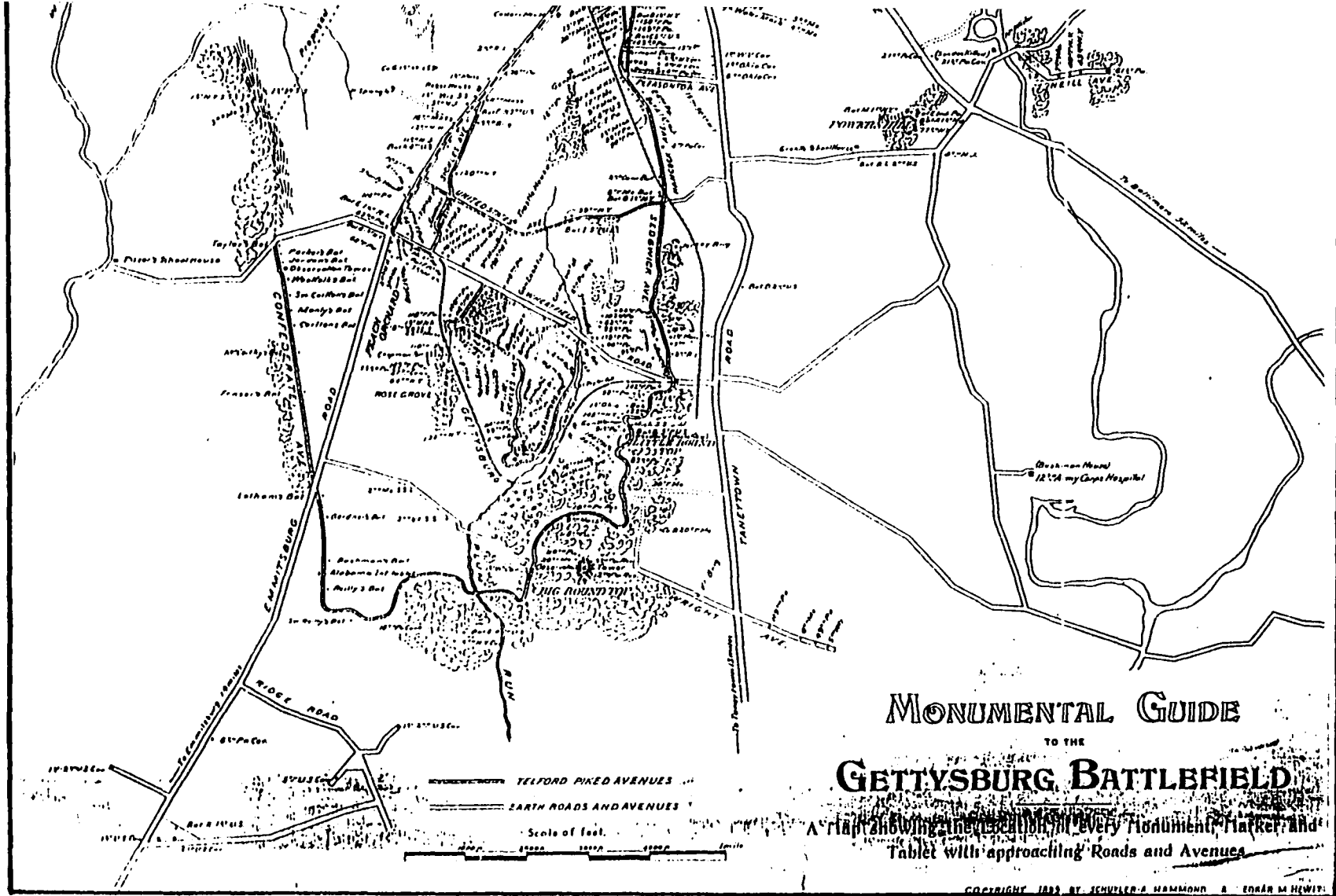


Figure 3.1: Monumental Guide to the Gettysburg Battlefield.

This 1899 map was published for visitors to show the new roads, markers, monuments, and trails of GNMP. The park's property and memorials concentrated on the grounds of the second and third days' of battle.

Source: Adams County Historical Society.

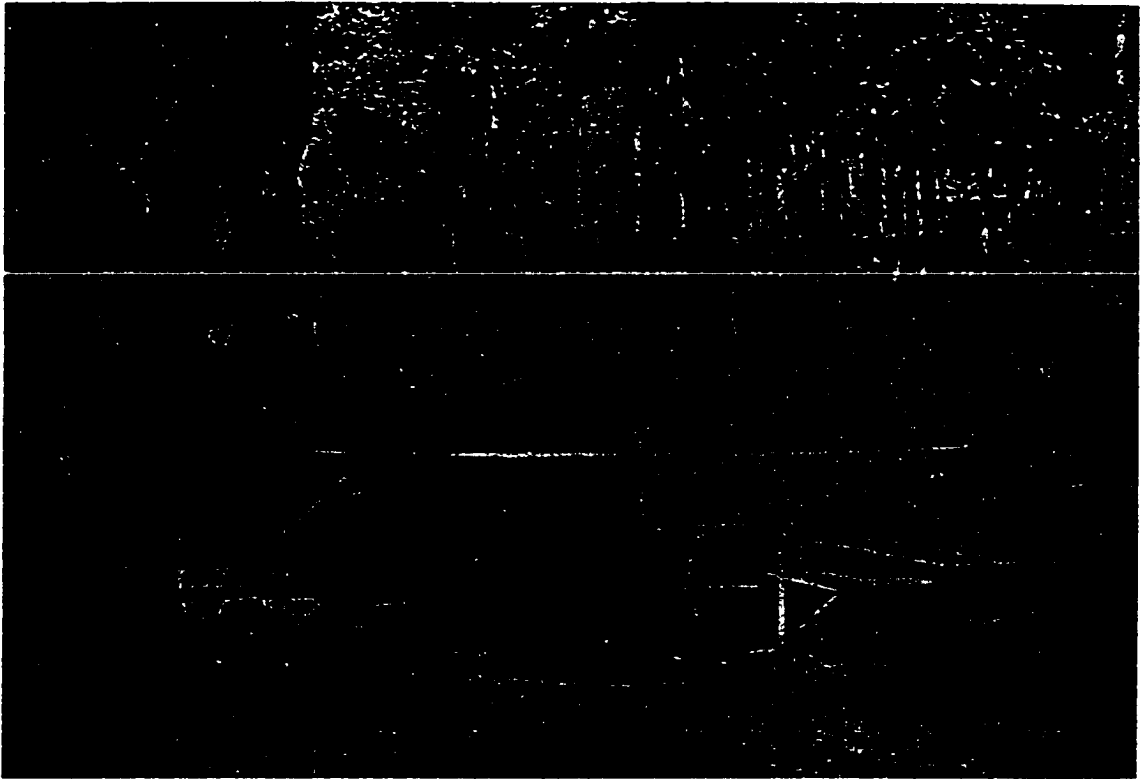


Figure 3.2: Spangler's Spring.

Originally, there were two stone outlets for the spring. After 1895, the War Department ordered the GNMP Commission to tidy up the field and Spangler's Spring received a makeover. The cement half-dome, steps, and rail were entirely new.

Source: National Park Service



Figure 3.3: Culp's Hill Observation Tower.

This tower erected by GNMP Engineer Emmor Cope stood 60 feet high. Four other towers were placed around the park in 1895-96. The War Department ordered the towers constructed for the purpose of military study.

Source: National Park Service

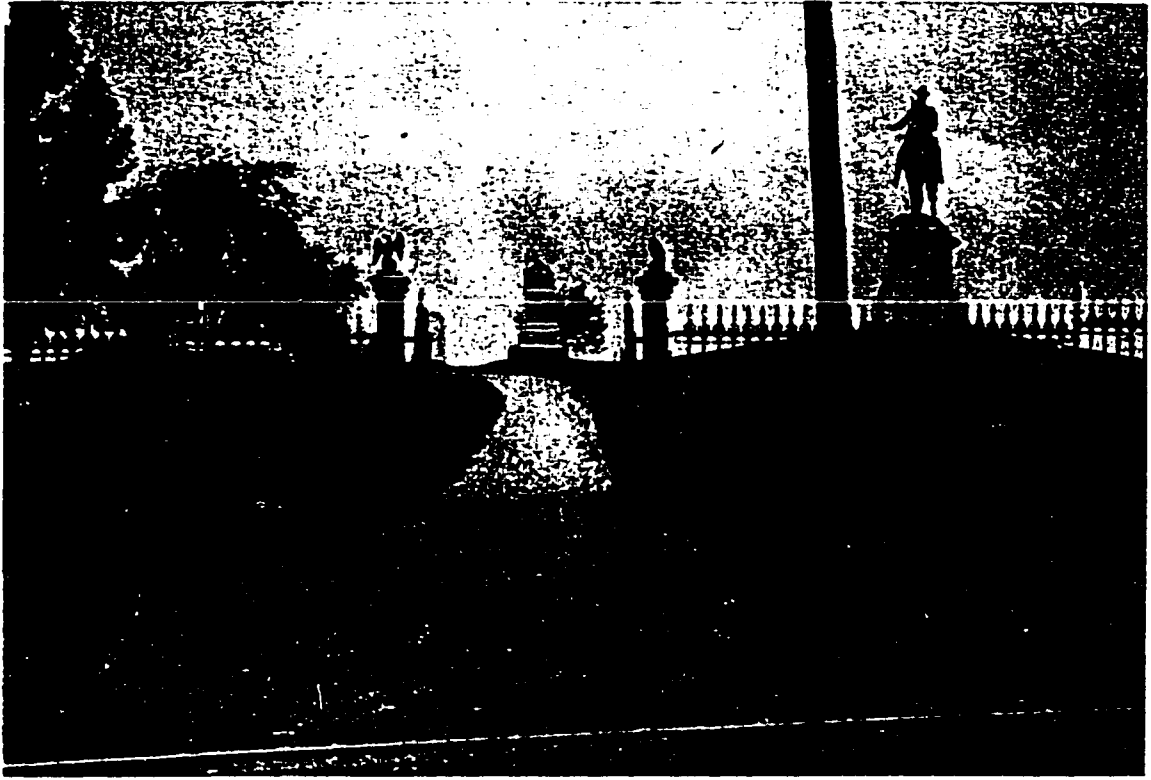


**Figure 3.4: Equestrian Statue to Union General John Hancock,
East Cemetery Hill.**

Hancock's statue was the first equestrian monument erected at Gettysburg, in 1895.

The horse carried Hancock in trotting motion with one leg raised from the pedestal.

Source: National Park Service

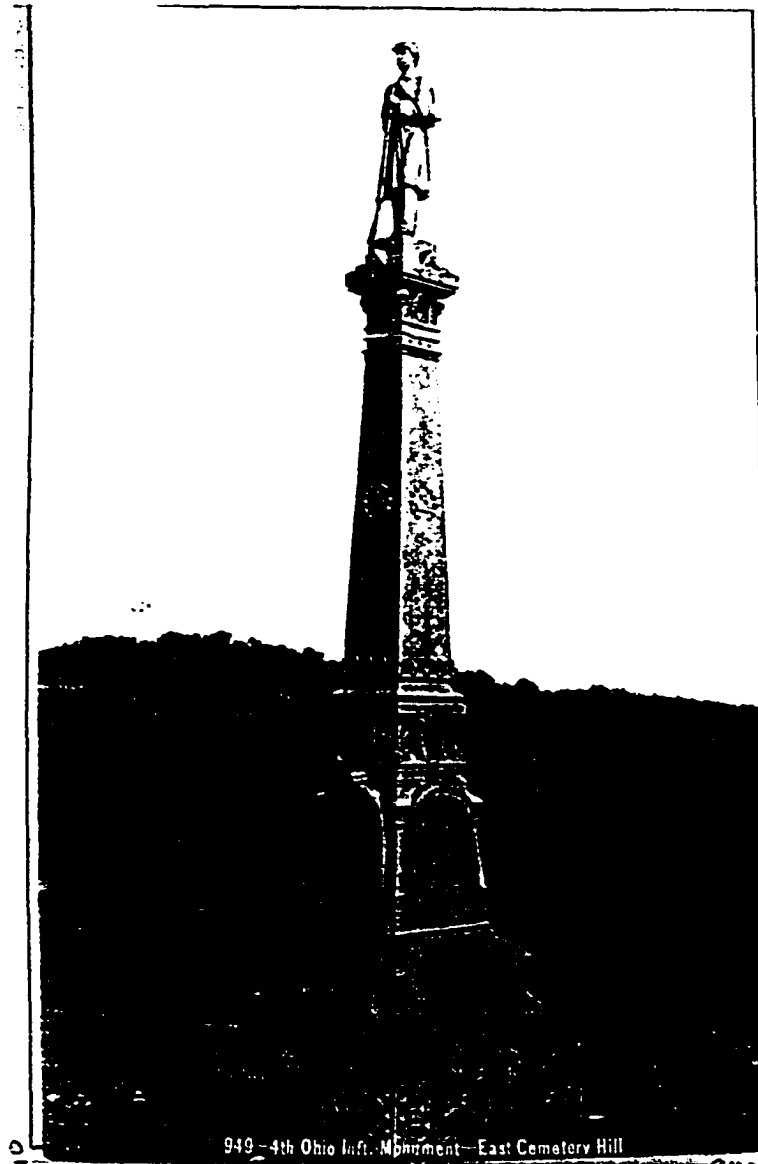


Figure 3.5: The 4th Ohio Monument on East Cemetery Hill.

This hollow monument on East Cemetery Hill was the only one at Gettysburg made of an experimental white bronze that gave it the appearance of being made of stone.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

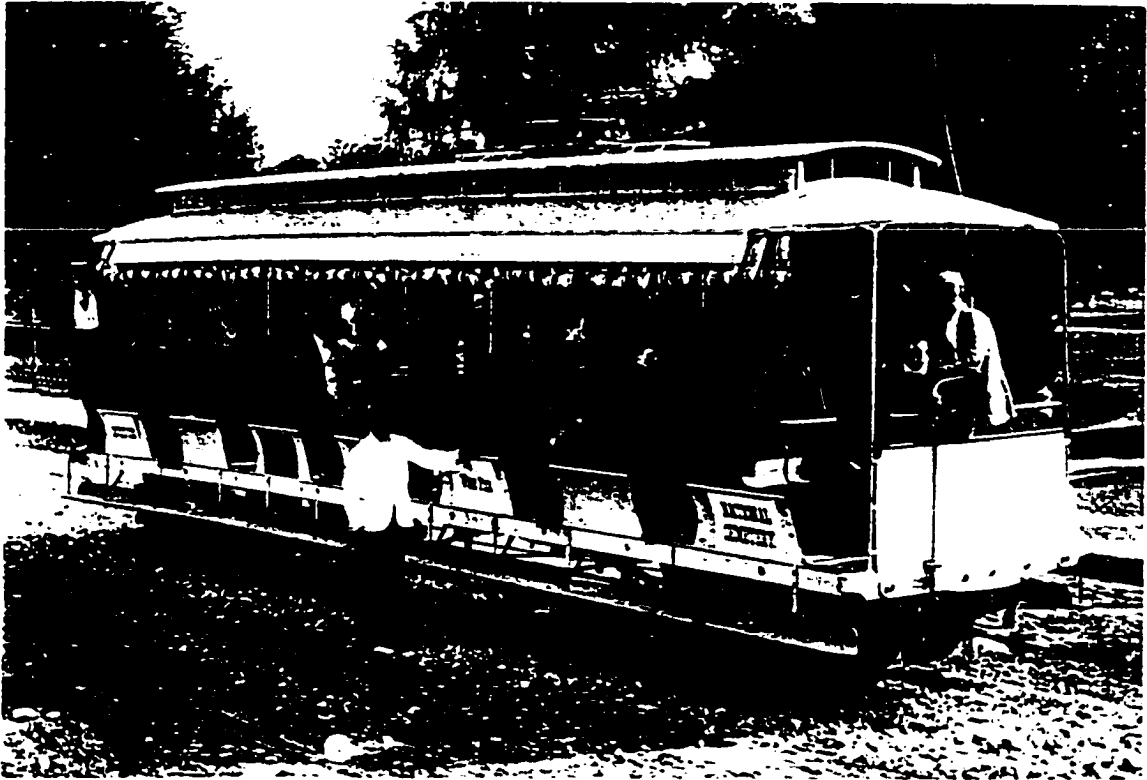


Figure 3.6: Battlefield Trolley at National Cemetery.

This trolley, pictured here on Baltimore Street at the main entrance to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, was one of seven operated by the Gettysburg Electric Railway from 1893 to 1916. Trolleys carried passengers from the Square in Gettysburg to popular battlefield spots, namely the National Cemetery, Evergreen Cemetery, the Angle, the Peach Orchard, the Wheatfield, Devil's Den, and Little Round Top.

Source: National Park Service



Figure 3.7: Upper Drive, Soldiers' National Cemetery.

The Norway Maples along Upper Drive made for the most scenic stretch of the loop in the Soldiers' National Cemetery. The maturity of the maple trees, and their magnificent fall color, served as a gorgeous backdrop to the Soldiers' National Monument situated just out of view to the left. Numerous benches lined this road because of its popularity among visitors.

Source: Gettysburg College

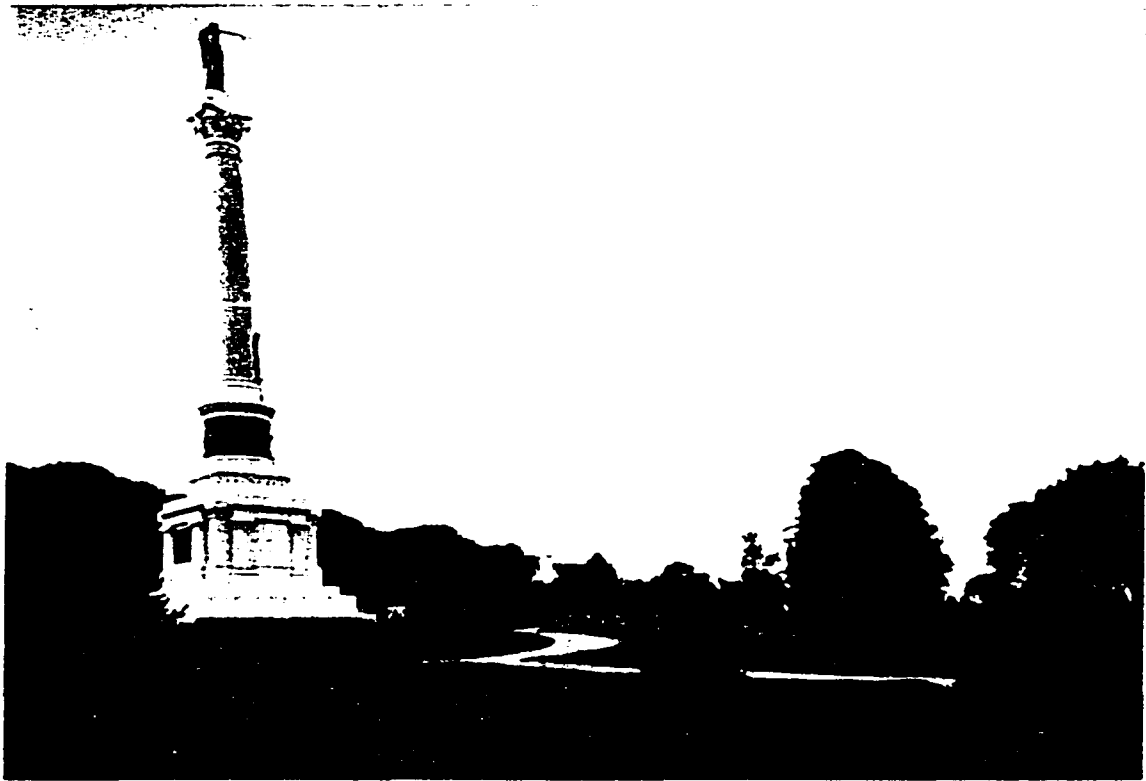


Figure 3.8: New York State Monument, Soldiers' National Cemetery.

New York placed this 60-foot high classical monument in the national cemetery in 1893. Gravel paths were constructed to lead visitors to the monument and its prominence rivaled the Soldiers' National Monument.

Source: U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 3.9: Entrance to Hancock Avenue.

The GBMA renamed Main Avenue "Hancock Avenue" in 1887. Its popularity both inspired and benefited from the back entrance of the Soldiers' National Cemetery added in 1891, giving cemetery visitors easier access to the remainder of the battlefield. Note the stone wall along the left side of the avenue. Used by Union soldiers during the battle, the GNP Commission made this and other stone fortifications around the park into well-constructed walls that fit the memorial theme of the park. The standing oaks in the background are Ziegler's Grove.

Source: National Park Service



Figure 3.10: Ziegler's Grove Observation Tower.

GNP Engineer Emmor Cope constructed this fifth tower at the center of the battlefield in 1896. The original four towers were placed at points on the perimeter of the park in 1895. Note the freshly planted trees. The GNP Commission hoped to restore Ziegler's Grove and other forests on the field damaged and denuded by souvineer-cane hunters and local farmers.

Source: National Park Service

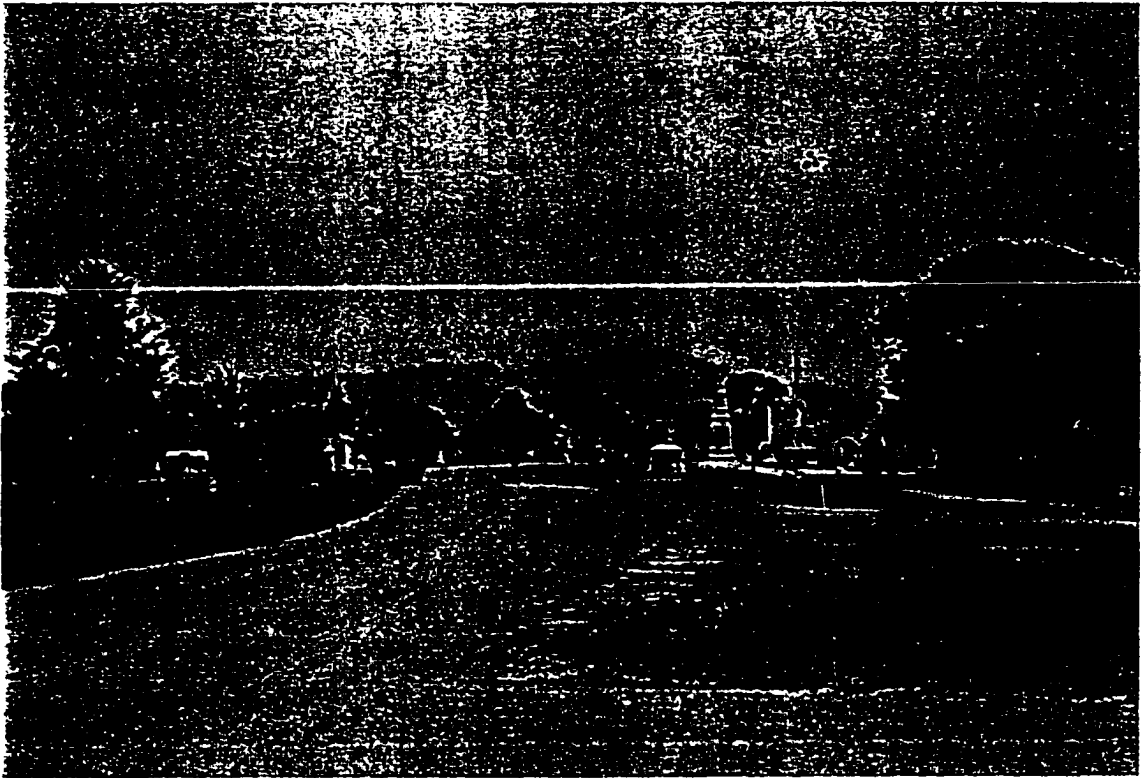


Figure 3.11: Hancock Avenue.

This Tipton photograph of Hancock Avenue looking south from Webb Avenue entrance shows over a dozen new monuments. Note the post and wire avenue fencing along the left edge of the photograph, the neatly pruned trees along the avenue, and the iron fence around the Copse of Trees on the right. The shine and wealth of the monuments, the care of the grounds, and the fencing added to the sacredness of the park and humbled visitors as they passed through this apparent outdoor museum.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

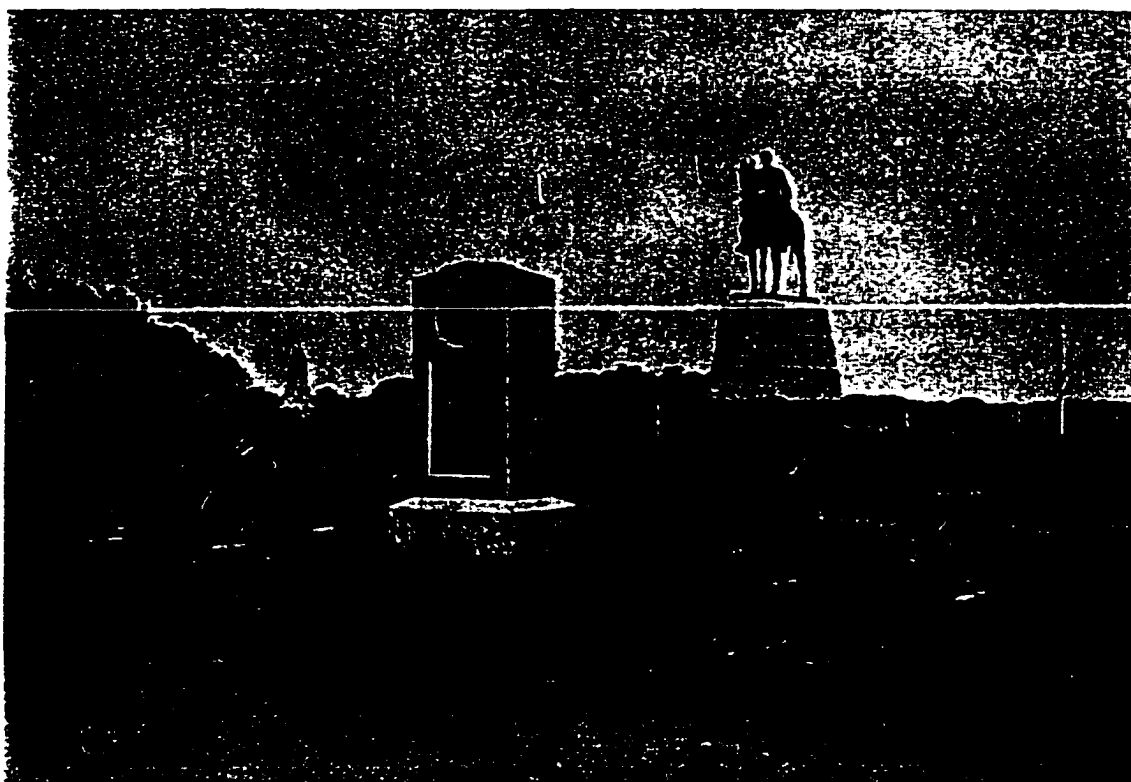


Figure 3.12: Equestrian Statue to General George Meade, Hancock Avenue.

Meade's equestrian statue, dedicated in 1896, was the second erected at Gettysburg, the year after Hancock's equestrian statue. Note that visitors could not approach the statue because it was surrounded by post-and-wire fencing. Also note that all four feet of Meade's horse are firmly planted on the pedestal. The thought that four legs on the pedestal signified the rider survived the battle unscathed, three legs signified the rider was wounded, and two legs signified the rider died, was not intended by the early sculptors of the equestrian statues at Gettysburg.

Source: National Park Service

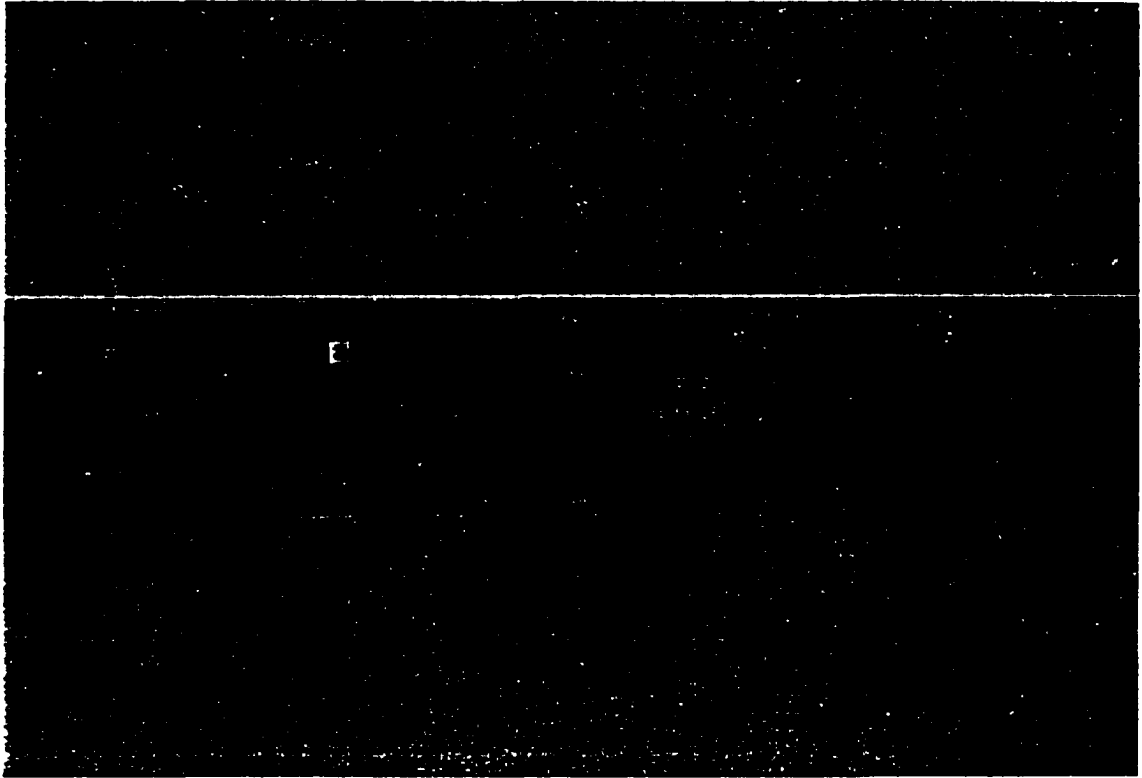


Figure 3.13: The Angle.

The GNMP Commission identified key battlegrounds with iron tablets such as the one pictured here. Visitors to the Angle, where Pickett's Charge was turned back, could loop out to a recently reconstructed stone wall and pass by the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry monument at left background. The veterans of the 72nd had placed this monument in 1891 after a three year court battle with the GBMA which had tried to prevent monuments from cluttering the key ground here.

Source: National Park Service



Figure 3.14: Posing at the High Water Mark Memorial, 1899.

The High Water Mark memorial, behind these visitors, lists Confederate and Union forces engaged during Pickett's Charge. The monument was placed in 1892 to acknowledge Confederate forces and to promote Gettysburg to Southerners as the Confederacy's high tide. Its placement popularized the Copse of Trees

as the objective of Pickett's Charge.

Source: Adams County Historical Society



Figure 3.15: First Minnesota Infantry Monument, Hancock Avenue.

Erected in 1893, the monument commemorates the heroic action of the First Minnesota soldiers on 2 July 1863. Note that the monument statue depicts the regiment's soldiers rather than its commander.

Source: Adams County Historical Society



Figure 3.16: Pipe-Rail Fencing along Sedgwick Avenue.

The GNP Commission fenced the park's avenues beginning in 1895. Visitors were not allowed to traipse across the fields of battle like they can today. Most fields were still privately owned by local farmers.

Source: National Park Service

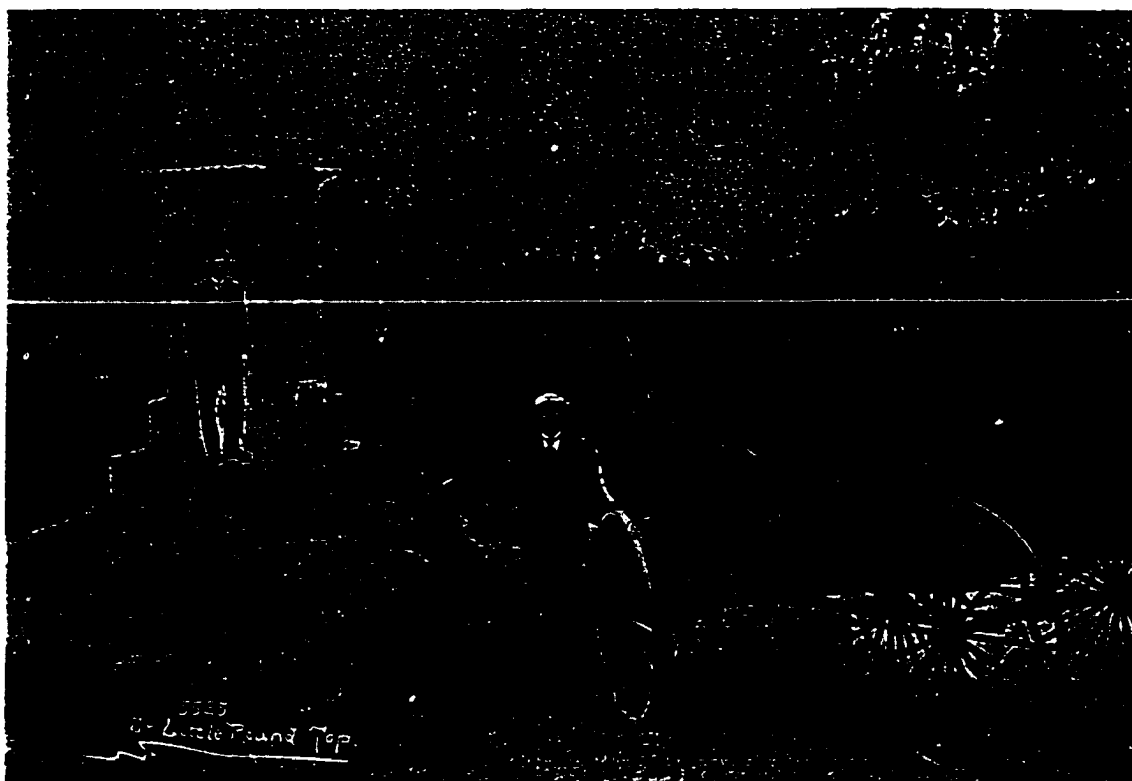


Figure 3.17: The North Loop of Sykes Avenue, Little Round Top.

After the GNP Commission constructed Sykes Avenue in 1897, visitors and veterans could easily travel to the 155th PA monument, pictured here, and view the Valley of Death from their carriage or vehicle.

Source: Adams County Historical Society



Figure 3.18: The South Loop of Sykes Avenue, Little Round Top.

The South Loop afforded visitors access to the 12th and 44th New York monument and an excellent view of Devil's Den and the Valley of Death from their carriage or vehicle. Widespread road construction by the GNP Commission increased the popularity of the Round Tops, Seminary Ridge, and other rugged park areas.

Source: Courtesy of Clay Rebert

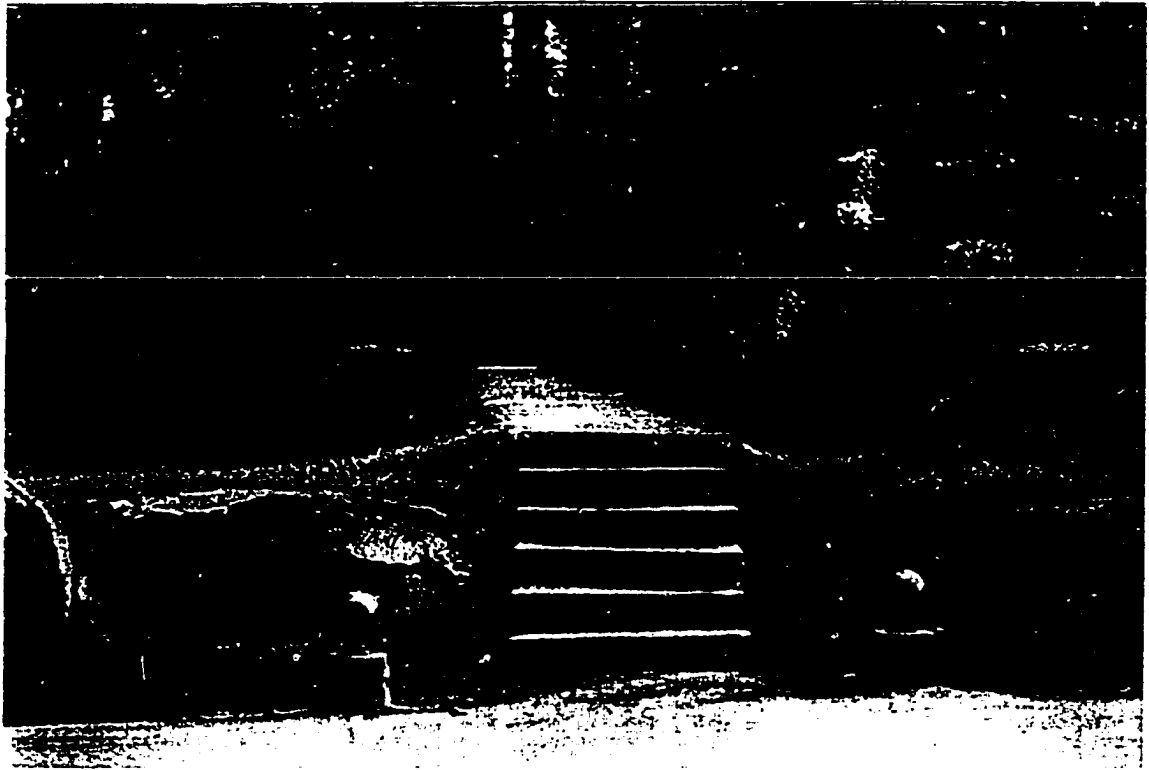


Figure 3.19: Path to the Summit of Big Round Top.

The GNP Commission constructed this path to lead visitors along the Union defense works lining the north slope of Big Round Top. The trail went all the way to the summit where stood a 60 foot observation tower. Note the oversized cannon balls on stone pedestals flanking the trail's entrance. The GNP Commission placed hundreds of these ornaments around the park. They were to line the roads, mark entrances, and decorate the battlefield.

Source: National Park Service



Figure 3.20: Confederate Avenue.

Park Commissioner William Robbins oversaw the construction of Confederate Avenue and the restoration of the Confederate battle line beginning in 1895. Cannon and iron tablets marking Confederate forces along this avenue were virtually the only structures to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia on the field in 1904. Robbins authored the iron tablets, which marked Confederate positions and described Confederate activities during the battle. The tablets were placed at the request of the War Department, not because of mass public sentiment, and were the first significant forms to promote the Confederate role at Gettysburg to the public.

Source: National Park Service

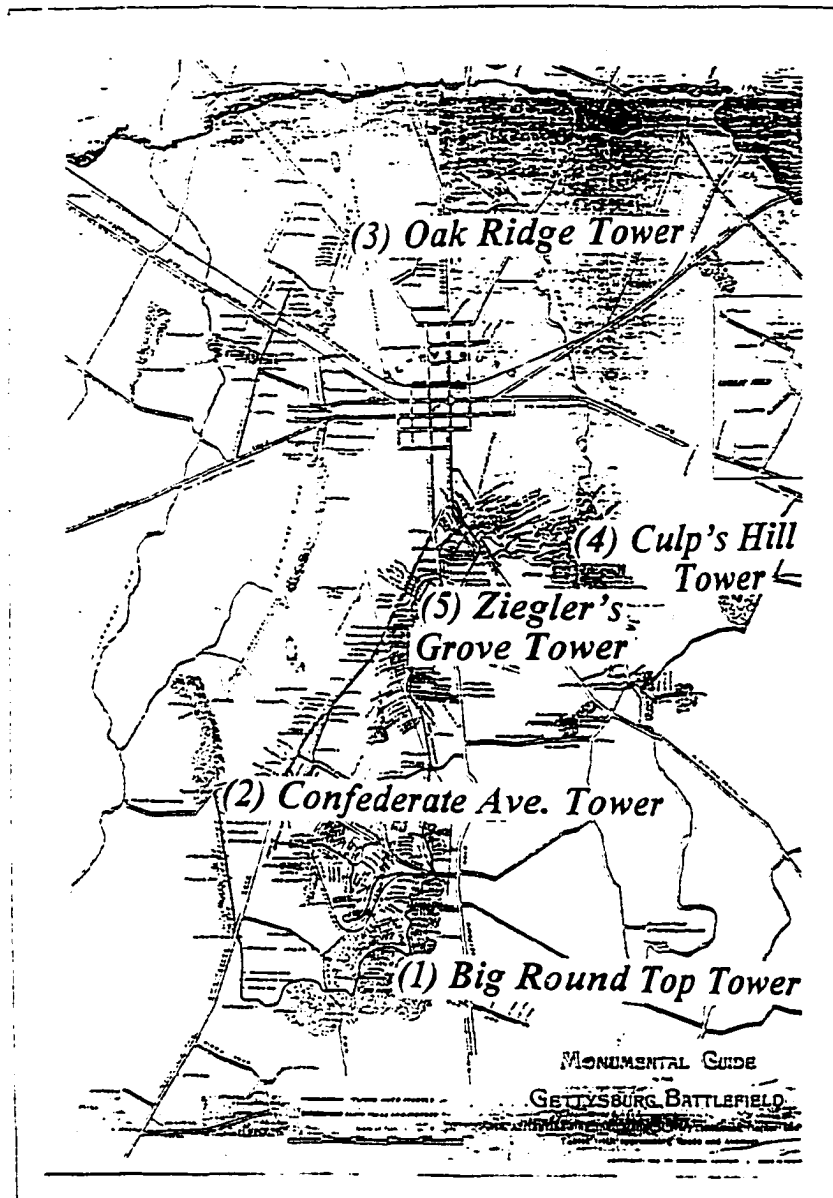


Figure 3.21: The War Department Observation Towers.

Towers (1), (2), (3), and (4) were constructed in 1895. A property dispute may have prevented tower (2) from being placed farther north and led to the construction of tower (5) to afford visitors and military students a view of the fields where Pickett's men charged. Today, only towers (2) and (4) remain in tact.



Figure 3.22: Devil's Den.

The ornamental cannonball-and-chain fence, pictured at left, added to the impressiveness and sacredness of the Den by showcasing the site. Similar decorations the most popular sites in the park outside of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. Note the chisel patches on the large boulders pictured at right. The Den's popularity attracted visitors who carved their names into the rocks, but the GNP Commission removed the engravings in 1895.

Source: Adams County Historical Society

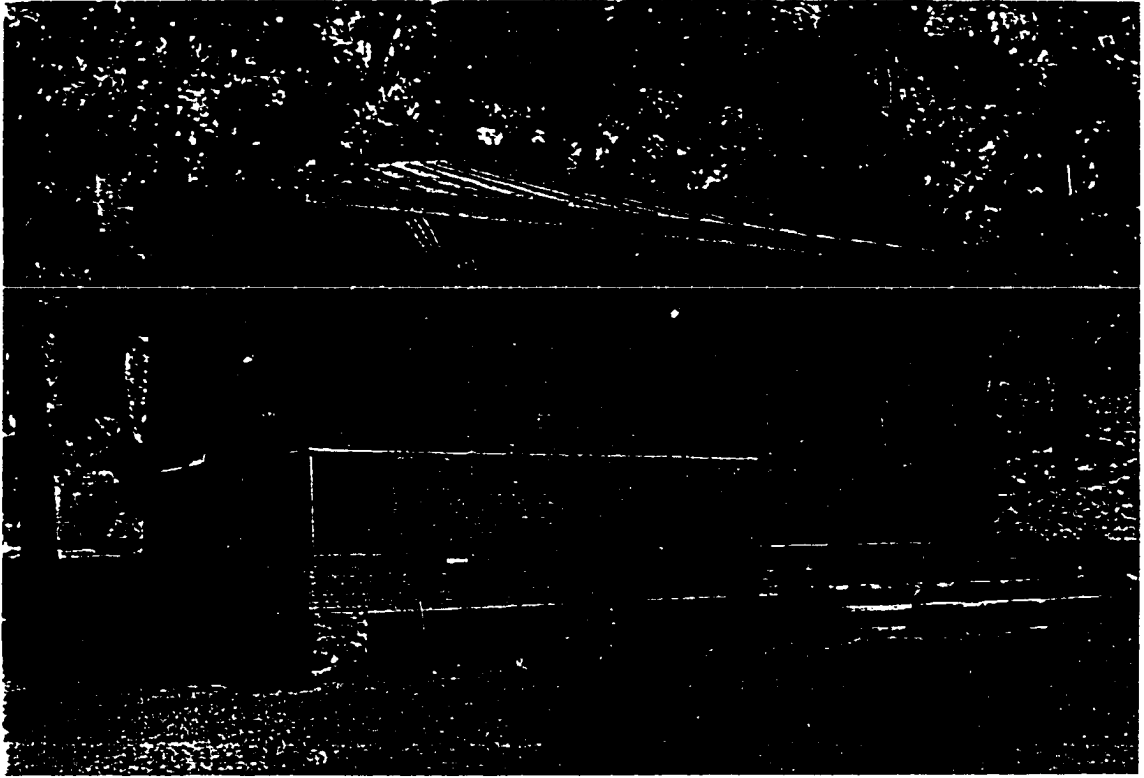


Figure 3.23: Restaurant Stand at Tipton's Park, Devil's Den, 1903.

Local photographer William Tipton purchased this stand across from Devil's Den and built a dance house and photo studio nearby to create Tipton's Park in 1893. The Gettysburg Electric Railway brought thousands of visitors to the Den and Tipton's Park to get their picture taken and have fun until the GNP Commission condemned Tipton's property in 1903. The trolleys continued to operate through here until 1916, but the buildings were removed.

Source: National Park Service

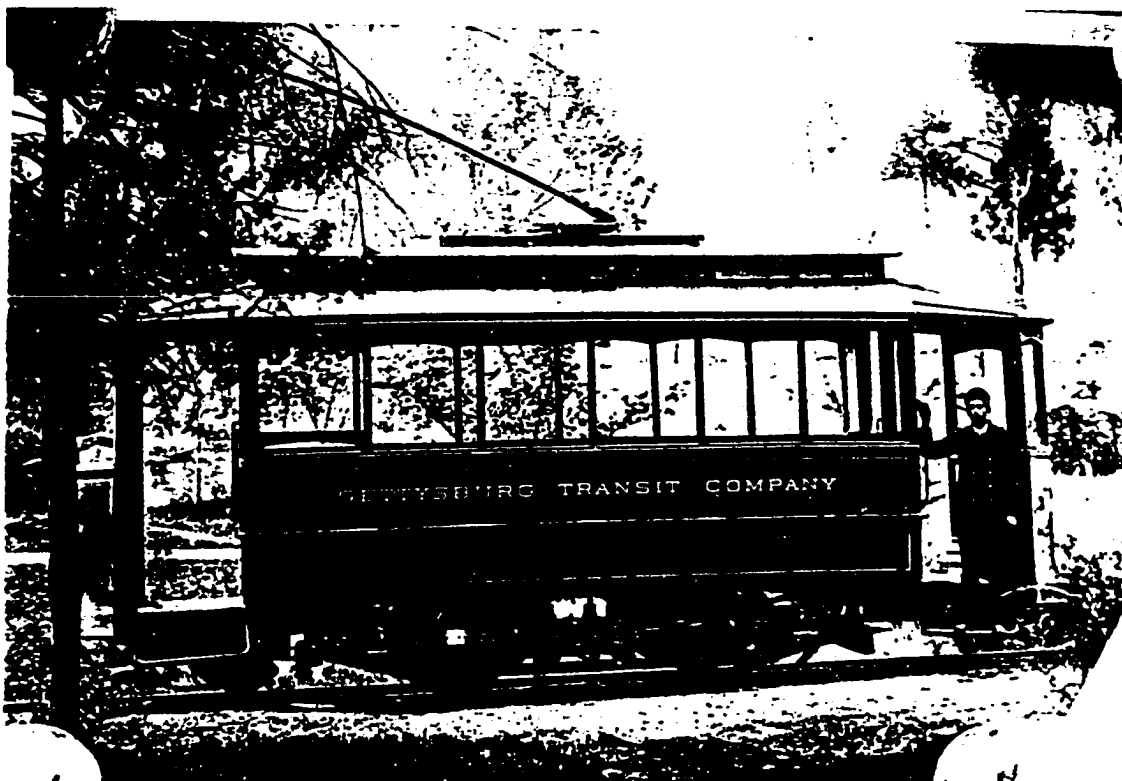


Figure 3.24: A Battlefield Trolley Car.

Seven electric-powered trolley cars took tourists around to various parts of the Gettysburg Battlefield. All trolley cars were named for Union generals at Gettysburg - Meade, Reynolds, Hancock, Sickles, Sykes, Howard, and Slocum. This early trolley car was photographed near Devil's Den where trolleys frequently took passengers to picnic and have fun among the rocks and at Tipton's Park.

Source: National Park Service

Notes

- ¹ See Gettysburg National Park Commission Reports, 1893 - 1904 (1905).
- ² The original GNP Commission formed in 1893 did not include William Robbins and Charles Richardson. Robbins replaced the original Confederate veteran on the Commission, William H. Forney, after Forney's death in 1894. The following year, Richardson replaced the late Commissioner John Bachelder who died in December 1894.
- ³ The term "hack" referred to a guide and carriage.
- ⁴ See Cope's Annual Reports on file in the GNMP Archives. Shortly after the Federal Government designated Gettysburg a national military park, West Point Military Academy began bringing its graduating class every year in April or May for a two-day study of the field.
- ⁵ The lack of trees is evident in a period photograph of Slocum Avenue. See William Frassanito, Gettysburg: Then and Now. Touring the Battlefield with Old Photos, 1863-1889 (1996), 42.
- ⁵ Saunders wanted the plantings to "provide seclusion, retirement and privacy" appropriate for a cemetery. See William Saunders, "Landscape Gardening," in Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1869 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1870).
- ⁷ John Bachelder lamented the growth of the cemetery's evergreen trees because he too felt they obscured the view and visitors would fail to realize the original tactical importance of Cemetery Hill at the time of battle. See later editions of his tour book (Bachelder 1890).
- ⁸ By the turn of the century, memoirs, tour books, and printed accounts referred to the charge of the third day's battle as "Pickett's Charge" more than "Longstreet's Assault." Two things contributed to this. First, Virginia newspapers dominantly referred to the charge as "Pickett's" since 1863. Second, widespread hatred across the South for Longstreet because he criticized Lee's performance at Gettysburg and served as a Republican politician in the postbattle years further compelled Southerners and Confederate veterans to disassociate Longstreet from anything so noble as that magnificent charge -- so they called it Pickett's Charge (see Confederate Veteran magazine 1893-1932).
- ⁹ See memories of an unknown diarist made during trip to Gettysburg 12-16 July 1889. The diary is on file at the GNMP Library (File 11-50: Early Visitation).
- ¹⁰ See the memoirs of the unknown diarist, 12-16 July 1889 (on file at GNMP Library).
- ¹¹ See Connelly 1977, 123-140; Kinsel's article in Boritt 1997, 214-215; and Reardon 1997.
- ¹² See Frederick Hawthorne's manuscript "A History of the Gettysburg Battlefield Guides," (1996) on file at the GNMP Library. For an excellent account of early guiding at Gettysburg, see Skip Wensyel's article "Tales of a Gettysburg Guide," American Heritage 45.2 (1994), 104-113.
- ¹³ For photographs of the wooden observation towers atop Big Round Top and East Cemetery Hill, see William H. Tipton Photograph Collection at the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- ¹⁴ See photo of "Stone wall rebuilt along Sedgwick Avenue" (GNMPC 1905, 54).
- ¹⁵ For the best discussion on the Gettysburg Electric Railway, see Adelman and Smith, Devil's Den (1997, 83-91).
- ¹⁶ The GNP Commission requested \$100,000 from the War Department for the park annual budget in 1899 (GNMPC 1905, 54).

- ¹⁷ Discussions of early vandalism on the Gettysburg battlefield are brief and scattered. See Vanderslice (1899) for vandalism during the GBMA years, and Cope's Reports (on file at GNMP Archives) for the War Department years.
- ¹⁸ See photos accompanying 1896 Annual Report of the GNP Commission that document the damage on the field created by a storm on 30 September 1896 (GNMPC 1905).
- ¹⁹ The popularity of Big Round Top's tower is well known to Timothy H. Smith, Licensed Battlefield Guide (interview by author, GNMP, 24 June 1997).
- ²⁰ The descriptive plaques on the deck of the Confederate Avenue Observation Tower are still there today. They remain a cultural relic of turn-of-the-century interpretation at Gettysburg, showing what sites were important landmarks then.
- ²¹ The iron compass maps, or directional tablets, are still found on the decks of the Confederate Avenue and Culp's Hill observation towers at Gettysburg.
- ²² For a discussion on Gettysburg tour books and circulars in the 1890s, see Julian Ralph, "Gettysburg Battle-field," Harper's Weekly 36 (1892): 686.
- ²³ Veteran pilgrimages to Gettysburg attracted much press. See for example, L. P. Paris, O. O. Howard, Henry Slocum, and Abner Doubleday, "Gettysburg Thirty Years; the Reunion of 1890," North American Review 152 (1891), 129-147.
- ²⁴ An excellent discussion on the tradition of name engraving at Devil's Den is found in Adelman and Smith (1997): 97-102.
- ²⁵ For discussion on Tipton's park, see Adelman and Smith, Devil's Den, 86-90. For an example of public outcry against the Gettysburg Electric Railway and Tipton's Park, see John Reed Scott, "The Gettysburg Desecration," Harper's Weekly 37 (1893): 620-622. For coverage of the GNP Commission's case to condemn the railway and park, see two sources: GNMPC, Annual Reports, 15, 52; Unrau, Administrative History, 75-76.

Chapter Four

Lincoln's Legacy, 1940

The literature of the Battle of Gettysburg is enormous in volume.

- Elsie Singmaster Lewars (1932).

Thousands stood around the rostrum in the national cemetery on the afternoon of 19 November 1940. This event and Memorial Day made for the most popular ceremonial festivities celebrated at Gettysburg. The new Lincoln Fellowship organization, formed just two years earlier, sponsored the festivities, which began with a luncheon at the Hotel Gettysburg on the town's square followed by a pilgrimage of members and spectators to the national cemetery for speeches made from the rostrum. In recent years, a Lincoln impersonator occasionally recited the address for the crowd (Figure 4.1).

The principal guests at the anniversary ceremony were not veterans of the battle, but childhood witnesses to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Most of the veterans of the battle, indeed the war, were gone, and living witnesses to Lincoln's famous speech received the spotlight, both locally and nationally. That night, Americans on the east coast tuning into "We, the People" radio show broadcast from New York City would listen to special guest, 83-year-old William C. Storrick -- longtime Gettysburg resident, park employee, and author -- "tell his

impressions of Lincoln gained when [he], as a boy, heard the President deliver his famous Gettysburg Address" (Gettysburg Times 16 November 1940, 1).

In 1940, only about ten thousand Civil War veterans remained in the entire country, and Gettysburg's first and new superintendent, James McConaghie, lamented the passing of the days when veterans had been frequent visitors and guests at the park (**Figure 4.2**). McConaghie worked for the National Park Service (NPS), the organization to which the War Department had transferred care and operation of all national military parks in 1933. The NPS mission at Gettysburg involved educating the public on the battle, a crucial task now that the present generation of American visitors to the Park consisted of American families and busloads of schoolchildren, most of whom had no relatives who served in the Civil War, and those that did no longer had them alive to listen to and learn from. The schoolchildren especially were the first generation of Americans removed from the immediacy of the war and its battles, and this contributed greatly to their being brought to Gettysburg for the first time as part of school programs as well as for the park's new focus on actively interpreting the battle for the public.

Still, the popularity of the park and the battle had increased substantially since 1904 because of the veterans. Gettysburg had served as the site of the two greatest reunions of Blue and Gray, held in 1913 and 1938. Both events lasted several days, were attended by hundreds of thousands of people, and received phenomenal press coverage nationwide. Thousands of publicized photographs and stories that celebrated these gatherings of old Confederate and Union veterans showed them shaking hands, eating together, and putting

aside their differences for the sake of peace and brotherhood (Figure 4.3).

Indeed, the spectacles focused widespread attention on national reconciliation and unity. These were ideals that Lincoln promoted and hoped would be achieved, they were embodied in his address, and probably at no time were Lincoln and his ideals more present than at Gettysburg in 1940 -- in the monuments visitors saw, the stories they heard, the ceremonies they attended, the park literature they read, and the most popular sites they enjoyed.

The Peace Light and Barlow Knoll: Bringing Attention to the First Day's Battle.

The new Lincoln Highway brought hordes of visitors to Gettysburg following its opening in 1912 as the first transcontinental automotive highway. It ran right through the center square of town. In 1940, nearly all tourists arrived via automobile and Pennsylvania Esso Gas Stations issued state road maps with Lincoln's image on the front. Those coming into Gettysburg from the west on the Lincoln Highway encountered a stone roadside building with a big white sign and red letters reading, "Gettysburg National Military Park, Information." Situated on the edge of the park's west boundary on the First-Day's battlegrounds, it was one of two new park entrance stations manned by NPS Rangers and several battlefield guides. The other stone entrance station stood at the south edge of the park along the Emmitsburg Road to provide information and orientation for visitors arriving via this route.

The NPS constructed the "West End" and "South End" entrance stations in 1937 as part of a new interpretive plan to help educate and orient visitors before entering the park. In addition, local battlefield guides were posted at

temporary shelters along the Harrisburg Road (or North End station), at East Cemetery Hill along the Baltimore Pike, and on the town's center square. The guides no longer operated independently because they had to be licensed by the NPS. This involved written and oral testing to insure visitors would receive an accurate and comprehensive overview of the battle of Gettysburg, and at a reasonable price. The War Department began licensing the guides in 1915 after numerous complaints of guide fraud and inappropriate behavior, namely short-tripping customers by as much as an hour for the standard two-hour tour, the telling of false stories by guides who had little or no knowledge of the actual battle, and instances of fighting amongst guides as they flagged down motorists and competed for customers (Wensyel 1994). The NPS continued the War Department's licensing practice, kept the total number of licensed guides to about 100, and tested new potential guides every few years to maintain that number.

Tourists who stopped at the park entrance stations in 1940 received new GNMP tour booklets with Lincoln's silhouette and a portion of his Gettysburg Address appearing on the front cover. The new park historian, Dr. Fred Tilberg, authored the booklet. Superintendent McConaghie hired Tilberg in 1935 to develop the park's interpretive program at Gettysburg and oversee continued efforts to reconstruct and maintain the battlefield's historic appearance. The booklet covered each of the three day's battles. On the back cover, a map of the park featured blackened avenues and arrows designating the "Route of Official Guide Tour" over the entire battlefield, including the First Day's battlegrounds (Figure 4.4). For the first time in park history, GNMP directed

visitors to tour the battlefield in a common and comprehensive manner. Two-page handouts of the map were also available. And all maps directed visitors to begin their tours at Reynolds Woods where the fighting began on July 1, 1863.

Most visitors to the First Day's battlegrounds in 1940 were not drawn to this part of the field because of Reynolds Woods (since Reynolds' popularity had subsided in recent years), nor because of the importance of the First Day's battle (which remained neglected by the growing Gettysburg literature at this time).¹ The biggest attraction by far stood on Oak Hill: the Eternal Light Peace Memorial (Figure 4.5). No other monuments garnered as much national publicity as this one.

Planning for the Peace Light monument began at the 50th Anniversary Reunion of the Blue and Gray held at Gettysburg in 1913. Beginning in 1936, the Pennsylvania Commission in charge of overseeing the construction of the memorial and ceremonies appointed Gettysburg newspaper editor Paul Roy as executive secretary responsible for seeing all plans were carried out. Roy secured title to the land, raised and gathered funds from interested states, invited all living Civil War veterans to the reunion, and organized the festivities. He was also a superb promoter and issued press releases and answered inquiries on a weekly basis. Indeed, by the time construction began on the memorial in 1937, press coverage of the future monument and upcoming event had appeared nationwide.

The unveiling and dedication of this memorial served as the pinnacle ceremony for the 75th Anniversary Reunion of Blue and Gray veterans on 3 July 1938. President Roosevelt gave the dedication address before 1,845 Civil

War veterans -- honored guests whose average age was 94 -- and an estimated 200,000 spectators.² After Roosevelt's speech, a former Union veteran and a former Confederate veteran together lowered the giant U.S. flag draped over the Peace Light to unveil this magnificent memorial. Built of limestone and paid for by all northern and southern states whose men fought at Gettysburg, it consisted of an elevated parapet 85 feet wide with a 40 foot column topped by a gas urn protruding from its center. Spectators watched as the urn ignited to produce a flame to burn all day and night for eternity in memory of "Peace Eternal In A Nation United." These words served as the theme for the reunion and appeared engraved across the front of the memorial in large letters. President Roosevelt reminded the crowd that day that the theme espoused Lincoln's hopes and ideals, that Lincoln above all strove for peace and a new unity, and that Americans should live by "the wisdom and the humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln" (Roy 1950, 117). The memorial and its words stood as a testament to Lincoln, as did the entire reunion. In fact, a four-year-old girl proved tremendously popular because she could recite the entire Gettysburg Address from memory and the press celebrated her as another highlight of this greatest and final reunion at Gettysburg.³

In 1940, visitors to the Peace Light could walk onto the parapet, stand in front of the shaft, and look south over the fields that Iverson's Confederates had crossed as they made their fatal attack against Baxter's brigade of Union soldiers on the afternoon of the First-Day's battle. Only, these fields were missing two key authentic features. Both the Forney farmstead (comprising a farmhouse and barn) and Iverson's pits had been removed. Since the time of battle, the fields

belonged to the Forney family, but after the NPS acquired the farm property McConaghie authorized the removal of the farmhouse and barn in 1937 during the construction of the Peace Light memorial. The farmhouse and barn stood near the intersection of Mummasburg Road and Buford Avenue, and visitors approaching Oak Hill from Buford Avenue invariably noticed these structures as they passed by. Unfortunately by 1937 these buildings had deteriorated badly, the Park did not have enough funds to restore them, and McConaghie had them removed so the house and barn would not take away from the beauty of the Peace Light nor mar the viewscape from its parapet.

Park historian Fred Tilberg reported on the historical significance of the Forney farmhouse and barn for the park in 1937. Iverson's Confederates gathered around the buildings for cover before embarking on their fatal charge, the buildings incurred tremendous shell and bullet damage during the engagement that afternoon, and the buildings likely served as a temporary hospital for wounded after the battle. According to Tilberg, the house had some non-historic additions built since the time of battle, and most of its battle scars had been repaired, but the importance of this structure deserved preservation and the barn remained in its original form. Despite the strengths of Tilberg's argument, McConaghie overruled him because of the presumed national importance of the Peace Light and the hope that the memorial would further Gettysburg as a national shrine for all Americans, North and South, to visit and learn about the great battle and battlefield of the war.⁴

McConaghie also understood that memorializing the Oak Ridge landscape would ultimately benefit the park's interpretive efforts to perpetuate

the memory of the battle. Visitation levels had been low during the 1930s because of the Depression. And visitation would not likely increase if the national shrine about to appear in the spot light would have dilapidated buildings alongside its newest memorial. There were other extenuating circumstances as well. Architect Paul Cret did not want his beautiful work marred, and on a practical level, the weakened buildings could pose a threat to the expected crowd. So by 1940, visitors looking from the Peace Light parapet saw only a bend in Buford Avenue where the road had been built around the Forney buildings and some trees on the site that had been left standing.

Iverson's Pits had disappeared for different reasons.⁵ Still visible across the fields, at the juncture of Wadsworth, Buford, and North Reynolds avenues were two small, dilapidated buildings. The smaller appeared as an old shack or snack stand with its windows shut up and the larger building had big white letters on its roof that read, "AIRPORT" (Figure 4.6). These were remnants of the Gettysburg Flying Service company. In 1927, Forney rented his fields to the new company which turned the grounds into an airport. The airstrip began where North Reynolds Avenue terminated. It extended due north across Forney's fields for two tenths of a mile, ending several yards short of intersecting the Mummasburg Road. The strip did not run over Iverson's Pits, but the pits were adjacent to the strip where planes were frequently parked. By 1927, the pits were likely very shallow and insignificant from weathering, and the company may simply have destroyed what little remained of them without knowing the shallow pits had been a Confederate mass grave.

The Gettysburg Flying Service operated for only four years; it went

bankrupt in 1931. But during that time the company operated several planes and provided adventurous tourists with tours of the battlefield as well as mail service to the community. The main building served as the company offices and the small shanty operated as the ticket booth for summer tourists. Although Forney returned the fields to farming, visitors in 1940 could still see the old airstrip outlined in the fields after crops had been cleared.

The real significance of the airport is that a private corporation easily acquired and altered property on the First-Day's battlegrounds without raising many eyebrows because of the general unpopularity and lack of literary attention given this part of the battle and field. During the 1880s and 1890s, when the GBMA and GNP Commission acquired strips of land and constructed avenues and Union regimental organizations placed monuments, the Forney fields were not acquired because the First-Day's battle paled in comparison with the second and third days of fighting at Gettysburg. In addition, the First-Day's battle had been a thorough Confederate victory, a fact that few Northerners wanted to remember. The Union troops, despite inflicting heavy casualties on Iverson's brigade (and capturing Davis' brigade in the Railroad Cut), were completely swept from the ridge and pushed back through town. Lee's Army suffered approximately 7,000 casualties and Meade's Army lost about 9,000 men, nearly half of whom were captured fleeing through town in their retreat. This truth remained untold, even in 1940.⁶

Although Oak Ridge now received greater attention, who won and who lost mattered little in 1940, and the most popular myths and stories surrounding the First-Day's battle covered up blame, promoted participants for their

achievements that were often not related to fighting, and celebrated acts of kindness between enemies during battle. For example, visitors en masse learned the Battle of Gettysburg started over shoes.⁷ Since 1877, General Heth, commander of the first Confederate force to engage the enemy at Gettysburg, emphatically maintained that he brought his division to town on 1 July 1863, in search of shoes, and that he had credible reasons to believe Meade's main force was not nearby. General Lee did not want to purposely bring on an engagement and Heth's story of shoes protected him from being blamed for doing just that. The popularity of this anecdote at Gettysburg by 1940 stemmed partly from General Heth's position as Commissioner at nearby Antietam National Military Park for many years. Licensed battlefield guides at Gettysburg were well aware of Heth and of his story and had no reason to question it. Indeed, Douglas Southall Freeman acknowledged the story in his 1934 Pulitzer-winning R. E. Lee. A Biography, which made for standard reading among the guides. Also, many guides found the "shoe" anecdote helped novice visitors clearly understand how the battle started as an accident.⁸ Furthermore, the best evidence justifying Heth's quest for shoes was right in downtown Gettysburg. The old trolley barn (the former Gettysburg Electric Railway powerhouse) had been converted into the Sure Foot Rubber Heel factory and this reinforced Gettysburg's supposed importance as a shoe center.⁹

Another popular story for visitors to these parts surrounded General Abner Doubleday's achievements. A statue to Doubleday had been erected on Reynolds Avenue and guides frequently pointed it out to tourists and noted

that Doubleday had invented baseball. But the most popular human interest story concerning the First-Day's battle, both in press and shared by guides, drew visitors to Barlow Knoll. There, on the afternoon of 1 July 1863, Confederate General John Gordon befriended a dying Union General Francis Barlow. Barlow's force had retreated and no one remained to care for the general until Gordon arrived. Gordon listened to Barlow request his wife be informed. She served as a Union nurse with the army and Gordon subsequently summoned two aides who "under a flag of truce ... rode through the Union lines, found Mrs. Barlow and escorted her to the side of her husband atop the knoll" where he lay (Grimm & Roy 1927, 26). Gordon's action saved Barlow's life, but Gordon thought Barlow died. And before the war ended, Barlow heard of a General Gordon being killed (only it was not the same Gordon). Twenty years passed before the two unknowingly encountered each other at a Blue & Gray veterans banquet in Washington, reunited, and remained lifelong friends. This story was corroborated by both Gordon and Barlow at the 25th Anniversary Reunion of the Blue & Gray at Gettysburg in 1888, repeated in Gordon's published memoirs, and reprinted numerous times in newspaper stories and souvenir tourist booklets following the turn of the century.

These stories in 1940 offered visitors a non-combative and sensitive account of the First-Day's battle. Neither side received censure or praise for acts of aggression during the battle. Only acts of peace or examples of bravery in the form of self-sacrifice were celebrated. The NPS considered this kind of interpretation especially important for schoolchildren coming to Gettysburg (Figure 4.7). This pattern continued as visitors followed the park's official tour

route.

Spangler's Spring, Culp's Hill, and East Cemetery Hill: Drinking at the Spring.

Spangler's Spring served as the next significant stop on the park tour route and visitors drove through town to reach it. Those with battlefield guides were sure to see and learn of the train station that Lincoln arrived at on Carlisle Street when he visited Gettysburg to dedicate the new national cemetery as well as the Wills House on the town's center square where Lincoln stayed for the duration of his visit that November. From the square, visitors could head out York Street and then follow East Confederate Avenue around to Spangler's Spring.¹⁰

By 1940, Spangler's Spring had changed substantially since 1904, both interpretively and physically. The story surrounding its importance had never been more popular, the spring itself had a new water spigot, and a comfort station and a guardhouse stood nearby (Figure 4.8). All these changes reflected the spring's popularity in literature and visitation in recent years.

Beginning with the 50th Reunion of the Blue & Gray at Gettysburg in 1913, returning veterans, battlefield guides, and touristy publications exaggerated the spring's significance as a source of water for both Union and Confederate soldiers during the night of the Second-Day's battle. The most outrageous accounts claimed that soldiers of both sides called a truce, took turns filling their canteens, exchanged friendly conversation, and enjoyed each other's company for some time before returning to their respective camps. This served as a powerful example of soldiers as compassionate humans capable of putting

aside their differences for the sake of reconciliation, albeit temporary. The story fit well with the themes of the 50th and 75th reunions at Gettysburg, and because accounts of it appeared in print and were substantiated by nostalgic veterans, visitors had no reason to question the story's authenticity.

The story increased the popularity of the spring dramatically. By the 1920s and 30s, so many visitors wanted to drink at the spring, either because they heard of it or because guides took them there for that purpose, that the NPS installed a spigot for the 1938 reunion. Visitors photographed drinking from the spring appeared in 1938 Reunion Program booklets and other souvenir publications and, shortly thereafter, getting one's picture taken while taking a drink became a frequent pastime. The publicity inspired the trend and helped cement the story in the public's memory. Indeed, many children who visited the site in the 1930s and 40s never forgot their experience at the spring.¹¹ John Fuss, whose parents took him to the spot, remembered a tree about five feet from the spring with a nail sticking out from its bark (Fuss 1999). On the nail hung a public drinking cup for everyone to use -- and lots of people did! The NPS occasionally provided paper drinking cups, mostly on holidays or days of heavy visitation, and the War Department or NPS allowed young local boys to "man" the spigot during the 50th, 75th, and other smaller reunions to earn some change while providing drinks for the crowds of veterans and their families (Shultz 1999).¹²

A guardhouse stood several feet behind the spring along Geary Avenue. The GNP Commission constructed the hut in the 1910s to shelter one of seven Park guards that they hired to protect the new memorials and the battlefield that

they had painstakingly improved into a suitable national military park. The six other shelters were situated at Hancock Avenue, Little Round Top, Devil's Den, West Confederate Avenue, Oak Ridge, and East Cavalry Field. Park guards were in charge of patrolling a section of the park. The size of their patrol area and the location of their shelter depended on the popularity of their site. Spangler's Spring served as the base for the park guard who patrolled the spring and Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill because public visitation to this area began to concentrate most at the spring as the 50th anniversary reunion approached. The focus of public attention to the spring remained consistent up to 1940, while Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill had become of secondary interest for visitors to this part of the field.

Several yards to the left of the spring stood an NPS comfort station, built in 1934 to provide restroom facilities for tourists. There were four of these stations around the park, and they were more recent and more indicative of public visitation patterns in 1940. The other three were situated at the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Hancock Avenue, and at the base of Big Round Top (for visitors to Devil's Den and Little Round Top). These facilities were spaced along the entire Union Fishhook defense line, from the Union army's right flank at the spring to its left flank at the Round Tops, because visitors spent the greatest amount of their time on this portion of the park's tour route. Although the park tour route incorporated West Confederate Avenue and the First-Day's fields of battle, one general trend in visitation at Gettysburg had remained consistent since 1904: visitors most wanted to see where the fighting occurred on 2-3 July 1863.

Visitors leaving Spangler's Spring could follow Slocum Avenue over

Culp's Hill and on to East Cemetery Hill. The War Department observation tower on Culp's Hill remained in frequent use and the abundance of earthworks and lunettes remained readily visible. Still, there were definite differences between these hills now and 40 years earlier, but differences that new visitors to the Park were probably unaware of. First, the earthworks and lunettes had been reconstructed by Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) workers in the 1930s under Fred Tilberg's supervision.¹³ Gettysburg employed and housed the CCC workers beginning in 1934 and served as one of two all-black CCC camps in the country.¹⁴ Second, Slocum Avenue had undergone several changes, namely that its curves were gentler, its width wider, and that it approached the summit of Culp's Hill from behind the west side -- markedly different than the Slocum Avenue of 1904. The avenue had previously approached the summit by following along the Union breastworks up the east slope of Culp's Hill. In 1936, the NPS team of CCC workers widened and altered this avenue to accommodate the automobile. All avenues and entrances throughout the park had been widened for this purpose, but Superintendent McConaghie ordered Slocum Avenue to be the first of two avenues modified for the automobile because of its sharp curves and the dangerous steepness of Culp's Hill's east face.

The altering of Slocum Avenue had interpretive consequences, however. Its new route ignored monuments to the 60th New York and other Union regiments who fought off Ewell's Confederate attack against Culp's Hill on the second and third days of battle. Moreover, it prevented visitors from seeing and appreciating the actual ground of the frontal assault and the steepness of the

slope up which the Confederates fought. But McConaghie had good reason for not maintaining the original approach for visitors: making the front face of Culp's Hill safe for car traffic would have meant widening and cutting into the slope to the point of threatening the integrity of the earthworks and terrain where the major fighting occurred.

Another key difference that new visitors were unaware of concerned the lessening interpretive importance of Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill. These hills were no longer the celebrated turning point of the battle. The woods over Culp's Hill had completely regrown and no bullet-scarred trees remained. Only visitors with guides learned of the Confederate charge involving hand-to-hand combat against East Cemetery Hill on the evening of July 2nd. In 1940, that story had not had the publicity to draw tourists as much as the events and stories at half-a-dozen other sites, such as Spangler's Spring and the Peace Light.

But visitors were aware of two new features. On East Cemetery Hill stood a statue to General Howard, the newest of the equestrian monuments, placed in 1932. The sculptor, Robert Aitken, had to furnish a second likeness of Howard atop his steed because his first showed the General missing his left arm rather than his right. Aitken corrected the problem before the statue's placement and the likeness appeared accurate in all other details as well. Innocently, Aitken sculpted Howard's horse with all four hoofs on the monument pedestal, which further supported the anecdote explaining the fate of generals at Gettysburg with equestrian statues. Guides were quick to point out that two legs raised meant the rider died at Gettysburg, one leg raised indicated he had been wounded, and no legs raised meant the rider survived unscathed. Howard did indeed survive

Gettysburg, the story had grown in popularity from guides using it as a helpful learning tool for visitors, especially children, and in 1940, five equestrian statues scattered the park and all fit the story.¹⁵

An authentic bronze Napoleon cannon used in the battle constituted the second new attraction. The War Department placed the cannon on East Cemetery Hill adjacent to the Baltimore Pike, just where the road crested the hill. The nozzle of the tube featured a depression made by an enemy shell that had struck the gun. Now that automobiles had become the standard mode of travel, park personnel grew concerned that the cannon could be a potential traffic hazard because motorists frequently stopped to see it. Tourists frequently gathered around the gun and guides leading visitors to the hill invariably stopped at it because in 1940 that cannon remained the only visible evidence of battle damage on East Cemetery and Culp's hills.

The Soldiers' National Cemetery: The Most Visited Site on the Battlefield.

Tourists could drive their automobiles through the national cemetery in 1940. The NPS had its team of CCC workers widen the Baltimore Street entrance the year before to accommodate motorists. NPS signs directed visitors to follow Lower Main Drive west toward the Taneytown Road exit. After passing the grave area, they had the option to loop back around the cemetery using Upper Main Drive, which the NPS designated one-way east, and then follow Lower Main Drive again to the cemetery's back west exit. Most visitors, especially those with guides, followed the entire loop to see the grave area and pass by the Soldiers' National Monument. The NPS had a Park Ranger permanently stationed in the

cemetery to answer questions and interpret the cemetery's significance for interested tourists.

The most popular question visitors had for guides and the Park Ranger on duty stood out above all other inquiries: "Where did Lincoln speak?" This question had been asked by visitors since the creation of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, and battlefield guides often knew the answer, but no sign designated the spot for the mass public to read – until now. A new NPS sign stood in front of the Soldiers' National Monument marking it as the site where Lincoln gave his famous Gettysburg Address (Figure 4.9).

By 1940, the national fame of Lincoln and his address seemed paramount. Images of Lincoln speaking appeared widely, and the memorization of his address made for standard practice in elementary schools nationwide. Several widely known stories circulated concerning how Lincoln wrote the speech¹⁶, and numerous local and national publications on Lincoln and his visit to Gettysburg had appeared in print in recent decades (Carmichael 1917). Indeed much of Lincoln's popularity had surged recently, that is, during the years after the turn of the 20th century (Figure 4.10).¹⁷

A major impetus for Lincoln's storied fame among visitors in 1940 stemmed from a 1906 article titled "The Perfect Tribute," written by Mary Shipman Andrews. Andrews wrote that Lincoln concocted the speech on board a train to Gettysburg using a borrowed pencil stump and a piece of scrap book wrapping. The key to the popularity of this story lay in Andrews' writing. She had an incredible talent for articulating the story in a most captivating manner. This

she did by celebrating the magnificence of the speech and the suddenness of its writing while juxtaposing it with Lincoln's modesty – a man of “scanty schooling” who scribbled out those sentences with painstaking sincerity, only to tuck it away feeling as if “it was the best he could do, and it was a failure” (Bloom 1974, 14). On top of this, Andrews wrote in beautiful prose. But she did not originate the story. Ben Perley Moore previously wrote of Lincoln writing the address on an envelope on his train to Gettysburg, however, Andrews accepted it and her ability to tell the story better insured its popularity. Indeed, her story appeared in several books and magazines in 1906 and thereafter, and by 1940 the story had achieved international renown.¹⁸

Even within the national cemetery, the fame of Lincoln's speech had been cemented, literally. A new granite monument stood across from the Rostrum at the back end of the cemetery featuring a bust of Lincoln with his Gettysburg Address in bronze relief to the right and another bronze plaque on the left featuring David Will's 1863 letter inviting the President to dedicate the new national cemetery (Figure 4.11).¹⁹ This, the Lincoln Address Memorial, had been placed in 1912 for the 50th Anniversary Reunion of the Blue & Gray the following year. Plans for the memorial originated much earlier. In 1895, the Congressional Act approving Gettysburg as a national military park stipulated that a memorial tablet of Lincoln's address be placed in the cemetery, and the War Department eventually contracted with the Van Amringe Granite Company of Westerly, Rhode Island, for the stonework and with sculptor Henry Kirke Bush-Brown for the bronze work in 1904. The monument's unveiling in 1912 corresponded with a “great national revival of interest in Lincoln,” which included

Congress's allocation of \$2 million for a new Lincoln memorial in Washington, D.C. (Craven 1982, 32). And by 1940, most visitors to Gettysburg knew of the two greatest memorials to Lincoln: the magnificent finished likeness of him in the nation's capital, and the monument to his address (the world's only memorial to a speech) that they saw in the Soldiers' National Cemetery.

While Lincoln's address garnered much attention, three significant changes in the cemetery went unnoticed by most visitors as they circled the grounds. First, the gravestones of the Union dead in the great semicircle around the central monument were flat and flush with the ground, no longer the great arcs of stone rows 10 inches high that had given a terraced effect to the slope and helped to emphasize the enormity of the dead. Second, only one carriage-road remained for visitors to enter the burial area, that being the principal road of approach to the Soldiers' National Monument from Lower Main Drive. All other semicircular and radial paths that had existed previously to facilitate visitors to individual graves were gone. The NPS made these two changes shortly after taking over the park. Superintendent McConaghie observed in 1934 that the cemetery gravestones were tilting grossly out of position because of 70 years of soil freezing and thawing and they made for an ugly and unkept appearance unsuitable for a national shrine (Gettysburg Times 16 July 1934, 1). He quickly thereafter ordered CCC workers to dig out the gravestones and reset the stones permanently in cement (Figure 4.12). The task took the CCC workers the entire fall of 1934, and when they finished the stones were flush with the grass and the carriage paths were gone. Why these changes were made is unrecorded, but potential contributing factors existed.²⁰ NPS mowing teams, for example, could

now cut the grass in the burial area more easily and without chipping the gravestones.²¹ Also, the paths were no longer as necessary because far fewer visitors specifically sought out individual grave sites or particular state plots, a trend that recognized the distancing of the battle from public memory. Indeed, in 1940, nearly all veteran survivors of the units had died and relatives of the dead constituted a small portion of the growing numbers of visitors to Gettysburg.

A third change concerned several trees with long, metal cables fixed to their trunks. The cables were lightning arrestors, which ran from the tallest branches down to the ground to divert lightning in the event it struck the trees. The GNP Commission ordered these trees be fitted with arrestors in the 1910s because of their historic importance. All but one were exotic, difficult to replace, and central to William Saunders' original landscaping efforts to beautify and ornament the cemetery grounds. The exception was a honey locust that stood several yards away from the Lincoln Address Memorial. The GNPC identified it as a "witness" tree because it existed on Cemetery Hill during the battle. Other witness trees throughout the Park were fitted with lightning arrestors as well.²²

As visitors headed out of the cemetery, the Rostrum they passed by had featured many a famous speaker in recent decades. In 1940 the cemetery continued to serve as site of the most popular annual celebrations at Gettysburg -- Memorial Day and the anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. These festivities garnered tremendous attention.²³ The long-held tradition of schoolchildren laying flowers on the graves had become so popular that photographs of the event regularly illustrated local newspaper and Associated

Press coverage of Memorial Day festivities (Figure 4.13). Superintendent McConaghie noted that it was now customary for Presidents to speak in the cemetery on either anniversary occasion at least once during their term in office.²⁴

The Park Ranger stationed on duty kept a tally of those exiting. In 1940, the cemetery served as one of six checkpoints where Park personnel kept count of visitation levels. According to those traffic counts, more visitors passed through the cemetery than any other site on the entire battlefield. But this popularity had little to do with the tactical importance of Cemetery Hill. The NPS and the battlefield guides focused more on Lincoln for visitors than telling the crucial role of Union batteries atop the hill during the battle, and the additional growth by trees in and around the cemetery in the years since 1904 further hindered visitors' ability to see the advantage of the hill and interpret the battle from it. Instead, Lincoln and anniversary festivities made the cemetery the most visited spot at Gettysburg in 1940.

The High Water Mark, The Angle, and Cemetery Ridge: Hand Grips at the Wall for One Flag and One Country.

Visitors exiting the cemetery could not miss Rosensteel's National Museum standing on the other side of the Taneytown Road next to the Hancock Avenue entrance (Figure 4.14). George Rosensteel built the new building in 1922 to house the collection of relics he inherited from his uncle, John. George spent his life combing the battlefield for muskets, bullets, and other buried relics and needed to remove the collection from his uncle's Round Top Museum at the

base of Little Round Top to accommodate its vastness. Those who visited the museum in 1940 were among the first to witness a new program and exciting large-scale replica of the battlefield: the Electric Map. In a large room that had been added onto the back of the building the year before, virtually doubling the size of the museum, sat a relief map of the entire battlefield measuring 30 feet square (to cover the 25 square miles over which the battle was fought) in a pit with several bleacher rows of seats all around to accommodate 200 or more visitors at a time. George's son Joseph constructed it the year before, complete with hundreds of different colored lights to represent the armies and key spots of engagement.

Joseph's new map attracted much of the public early on. Several times daily, Joseph or another family member sat in a booth overlooking the map and crowd, turned off the room lights, and read a script describing the three day's battle at Gettysburg while simultaneously flipping map lights on and off from a giant switch board to show the movements of the armies. Nothing like this had ever been seen, and visitors enjoyed the program immensely. It had an immediate effect on their understanding of the battle and field. The size of the battlefield frequently overwhelmed many tourists to Gettysburg and, until now, expert guides had no place to take visitors to see the entire field from which to orient themselves easily and learn the three days of battle in a concise manner.²⁵ The Electric Map program distilled the Gettysburg campaign into a half-hour script and a visible construct of the entire field – something visitors could not get while on the Park's comprehensive tour – and so visitors came away with a better conception of the course of battle and were better oriented. Several basic

concepts Joseph pointed out in his program stood out to visitors, notably that the Union army's defense line formed a "fishhook," that General G. K. Warren saved Little Round Top -- the "key position" to the success of the Union's fishhook defense, and that the battle climaxed at the Angle and Copse of Trees known as the High Water Mark close to where Rosensteel's museum now stood.

Tourists entering Hancock Avenue on their way to the High Water Mark had to walk about 150 feet south because the original entrance now stood opposite the cemetery. The NPS had shifted the entrance southward and did away with the original ornamented columns and iron gates that marked the previous entrance. Several other changes were noticeable too, especially from the deck of the Ziegler's Grove tower. First, the battlefield appeared well-forested all along the avenue on either side, especially from the Angle southward to Little Round Top (Figure 4.15). From the tower, visitors found it difficult to distinguish the famous Copse of Trees because of the abundance of nearby trees. GNP Commissioners Charles Richardson and Emmor Cope had continued planting trees on the battlefield in the 1910s and 1920s where trees had been at the time of battle and especially around monuments and along avenues to provide shade to aged veterans and visitors in the summertime. By 1940, their plantings had fruited and spread over more of the battlefield than perhaps they intended, but these trees remained because the NPS preserved nature as much as the historic scenery. Second, Meade Avenue terminated in a cul-de-sac at Meade's Headquarters (instead of connecting with the Taneytown Road). The NPS had set their team of CCC workers to constructing the cul-de-

sac as part of the Park-wide program to make the roads more accommodating to motorists and safer for travel. Several incidents of vehicular accidents and auto racing had occurred on the avenue and the NPS wanted to deter motorists from using it as a throughway.²⁶ Third, electric and telephone poles lined the entire length of Emmitsburg Road. And fourth, a giant flag flew atop a giant pole at the Angle, which matched the flag and pole at Meade's Headquarters and distinguished the High Water Mark to visitors better than the Copse of Trees, which were not as noticeable along the forested avenue. This made for the eighth flag flown on the field, adding to the patriotic displays at Gettysburg. Giant flags were still flown from Meade's Headquarters, the Soldiers' National Cemetery, and the five towers on significant battle anniversary occasions and national holidays.²⁷ Most importantly, the flag at the Angle represented significant changes in public visitation and military training at Gettysburg since 1904.

By 1940, tourists frequented the Angle nearly as much as the Soldiers' National Cemetery. In fact, differences in visitation levels all along the Union fishhook defense line from Spangler's Spring to Little Round Top were statistically insignificant according to traffic counts kept by Park personnel. The clustering of monuments along Hancock Avenue still attracted visitors to this part of the field, but the 50th and 75th Anniversary Reunions of the Blue and Gray had as much to do with the lure of the Angle in 1940. On both anniversaries, in 1913 and again in 1938, Confederate veterans reenacted Pickett's Charge by walking across the fields to the stone wall at the Angle where they met to shake hands with Union veterans standing there. Other veterans posed at the High

Water Mark memorial to shake hands and get their pictures taken. These staged events, especially the handshaking between former foes, received publicity in virtually every major newspaper nationwide and reaffirmed to the public that Americans were no longer Northerners and Southerners but united under "One Country and One Flag" (Figure 4.16).

The reunions were never to be equaled either. The remaining veterans were dying off rapidly and these gatherings were the largest ever held between veterans of both sides since the war ended. In 1913, for example, over 55,000 Civil War veterans attended, and they camped on the fields of Pickett's Charge. Press and film coverage popularized it as the "Great Encampment of 1913" and the tents covered the entire mile-wide fields between the Angle and Seminary Ridge from which Lee launched Pickett's Charge. At the 1938 reunion, the U.S. Army used these fields to put on an incredible display of tank and infantry drills all day on July 4th as part of the finale of festivities for the visiting veterans and public in attendance. It proved to be the largest-ever military demonstration put on for the public at Gettysburg.

Indeed, the Third-Day's battle received much notoriety. In addition to serving as the setting for these events, discussions on the "battle's climax" of Pickett's Charge were featured in the books, memoirs, and newsreels that flourished as a result of these reunions. The major significance of these published discussions is that Pickett's Charge invariably appeared as the "climax of the battle" and the "High Water Mark" of the Confederacy, not the failed Longstreet's Assault. While guides had taught visitors to the Angle and Copse of Trees to think of Pickett's Charge as the zenith of a powerful Confederacy since the

placing of the High Water Mark memorial in 1892, this concept remained limited to visitors and those who remembered coverage of the monument's placement. But now, in 1940, schools nationwide informed American children to think of Gettysburg as the High Water Mark thanks in great part to the national publicity of the reunions and the subsequent publications that promoted this concept to the general American public. The NPS maintained the giant flag and pole at the Angle because of the perceived national importance and rising popularity of Pickett's Charge and the High Water Mark concept.

The origin of the flag and pole had military significance. The War Department constructed it in 1918 to designate Camp Colt, a temporary training site for the Army's tank corps during World War I commanded by Captain Dwight David Eisenhower. The camp covered the entire Third-Day's battlefield, from the southern edge of town to the Round Tops. Barracks were placed next to the wall at the Angle, tanks ran drills across the fields where Pickett's men charged, and soldiers held firing practice on the Trostle farm and behind Big Round Top. In addition, the Army laid water and sewage pipes throughout the barracks and mess area and constructed a large in-ground swimming pool in the middle of the Codori farm fields for the soldiers to enjoy during the summer months.

In fact, U.S. military made regular use of Gettysburg for combat study and training, especially in recent decades. Through the 1910s, the Pennsylvania National Guard held annual encampments on the fields of Pickett's Charge, the Army held a Camp of Instruction for World War I on the same fields in 1917, and graduating classes of West Point spent a weekend every year at Gettysburg.

And in 1940, the U. S. Army War College and other military schools continued to bring their officers to Gettysburg for on-site classes as they had done for years (Figure 4.17).

At the Angle, there stood several caissons and limber chests alongside the cannon. The caissons and limber chests were recent additions and the Angle remained the only spot on the battlefield where this authentic equipment could be found. In addition, the NPS had placed observation binoculars so visitors could look across the fields at Seminary Ridge. But for visitors and military personnel bothering to study the fields closely, the fields had changed considerably in recent decades. First, the historic viewshed had been obscured by telephone and electric poles along the Emmitsburg Road that were constructed shortly after the turn of the century. The poles traversed the entire horizon of view and distracted persons attempting to see Seminary Ridge between the poles and wires. Second, the fields no longer exhibited the patchwork farm appearance of 1863. The original Codori, Bliss, Bryan, and Spangler farms that covered these fields were self-sufficient and divided the land into sections for orchards, crops, pasture, animals, and wood. The fencing of these sections illustrated this patchwork further and made for considerable obstacles to the men of Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble who made their way across on 3 July 1863. Most of the fences and orchards were removed for the military encampments, especially Camp Colt. In addition, the NPS at Gettysburg sponsored soil conservation programs in the 1930s that encouraged large-scale contour farming techniques in opposition to 1863 farming methods. Farmers leased the fields from the NPS, a practice that began with the War

Department in the 1910s, and practiced monoculture and large-scale farming according to the NPS soil programs.²⁸ Only the terrain of these fields remained much as it had -- gently rolling with swales and dips still noticeable to visitors who walked the fields.²⁹

Perhaps the greatest difference between the fields in 1904 and in 1940 is that visitors could now walk across them. Of course, the NPS did not openly encourage visitors to traverse the farmed fields and trample the crops, but restrictive gas-pipe fencing no longer lined Hancock Avenue and guides could now escort interested visitors into the fields on occasion to show where George Ward of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment had died, where the Bliss Farm buildings that were burned in the battle had previously stood, or where the Stannard's Vermont brigade outflanked the most advanced line of Pickett's Charge. Superintendent McConaghie ordered the removal of gas-pipe fencing from Hancock Avenue in 1936, as well as the removal of other avenue fencing on the Second and Third Days' grounds.

Three reasons were behind this removal. First, the Park had acquired more land on these battlegrounds, especially the farms, and the avenue fencing ceased to serve as boundary fencing. These additions added to over 1,000 acres of new property since 1904, nearly doubling the Park's landholdings (Figure 4.18). Second, maintenance for the fencing had proved expensive and government funding for land acquisition, CCC improvement of roads and trails, national cemetery landscaping, and reconstruction of earthworks took precedence. Third, the avenue fencing served a purpose no longer useful by

the 1930s and contrary to the budding NPS interpretive program under Fred Tilberg. Avenue fencing originally served to keep visitors to the roads and away from the grounds, just as fencing and plaques kept visitors away from the monuments. Now, with the passing of so many veterans, the sacredness of the fields and monuments had to be preserved through interpretative efforts so the memory of the Battle of Gettysburg might be perpetuated to the new generation of visitors. This meant removal of avenue fencing, as well as monument fencing and “keep off” plaques, to allow guides, park personnel, and visitors – especially youth who were the most unfamiliar with the battle and the old veterans – greater accessibility to the field.³⁰

No better place to see the openness of the battlefield and its improved historic appearance than from the observation deck of the Pennsylvania State Monument. Fred Tilberg took repeat photographs of Hancock Avenue from the memorial's observation deck to show the before-and-after effects of fencing removal for inclusion in the annual GNMP Superintendent Reports (Figure 4.19). In 1940, visitors who looked from the same vantage point could also see freshly constructed earthworks and newly rebuilt stonewalls along Hancock and new 1863-era replica fencing along Pleasonton Avenue courtesy of the CCC.

The Pennsylvania State Monument stood at the intersection of Pleasonton and Hancock avenues (Figure 4.20). The close proximity of its site to the Round Top Rail Road line facilitated the import of heavy stone for its construction in 1910. This monument made for the largest and costliest of any memorial on the battlefield. Its popularity equaled that of the Peace Light

because of its magnificence and the fact that visitors could get a grand view from the observation deck around the dome. The monument also had other distinguishing characteristics. Liance Cottrell designed it in classical form in style with most Union monuments at Gettysburg. Indeed, the colossal size of this classical design epitomized the Federal and funerary characteristics of the battlefield. For example, visitors recognized its similarity to the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials in Washington, D.C. Although the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials came later, Union monuments traditionally exhibited classical features characteristic of the nation's capital, alluding to the powerful democracies of Greece and Rome. In addition, the Pennsylvania Monument served as a giant tombstone. A series of bronze plaques around the base featured the names of more than 34,000 Pennsylvania soldiers who fought at Gettysburg, complete with asterisks next to the names of soldiers wounded or killed in action. Furthermore, the monument featured heroic-scale bronze statues, all Pennsylvania commanders in the battle with two exceptions: war-time governor Andrew Curtin and President Lincoln, the two politicians most responsible for the Soldiers' National Cemetery. The statues to Curtin and Lincoln stood on the monument's front for visitors to see first as they walked up the steps of the parapet. Lincoln's statue stood out from all others. J. Otto Schweizer sculpted the President in the middle of oration clutching a scroll that visitors and guides subsequently inferred to be the Gettysburg Address (Craven 1982, 28).

Little Round Top and Devil's Den: The "Key" Position and the Grand Display of Nature

The official Park tour route directed visitors to Little Round Top, only motorists could no longer drive out to the loop overlooks at the 151st Pennsylvania monument and at the castle monument. Here again, as at Slocum, Meade, and other avenues, the CCC reconstructed the road. The sharp and narrow curves of the loops were unsuitable and dangerous for motor traffic and so the NPS had these loops eliminated and the entire length of Sykes Avenue straightened by 1940. In place of this, the NPS provided parking where the road crested and from there visitors could follow a new macadam path along the summit from General Warren's statue to the castle monument.

General Warren's statue merited more attention from guides, park personnel, and visitors in 1940 than ever before. The NPS stationed an interpretive ranger on Little Round Top and he, together with the battlefield guides, continually led visitors over to the statue and informed them that Warren heroically "saved the key position in the Battle of Gettysburg" on July 2, 1863. According to the official GNMP tour booklet written by Fred Tilberg for rangers, guides, and visitors alike, Warren found Little Round Top unoccupied, recognized the "supreme importance of this vital position" and "rushed Federal soldiers to its height as Confederate troops were scaling its southern slopes" (GNMP 1940, 10).

This interpretation first appeared for the visiting public on a bronze plaque set in Warren's boulder in 1888. Even then, the fame of Warren's heroics were

little known outside of military circles.³¹ He died a bitter man in 1882. His actions at Gettysburg had been obscured by the unfair wrath of General Phil Sheridan who relieved Warren of command at Five Forks in 1864, and by the subsequent military trial that followed. Warren spent years trying to repair his tarnished reputation and as part of his wishes upon his death he was laid to rest “without the usual military ceremonial, without soldierly emblems on his coffin or uniform on his body” (Abbot 1883, 91).³² Indeed, Warren’s statue and plaque erected by survivors of the 5th New York Regiment made for the first of several interpretive efforts to distinguish Warren and Little Round Top as the hero defending the key position for public.³³ Notably, The Battle of Gettysburg by Comte de Paris (1907), the first comprehensive history on the battle to appear, celebrated Warren as the sage hero who “alone” recognized Little Round Top’s strategic importance (165).³⁴ This interpretation appeared again in 1932 with William C. Storrick’s Gettysburg: The Place. The Battles. The Outcome, the first official Park tour book by a longtime GNMP employee (50). Both books served as standard reading for park personnel and licensed guides. Still, the real boost bringing Warren’s due recognition to fruition occurred with the Electric Map at the Rosensteel Museum, the Park’s GNMP tour booklet, and the team of guides and rangers spreading the story, all of which came about in the latter 1930s.³⁵ Thus, by 1940, visitors looking out to see what Warren saw that second day were taught to think of the general as “the Savior of Little Round Top.” The NPS had even placed a set of observation binoculars next to the 91st Pennsylvania monument for tourists to locate key points around the field because by 1940 no

other height at Gettysburg had proven so important for seeing the battle lines of 1863. The emerging public perception of the battlefield's supreme commanding position now focused on Little Round Top, not Cemetery Hill.

The problem with Little Round Top in 1940, however, is that visitors had great difficulty seeing exactly what Warren saw from the summit in 1863. Trees and bushes had overgrown the west slope and in some areas the weedy vegetation and brush growth along the summit stood over five feet high (Figure 4.21). The Valley of Death, Devil's Den, and Houck's Ridge were covered by this new growth as well. Visitors were unable to see many of the stone defenses and boulders used in the engagement of that second day and there were few spots from which guides could point out the Union fishhook defense line.

This vegetation remained for two reasons. The NPS preserved nature, and government conservation programs of the 1930s only strengthened adherence to that principle. In addition, the vegetation made this part of the battlefield especially popular to tourists in springtime. Dogwood and redbud trees had flourished and speckled the Round Tops, Devil's Den, and the entire Valley of Death quite densely (Figure 4.22). In 1940, the local Gettysburg Times published notices in April and May announcing the peak of redbud and dogwood blossoms for sight-seeing enjoyment. This annual observance had gone on for ten years, and hordes of visitors, even out-of-staters, infiltrated the Park on spring weekends just to see the grand display of nature.

West Confederate Avenue: Longstreet's Park and Confederate Monuments

The official Park tour route directed visitors west along Sickles Avenue through the Wheatfield and along the Wheatfield Road past the Peach Orchard.³⁶ By 1940, the Wheatfield received little attention, from visitors as well as Park and public literature on the battle.³⁷ Even visitation to the Peach Orchard, which had overshadowed the Wheatfield due to General Daniel Sickles' popularity at the turn of the century, had waned because the peach trees had died off and the NPS had them removed. Only four large stone markers with bronze plaques stood at the former orchard that were placed in 1912 by the War Department to mark the divisions in Sickles' Corps that defended that position.³⁸

The tour route continued west along the Wheatfield Road to West Confederate Avenue. At the intersection, visitors encountered Rosalind Park and Longstreet's Park (Figure 4.23). Samuel and Rosalind Swope owned and operated both parks for tourists to buy souvenirs, eat, and rent a cabin. They also held dances on weekends in the summer that were frequented by locals and tourists. Rosalind Park occupied the north side of the intersection where Rosalind herself ran a refreshment stand, offering sandwiches and ice cream to tourists. Behind her stand stood the dance hall and four tourist cabins that she rented out. Longstreet's Park sat on the south side, immediately across from Rosalind Park, where Sam ran a souvenir and relic stand. In addition, a small whitewashed shack with the sign, "Longstreet's Headquarters, July 1,2,3, 1863" stood nearby. Longstreet's Headquarters served as the main attraction and the Swope's charged tourists to walk in and see it.

The Swopes had been in operation since purchasing the land and Longstreet's Headquarters from John Rosensteel in the early 1920s.³⁹ They were among the first of several places for motorists to eat and lodge on or near the battlefield in 1940. The Lee-Meade Inn operated as a motel along the Emmitsburg Road just south of the Peach Orchard. Visitors to the observation tower on West Confederate Avenue, now popularly referred to as the "Longstreet Tower" because of its close proximity to Longstreet's Headquarters, could see the motel as they looked across to Little Round Top. At the base of Little Round Top, the former Round Top Museum run by John Rosensteel now operated as the Round Top Restaurant (Figure 4.24). Also, Shields' Museum and Cabin Park rented tourist cabins across from the West End entrance station on the First-Day's battlegrounds, as did the new Home Sweet Home Cabin Park that had just been built along the Emmitsburg Road across from Ziegler's Grove.

These tourist accommodations had significance for two reasons. First, they reflected the rising national visitation Gettysburg received, starting in the 1920s, because of the automobile and highway system. Even local and national literature promoting the battlefield flourished as the widespread affordability of the automobile to the American middle class began in the 1920s and the popularity of automotive touring prospered in the 1930s. Gettysburg for the Motorist first appeared in 1919, the American Automobile Association published Gettysburg by Automobile in 1925, and Bhuiol's Service Station in Gettysburg published Bhuiol's Map of Gettysburg in 1936. In 1940, Bhuiol's Map proved

the most popular selling map of the battlefield.⁴⁰ Second, these accommodations indicated a potential growth trend in commercialism on the battlefield. All were situated on private islands of property on the battlefield that the NPS had yet to acquire for the Park. Fred Tilberg warned that the Emmitsburg Road Corridor was especially vulnerable to development because of the amount of private property along it that sat in the middle of the Third-Day's battlegrounds. Both the popularity of Pickett's Charge and new houses along the road from recent borough growth worried Tilberg immensely about the future of this part of the battlefield.⁴¹

The main attractions lay ahead for visitors continuing north on West Confederate Avenue from Longstreet's Park. Past Spangler's Woods in a clearing stood the Virginia State Memorial, and further up the road stood the North Carolina State Monument. These, along with the Alabama State Memorial on South Confederate Avenue, were the newest monuments at Gettysburg. All three had been placed by their home state and they drew much attention from guides and visitors in 1940 because of their exquisite and figurative sculpture different from all other monuments at Gettysburg.⁴²

The Virginia State Memorial featured Lee perched atop his horse, Traveler, and a group of soldiers below seemingly in the midst of battle, struggling to fight, and looking very courageous (**Figure 4.25**). William Sievers sculpted the likenesses of Lee and Traveler using photographs, a plaster life mask taken of Lee in 1869, and close study of Traveler's skeleton. Following its unveiling, art critics and Lee family relatives considered it the greatest likeness of

Lee in bronze, and battlefield guides subsequently pointed this out to tourists. The other likenesses on the memorial included four infantrymen, a cavalry soldier, and two artillerymen -- all from different professions and walks of life but unified in their determination and will to fight.

Virginia had the monument erected in 1917, making it the first Confederate monument placed by a southern state at Gettysburg. Its erection coincided with the supremacy of Lee's popularity North and South. By the 1910s, widespread public and military perceptions considered Lee the greatest general of the Civil War (Connelly 1977). Furthermore, the recent Pulitzer-winning biography of Lee by Douglas Southall Freeman had further catapulted Lee's fame as a general by 1940.

North Carolina erected its state monument in 1929 (Figure 4.26). The sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, designed it to showing five soldiers at the outset of Pickett's Charge as they emerged from the woods, having "just been ordered forward to charge across that very bloody battlefield" (see Craven 1982, 86). Guides to the memorial often interpreted the soldiers for visitors, explaining the action depicted by the sculpture. The kneeling, wounded soldier pointing his finger directed the other four onward with the determined, experienced soldier leading, followed by a wide-eyed youth receiving words of encouragement from an older veteran of many battles, and backed by a color bearer. Although this monument did not feature a particular hero or famous general, it received tremendous notoriety because of Borglum's fame as a sculptor and the magnificent portrayal of soldiers embarking on the most famous charge in American history.⁴³

Several contributing factors motivated the figurative designs of these new Confederate monuments. Foremost, Gettysburg remained a Union victory, indeed the pinnacle turning point of the war against the “rebellion”, and this perception remained strong in the hearts of Northern visitors and veterans when these monuments were placed in spite of reunion activities that promoted reconciliation between North and South. Similarly, Southerners remembered well that their ideals were not welcome and their fallen soldiers had been buried disgracefully in the aftermath of Gettysburg. Therefore, the monuments were not classical or funerary in design to promote the Southern cause or honor their dead. Instead, the memorials paid tribute to the valor and courage of the Confederate soldier in battle.

But emotional figures exhibiting Confederate bravery were not chosen as an afterthought, nor because classical and funerary designs had become passe in American sculpture by the early 1900s. These monuments, to be sure, did reflect new trends in sculpture, away from the classical stillness to more emotional human portrayal, but the sculptors felt this type of sculpture appropriate for Confederate state memorials at Gettysburg. Williams Sievers, for example, noted that “the figures [on the Virginia memorial], in general, are intentionally robust, to symbolize the vigor of the Confederate Army” (Meligakes 1950, 175). Indeed, a great purpose lay in this design to celebrate vigor, and valor: it helped to promote reconciliation. Sievers and Borglum attempted to depict Southern boys in action, giving all they could, to remind visitors that the Confederate soldier was as equally courageous, determined, and human, as his Northern adversary.

These monuments served this interpretive purpose well. Some battlefield guides used the memorials, especially the North Carolina monument, to interpret to visitors that the Confederates were indeed equally courageous and brave as their Union adversaries. Other guides helped this interpretation indirectly. Because the monuments depicted the intensity of battle action so well on such a grand scale, nearly all guides stopped visitors at these monuments to discuss the heat of battle and courage under fire for all soldiers brought out so well by this figurative sculpture. This, in turn, compelled visitors to perceive the Confederates as soldiers of equal valor by the association of such heroics with these monuments.

Furthermore, the interpretive purpose of these memorials reflected and promoted several other issues that had emerged by 1940. By drawing visitors' attention to the bravery of the defeated at Gettysburg, both the monuments and guides contributed to the growing popularity among Southerners of the Lost Cause notion. That notion celebrated the nobility of the Confederate soldier for fighting for his beliefs in the face of overwhelming odds against success, and no better place served to glorify this level of Southern patriotism than the memorialized grounds of Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg. By 1940, few examples of Southern patriotism stood out in popular literature, art, and folklore on the Civil War like Lee's soldiers setting out on their final assault across the mile-wide fields against the center of their fortified enemy. Conversely, the attention to Confederate vigor appealed to Union veterans and organizations in the same manner as the High Water Mark concept -- the Union soldiers appeared even more powerful for having defeated such a brave and

determined foe. In fact, both Union and Confederate veterans embraced this concept because the military taught them that a soldier is measured by the greatness of the foe he fights. Finally, aside from valor and courage, the scenes of battle depicted by these memorials had an underlying importance: to remember the actual battle for posterity. First-hand memories of Gettysburg faded with the passing of each veteran and the park's mission to provide an interpretive program most immediately reflected concern over losing that collective memory. These monuments helped remember the battle action, albeit with the help of guides who frequently stopped tourists there for that purpose.

For many visitors, their tour ended here, looking across the fields of Pickett's Charge in wonder of the immensity of courage and slaughter of Lee's final assault. Those with guides were told of Lee's noble apology to his soldiers for the failed charge and the retreat of his army on July 5, 1863. Upon approaching the intersection with the Hagerstown Road, guides found this a good place to close the battle with a discussion of the Confederate army's wagon train of wounded. "The train of wounded stretched 17 miles," which impressed upon visitors the sheer enormity of the fighting that had taken place and the carnage it produced. Even northern visitors to Gettysburg, upon hearing this, occasionally responded with sympathetic remarks for Lee and his defeated army. Indeed, visitors for the first time in Park history left Gettysburg with sympathies for the Confederate soldier that the Park, members of its guide force, new monuments, and recent literature of 1940 promoted as the American underdog who faced insurmountable odds and endured much hardship.

Up ahead lay the Lutheran Seminary Cupola, which Lee and Buford used as an observation tower, but its fame had diminished, rarely to be mentioned in any Gettysburg literature except in a sentence or footnote. Only the most interested buff knew its importance and bothered to inquire at the Seminary about going up and taking a look around.

The 1940 Battlefield in Retrospect

Several patterns distinguished the Gettysburg National Military Park in 1940. First, the Park paid tribute to Lincoln and reconciliation between North and South.⁴⁴ Manifestations of this tribute dominated the memorial, interpretive, and perceptual landscapes at Gettysburg. New and striking monuments, for example, included the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, the Lincoln Speech Memorial, and the Lincoln statue on the Pennsylvania Monument. In addition, the new Confederate state memorials supported reconciliation by promoting the qualities of bravery and courage that they held in common with their Union brethren instead of their partisan Southern cause. Park festivities on the anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and other annual ceremonial events featured witnesses to Lincoln's speech as the principal guests of honor. The 50th and 75th Anniversary Reunions of the Blue & Gray -- the two greatest reunions of Civil War veterans ever staged -- commemorated the themes of "One Country and One Flag" and "Peace Eternal in a Nation United" through handshaking ceremonies between former Union and Confederate veterans and continual reference to Lincoln's speech and ideals. Even the popular stories perpetuated this tribute, namely the Gordon-Barlow incident and the Spangler's

Spring myth. Both celebrated the temporary peace formed between divided soldiers, with the latter story having grown so popular that the NPS built a water spigot for visitors to drink from in memory of the occasion. Finally, the Soldiers' National Cemetery had a new sign marking where Lincoln spoke, in response to visitor inquiries, and attracted more tourists than any other site on the battlefield.

Second, the NPS at Gettysburg celebrated the whole story of the battle. Rangers at entrance stations handed out park brochures and maps directing visitors to follow a comprehensive tour route through the Park as part of a new interpretive program. In addition, the NPS continued to license battlefield guides annually to insure that visitors would receive an accurate and balanced overview of the entire battle. Also, licensed guides made sure visitors saw the Peace Light and the Lincoln Speech Memorial because of the popularity of these monuments following the 50th and 75th Reunions of the Blue & Gray. Each of these measures brought increased public attention to the First Day's battlegrounds and the aftermath of the battle when Lincoln dedicated the cemetery, unlike previous trends in guiding and commemoration that concentrated on the Union and Confederate engagements of July 2nd and 3rd, 1863, and kept visitors to those battlegrounds.

Third, interpretation appeared to be emerging as the dominant theme shaping the battlefield. Superintendent McConaghie and Park Historian Fred Tilberg created the Park's first interpretive program for educating the public on the battle. Visitors now encountered entrance stations prior to entering the park, they were directed to follow an official battlefield tour route marked by interpretive and directional signs, and they could secure the services of a guide licensed to

interpret the battle accurately. In addition, both the War Department and the NPS occasionally compromised the memorial and authentic landscapes at Gettysburg for the sake of interpretation. Camp Colt and other military encampments at Gettysburg disturbed the terrain over which Pickett's Charge occurred. The War Department authorized barracks, water and sewage pipes, and tank drills near the Angle to help educate and train their modern soldiers. The NPS removed the historic Forney Farm so visitors could better infer the grandeur of the Peace Light and the battlefield it commemorated. In addition, the NPS removed restrictive pipe-fencing and "keep off" signs from the avenues and monuments to make the battlefield more tangible and accessible, which lessened the hands-off museum-quality to the park. Superintendent McConaghie felt this change to be especially important for the public because the present generation had virtually no veterans left to turn to for maintaining an intimate connection with the battle and war. Also, the new official GNMP tour route compromised both the chronology and the northern and local sentiment over the battle. Visitors were directed along a standardized tour route that led them to learn about Lincoln's Speech before Pickett's Charge followed by the saving of Little Round Top. And for visitors with guides, the tour ended with a discussion of Lee as the greatest general and the retreat of his forces with the long Confederate wagon train of wounded. This drew visitors' sympathies for Lee and the Southern army, sympathies that were not present at Gettysburg in the aftermath of that horrible battle, but were now encouraged in 1940 for the sake of national reconciliation. Moreover, the new Confederate state monuments were ultimately interpretive. The figurative sculpture of these memorials

depicting the vigor and valor of southern soldiers encouraged public perceptions that Confederates were equally courageous and brave as the Union boys, and battlefield guides frequently pointed this out to visitors.

Fourth, interpretation of the key battleground at Gettysburg had broadened. Most visitors were informed that the entire Fishhook defense formation had been critical to Union victory and that all battleground from Cemetery and Culp's hills to Little Round Top were key to that defense. More accurately perhaps, the perceived turning point of the battle seemed to be in transition. Culp's Hill offered evidence of fighting with freshly reconstructed earthworks, however, its popularity now stemmed more from Spangler's Spring. The tactical importance of Cemetery Hill had waned, being overshadowed by Lincoln's popularity and obscured by cemetery evergreen trees. The Angle attracted visitors because of its importance as the setting for the climax of the battle. Reenactments, handshaking and other reunion activities celebrated Pickett's Charge as the great assault, and previous military encampments as well as a huge flag and pole further designated its importance. As for Little Round Top, Warren's plaque and the Electric Map celebrated it as the "key" ground to the Union position on the Second Day, but vegetation growth hindered visitors from fully appreciating its tactical importance. All these sites received virtually equal levels of visitors, and those levels stood out above visitation to other sites around the Park. Visitation concentrated most from the Soldiers' National Cemetery to Little Round Top -- from the hook to the eye of the Union defense line -- as reflected by Park traffic counts and the concentration of huge flags, observation binoculars, and visitor comfort stations to these grounds. More

importantly, by 1940, after one year in operation, the Electric Map proved extremely popular and effective in encouraging this foci of visitation because of its blue lights that illustrated the “fishhook” better than any guide or map at Gettysburg to date.

Finally, the integrity of the battlefield had improved considerably, but substantial obstacles both within and beyond NPS control threatened continued preservation at Gettysburg. For example, GNMP contained over 2,500 acres of land, nearly twice as much land since 1904, and afforded visitors excellent access to all battlegrounds. Unfortunately some of the private islands of property that remained within and adjacent to park boundaries now featured motels, restaurants, and tourist cabins. Nobody forewarned of this potential commercial threat more than Fred Tilberg, who worried most over the future of Steinwehr Avenue and the Emmitsburg Road corridor.⁴⁵ A greater potential threat concerned the loss of intimacy with the battle and field. Few Gettysburg veterans remained alive and the last veteran of the battle to manage the park died in 1927. The NPS team of historians offered a comprehensive interpretive program for visitors and restored farms, earthworks, and other important features from 1863, but having no personal experience with the battle and field, they were forced to rely on battlefield maps and photographs, many of which documented the field 20 years or more after the battle. Also, the NPS mission to conserve and interpret all resources within its parks appeared incompatible with preservation of the authentic landscape in several respects. Conservation involved preserving the redbuds and dogwoods that covered the once-barren Little Round Top. It also involved teaching contour planting methods that did

away with the patchwork appearance of 1863 farms. Interpretation involved adopting a standardized version of the battle as well as transforming Gettysburg from a memorialized “hands-off” battlefield for the old veterans into an accessible and tangible park for youth in order to maintain the battle’s remembrance. Furthermore, the NPS encouraged its guides to celebrate reconciliation, which contributed to a much-storied and mythologized atmosphere at Gettysburg.

Still, despite the many threats to the battlefield, the GNMP landscape visitors encountered served an important purpose in 1940. The most popular stories, myths, monuments, anniversary events, and educational tools on the battle collectively instilled powerful, lasting images of peace, friendship, and a sense of shared brotherhood between equally brave and courageous Americans. These memories, impressed upon the visiting public at Gettysburg, constituted Lincoln’s legacy.

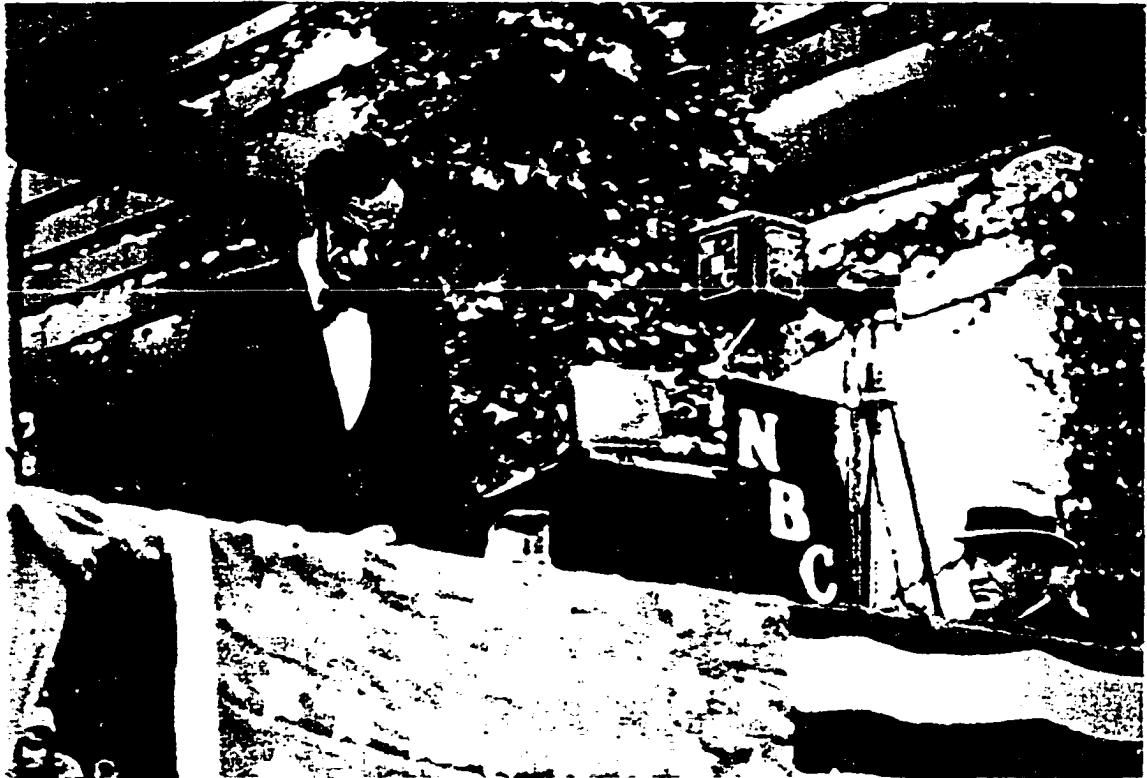


Figure 4.1: The 70th Anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, 1933.

Dr. Lincoln Caswell of Illinois served as the guest impersonator of President Lincoln for the anniversary ceremonies held in the Soldiers' National Cemetery on 19 November 1933. He delivered Lincoln's Address from the Rostrum for national radio broadcast.

Source: Gettysburg College



Figure 4.2: Superintendent McConaghie with Union Veteran, 1938.

James McConaghie lamented the passing of the veterans, feeling their absence would greatly hinder visitors' ability to understand the battle and its meaning. He considered educating the public at GNMP the highest of priorities. This photo shows McConaghie shaking hands with one of the last survivors of the 1st Massachusetts at the regiment's monument during the 75th Anniversary Reunion of the Blue & Gray, July 1938.

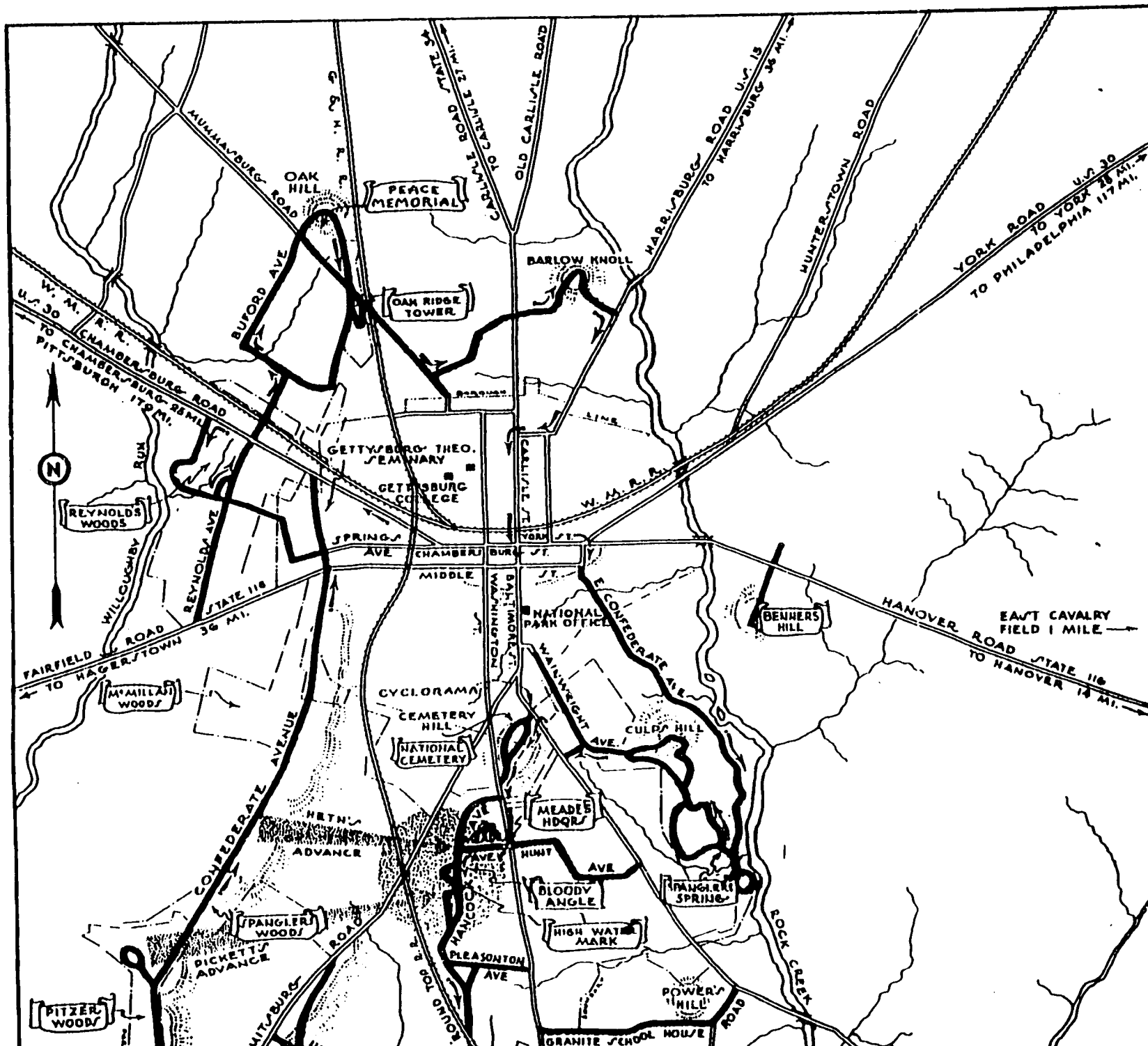
Source: The National Archives



Figure 4.3: Hand Grips at the Angle, 1913.

Beginning with the Great Reunion of Blue & Gray at Gettysburg on the 50th Anniversary of the battle in 1913, photographs of aging Confederate and Union veterans shaking hands in peace appeared in press nationwide. This photo was taken at 3:15 P.M. on July 3 at the Angle where Pickett's Charge reached its zenith. Shown here are veterans of the Philadelphia Brigade Association shaking hands with veterans of Pickett's Division Association on the spot where their units collided 50 years earlier to the moment.

Source: National Park Service



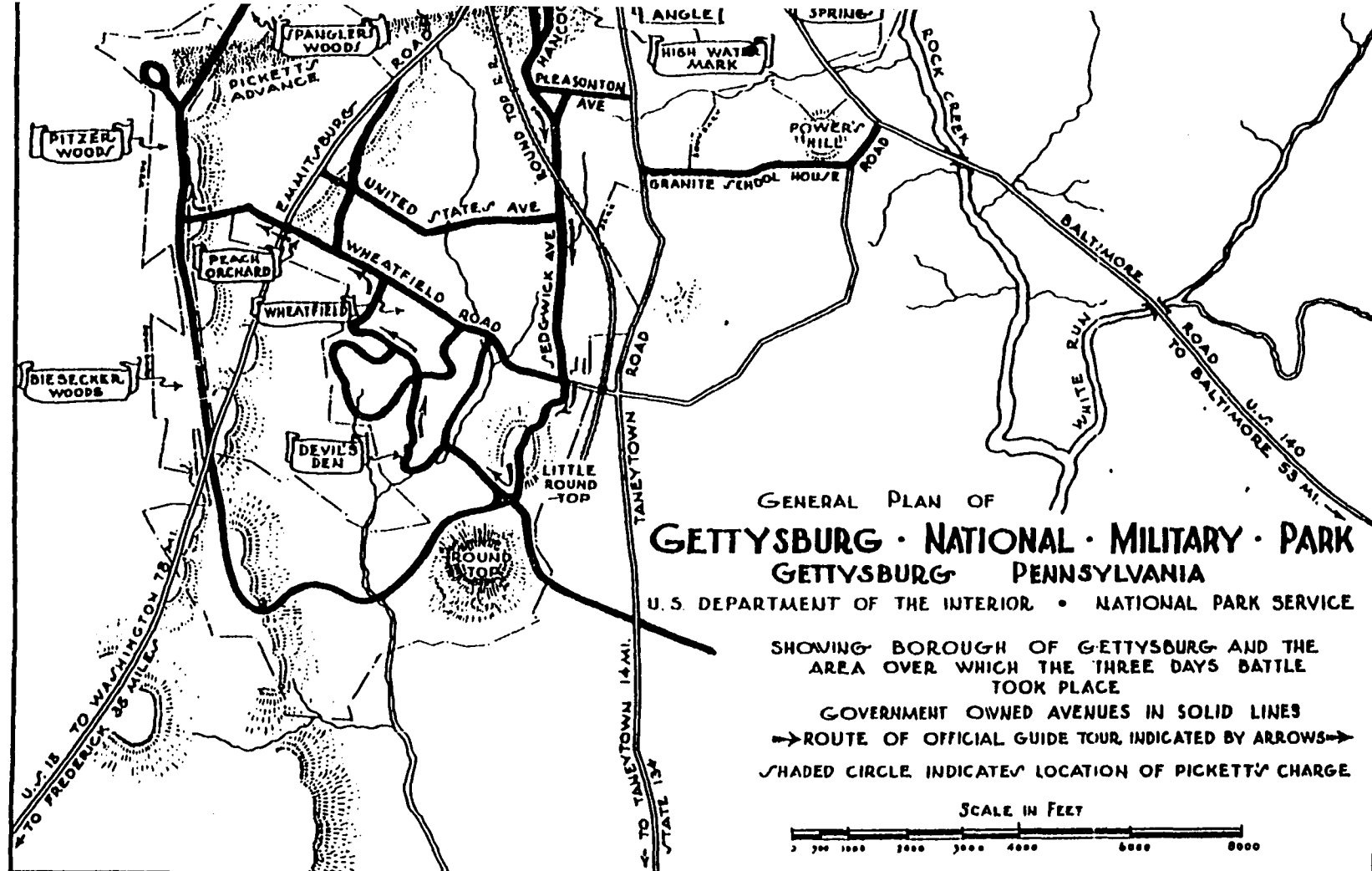


Figure 4.4: GNMP Visitor Map of Official Park Tour Route.

Visitors received this map at Park Entrance Stations and the GNMP Headquarters in downtown Gettysburg. It directed them around the entire battlefield as part of the NPS's new interpretive program to provide a comprehensive overview of the battle.

Source: National Park Service.

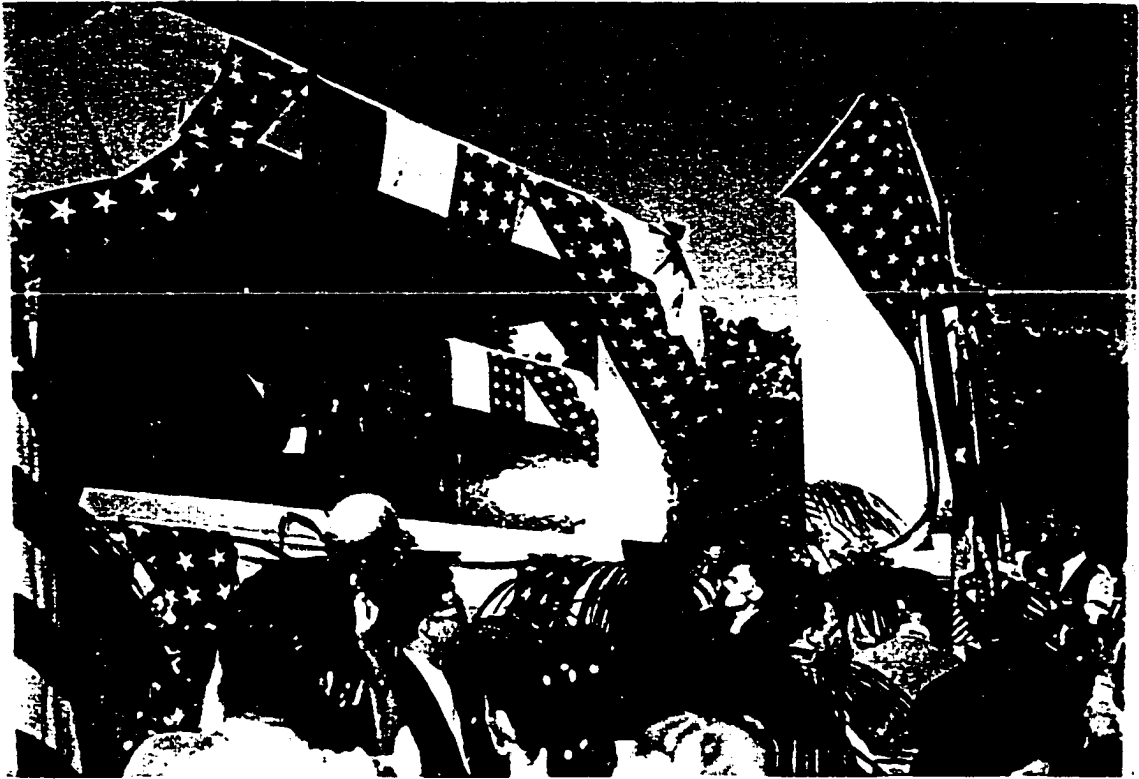


Figure 4.5: President Roosevelt's Dedication of the Peace Light, 1938.

The Eternal Light Peace Memorial brought much publicity and public visitation to the First Day's battlegrounds at Gettysburg. President Roosevelt dedicated the monument before the largest crowd in Park history, estimated at more than 200,000 spectators.

Present at the ceremonies were 1,845 Civil War veterans as guests of honor.

Roosevelt continually spoke of Lincoln's ideals for lasting peace and unity in America that this monument intended to promote.

Source. The National Archives



Figure 4.6: The Old Gettysburg Airport on the Forney Farm, 1946.

The First Day's battlegrounds received little attention and remained privately owned prior to the Peace Light memorial. From 1927 to 1931, the Gettysburg Flying Service rented 60 acres of the Forney Farm to operate mail and passenger service to the community. The company also offered short flights over the battlefield for tourists.

The main building and airstrip to its right are shown here in 1946 from the intersection of Buford and Wadsworth avenues, still visible but not in operation.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 4.7: Schoolchildren arriving at Gettysburg, April 1940.

This group of highschool children arrived from Reading, Pennsylvania, via train. The view is taken from the Oak Ridge observation tower. By 1940, teachers from schools across Pennsylvania and in surrounding states conducted annual Gettysburg field trips. With the passing of veterans, these youth were among the first generation to have lost immediate and intimate connections with the battle and the war. Their education would prove crucial to perpetuating the memory of Gettysburg.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 4.8: Drinking at Spangler's Spring Fountain, circa 1938.

The NPS fitted the spring with a spigot for visitors to drink from in tribute to Union and Confederate soldiers who supposedly shared the waters during a lull in the battle. This promoted reconciliation in concert with veterans' reunions held in 1913 and 1938 at Gettysburg. The hut in the background served as a guardhouse, one of six on the battlefield placed in the 1910s. The guardhouse reflected the spring's popularity.

Source: The National Park Service

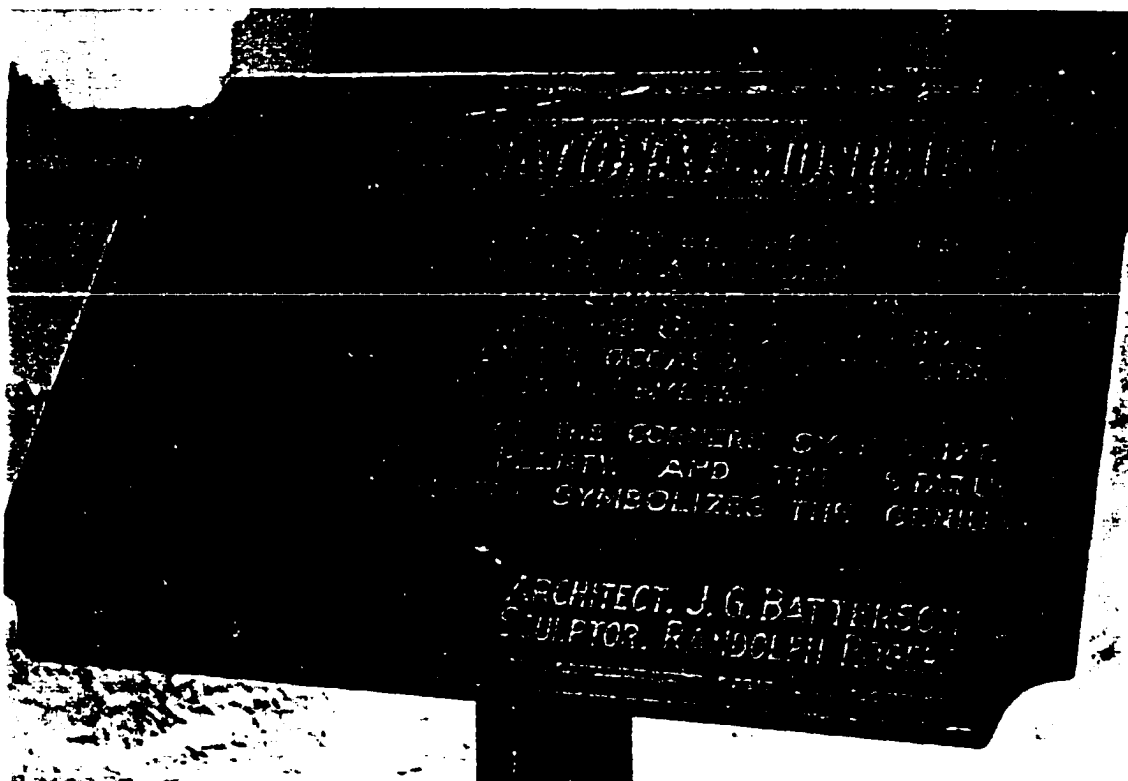


Figure 4.9: Official NPS Sign marking Where Lincoln Spoke, circa 1940.

The NPS placed this sign at the Soldiers' National Monument to mark for the public where Lincoln delivered his Gettysburg Address. This answered the most popular question asked by visitors at the national cemetery.

Source: The U. S. Army Military History Institute



Figure 4.10: Celebrating Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, print 1905.

Lincoln's fame grew substantially after 1900, with the Lincoln Highway, the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., and Lincoln's bust on Mount Rushmore. In addition, scholars and local Gettysburg residents who witnessed the Gettysburg Address published a flood of literature on Lincoln in the 1920s. By 1940 schoolchildren nationwide memorized the Gettysburg Address as part of their curriculum. The Sherwood Lithograph Company of Chicago distributed this print in 1905, one of the first nationally popular images of Lincoln dedicating the national cemetery at Gettysburg.

Source: Gettysburg College

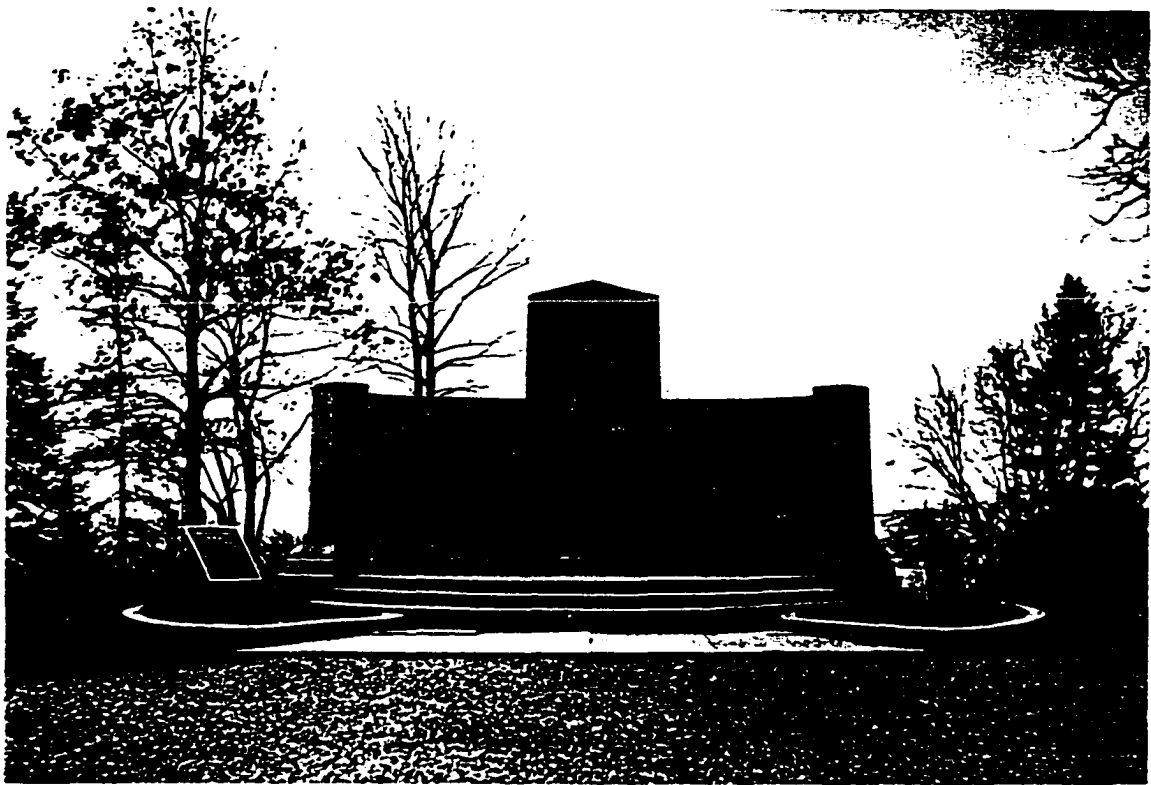


Figure 4.11: The Lincoln Address Memorial, circa 1940.

The War Department had this monument placed in the national cemetery in 1912 to fulfill a stipulation in the bill creating GNM. Henry Kirke Bush-Brown sculpted the bronze bust and plaques. The Gettysburg Address appears on the right plaque and a portion of David Wills' 1863 letter inviting Lincoln to dedicate the new national cemetery appears on the left plaque. The sign to the left of the memorial informed visitors that Lincoln delivered his address about 300 yards away on the site of the Soldiers' National Monument.

Source: Gettysburg College

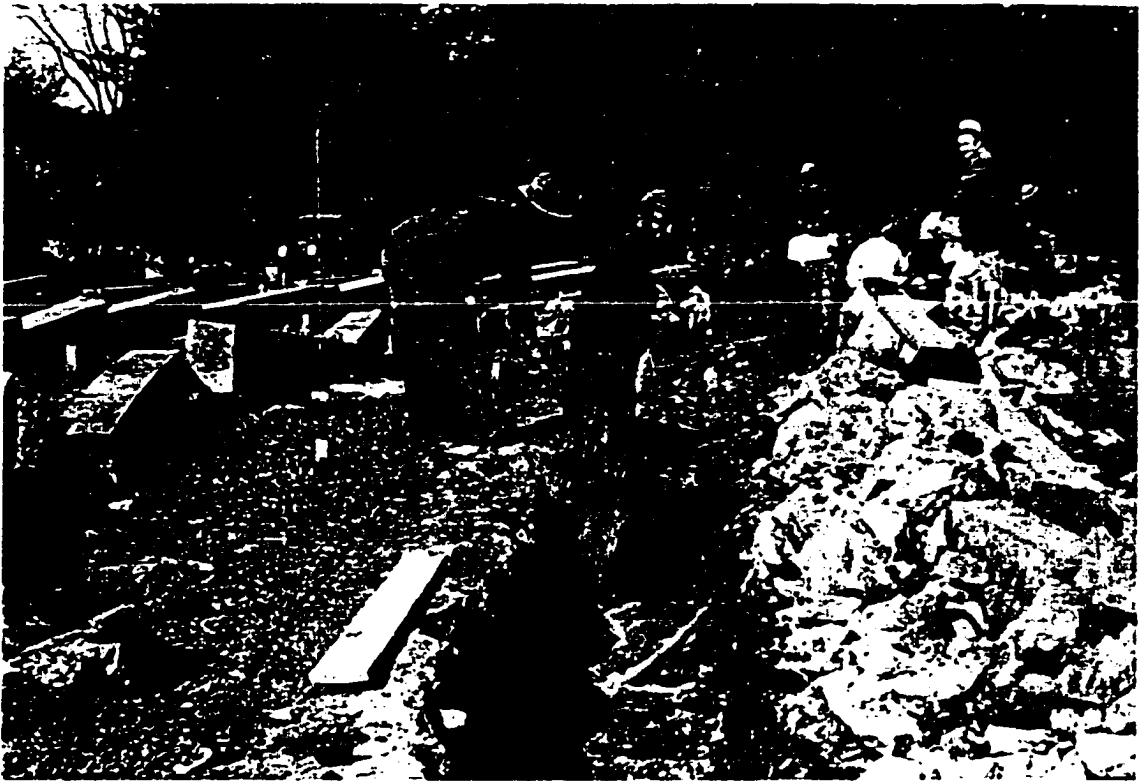


Figure 4.12: CCC Workers Resetting the Cemetery Gravestones, 1934.

By 1934, the gravestones in the national cemetery were out of alignment from 70 years of normal freezing and thawing of topsoil. Superintendent McConaghie of GNMP and Superintendent Clarence Nett of the Soldiers' National Cemetery ordered the Park's team of CCC workers to reset the stones in cement.

Source: The National Park Service

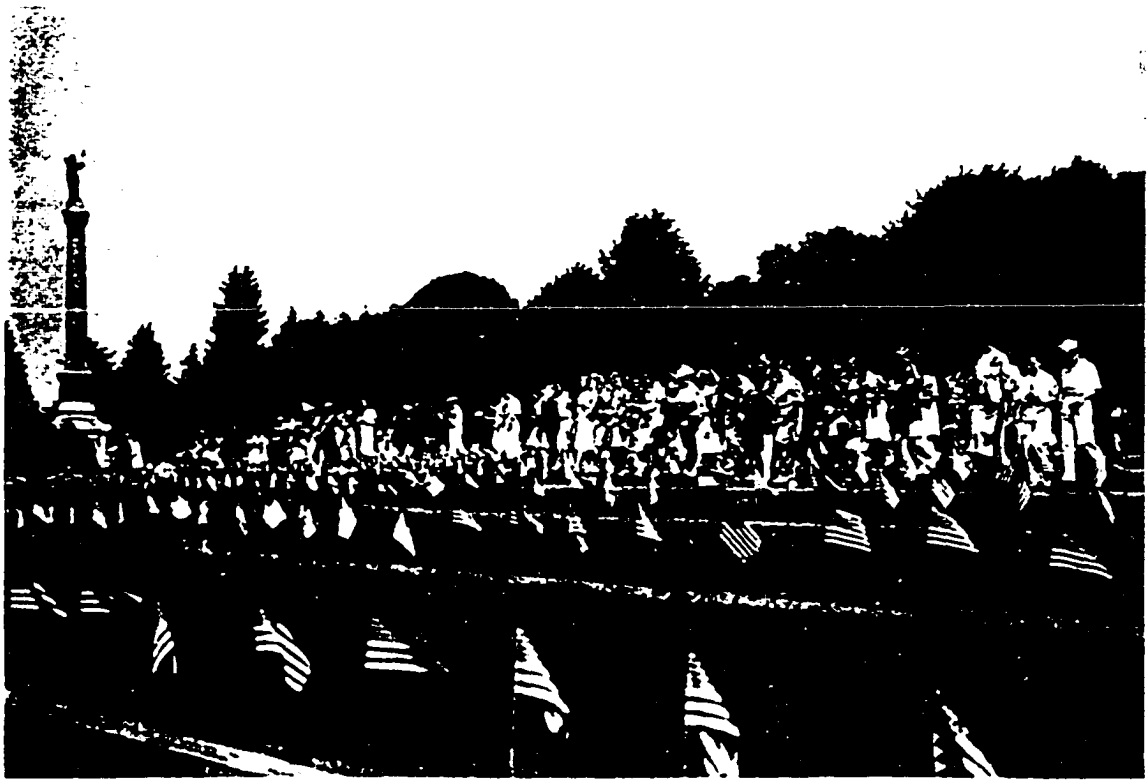


Figure 4.13: The Strewing of Flowers on Memorial Day, 1938.

This photograph shows local schoolchildren partaking in the annual strewing of flowers over cemetery graves. National publicity of this Memorial Day tradition made the event a popular icon of Gettysburg by 1940. Note the cemetery gravestones were now flush with the grass because the NPS and CCC did not reset the stones at 10 inches above ground.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 4.14: Rosensteel's National Museum, circa 1935.

George Rosensteel, Jr. constructed this museum to house his growing collection of relics in 1922. This view shows the National Museum prior to a back addition for the Electric Map, developed by Joseph Rosensteel in 1939.

Source: The National Park Service

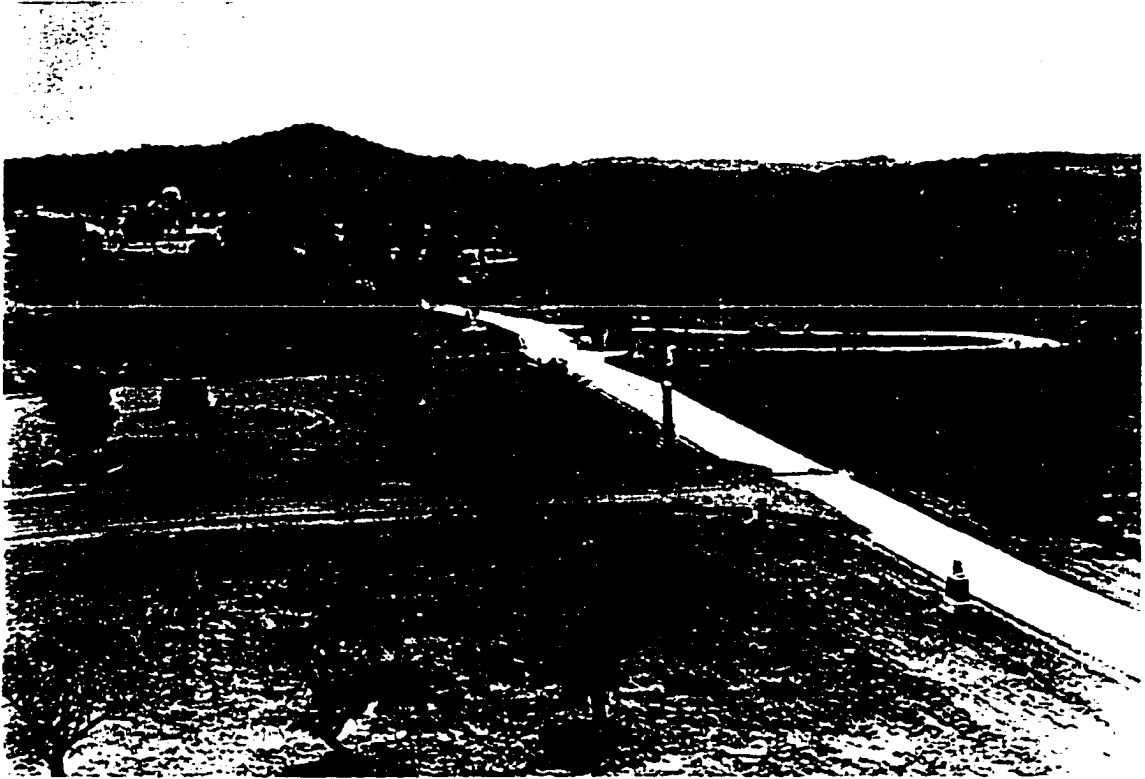


Figure 4.15: The Forest and The Angle along Cemetery Ridge, circa 1940.

The abundance of trees visible in this photograph reflected the NPS mission to conserve all resources at Gettysburg, natural and cultural. These non-historic trees had proliferated since the turn of the century. Note the flagpole and concentration of cannon and limber chests at the Angle, reflecting the rising popularity of Pickett's Charge. The flagpole identified the Angle as a key site to visitors.

Source: Gettysburg College

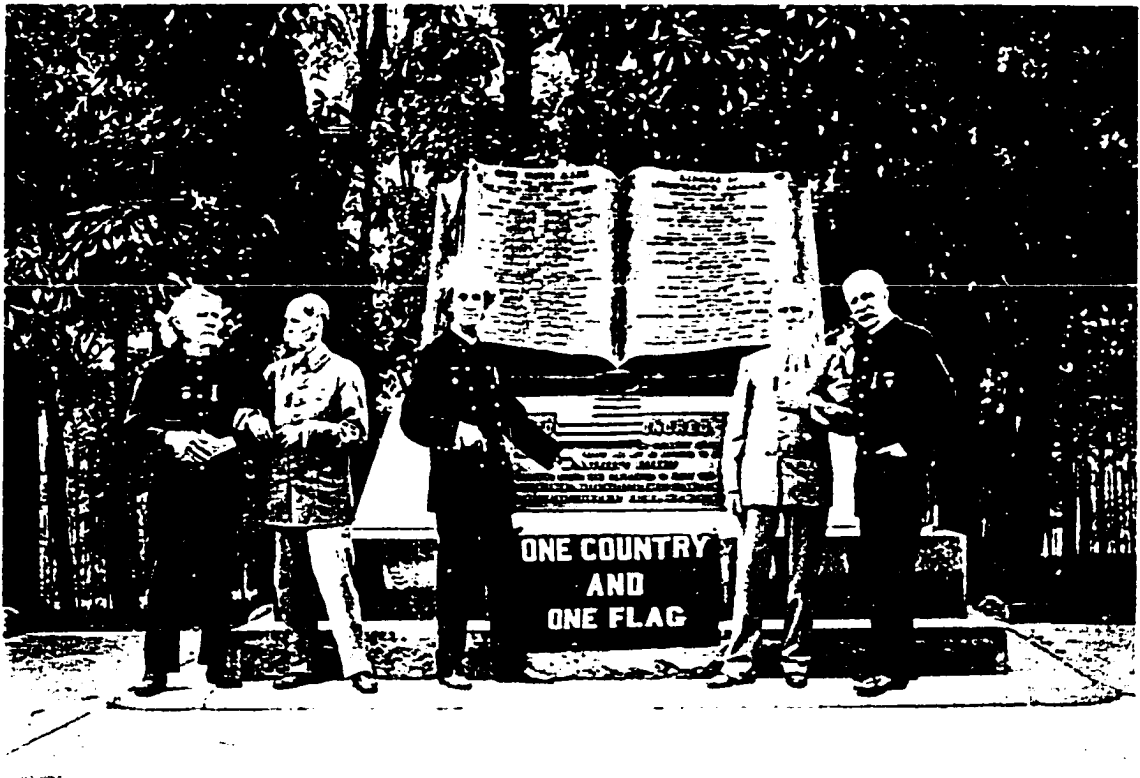


Figure 4.16: Restoring the Nation at Gettysburg, 1913.

Photographs of former foes reconciling their differences during the reunions of Blue and Gray held at Gettysburg on the 50th and 75th Anniversaries of the battle received national publicity. This photo was taken at the 50th reunion in 1913. Staging these events at the Angle and High Water Mark reflected and contributed to

the popularity of these sites.

Source: Gettysburg College



Figure 4.17: Military Staff Officers holding class at The Angle, 1939.

This photo shows a group of officers from the U.S. Army War College receiving instruction at the Angle. The War College and other military schools continued to bring their command staff to Gettysburg annually by 1940. In addition, Gettysburg served as the site of several army and national guard training camps up through World War I. Most camps were situated on the fields of Pickett's Charge.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 4.18: Map of GNMP Property, circa 1935.

GNMP contained over 2,500 acres, having nearly doubled in size since 1904. The main acquisitions were several farms west and south of town. But restaurants, motels, and other commercial activities began to invade the battlefield on lands still privately owned.

Source: Adams County Historical Society.

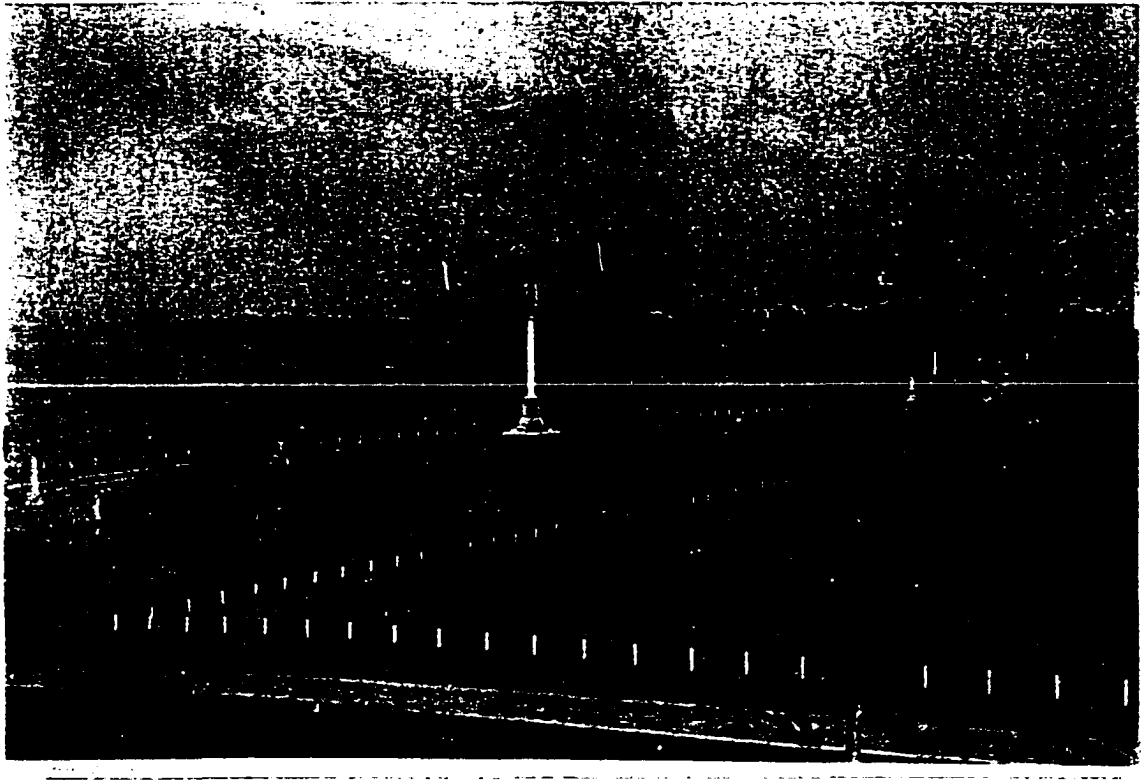


Figure 4.19: Making the Battlefield Accessible to the Public, 1937.

Hancock Avenue before and after NPS removal of avenue fencing.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 4.20: The Pennsylvania State Monument, circa 1920.

Pennsylvania appropriated \$250,000 for this, the grandest monument on the battlefield. Constructed in 1910, the bronze plaques and statues were added by 1913.

Over 34,000 names of Pennsylvania soldiers who participated at Gettysburg were listed on the plaques, with dead and wounded highlighted, so readers could appreciate the sheer enormity of the battle.

Source: Adams County Historical Society



Figure 4.21: Brush and Trees Obscure Warren's Little Round Top, circa 1940.

Visitors to Little Round Top learned the hill had been the "key" position to the Union defense and General Warren its "savior" for seeing advancing Confederates and calling forth Union troops to defend the hill in the nick of time. Unfortunately, brush and tree growth had covered the once-barren slopes and hindered visitors from fully appreciating the commanding position of Little Round Top and its tactical importance as the anchor of the Union fishhook.

Source: Gettysburg College



Figure 4.22: Spring Blossoming of Dogwood on Little Round Top, circa 1940.

The NPS mission to conserve nature allowed for dogwood and other non-historic growth to flourish on the battlefield. Dogwood and redbud trees attracted hordes of visitors every spring beginning in the 1930s. Gettysburg had begun to serve as a nature park as much as a military park by 1940.

Source: Gettysburg College



Figure 4.23: Rosalind and Longstreet's Parks, 1932.

Samuel and Rosalind Swope operated these accommodations for tourists.

Longstreet's Park stood in the left foreground on the south side of the road. The shed stood as Longstreet's Headquarters and Sam sold souvenirs and relics out of the stand. Across the road sat Rosalind's sandwich and drink stand the building behind it served as a dance hall on weekends. Note the tourist cabins next to the parked cars.

Source: Courtesy of Johnny and Betty Johnson



Figure 4.24: Round Top Restaurant, circa 1940.

By 1940, some tourist accommodations had appeared on battlefield lands still privately owned, such as this restaurant at the intersection of Wheatfield Road and Sykes Avenue on the north side of Little Round Top. This building had previously served as John Rosensteel's museum of relics, which George Rosensteel, Jr., inherited and relocated in his National Museum on the Taneytown Road.

Source: The National Park Service

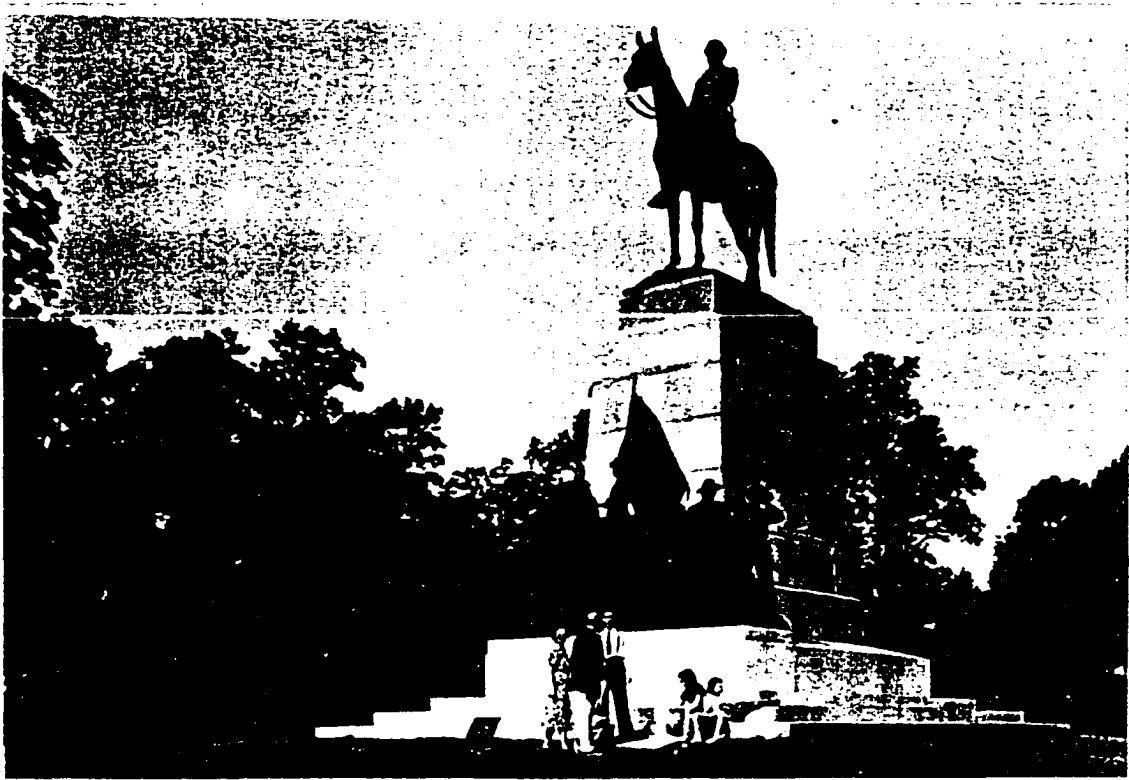


Figure 4.25: The Virginia State Memorial, circa 1940.

Virginia became the first state to erect a memorial to Confederate forces at Gettysburg in 1917 with the completion of this magnificent and figurative work sculpted by William Sievers. Most Northerners and Southerners respected Lee as the greatest general of the Civil War by the early 20th century. A guardhouse is barely visible in the left background and its placement there reflected the popularity of Lee's monument as a tourist attraction.

Source: The National Park Service

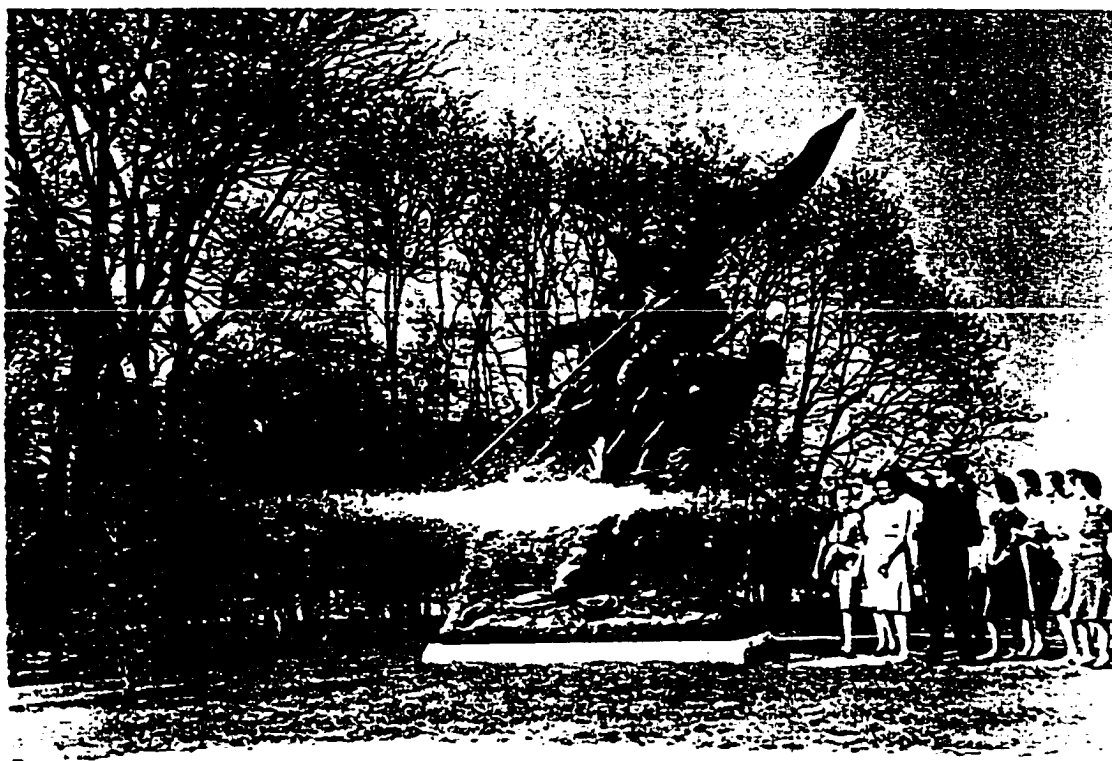


Figure 4.26: Interpreting the North Carolina State Monument, circa 1940.

North Carolina erected this sculpture by Gutzon Borglum in 1929. It portrays North Carolina soldiers embarking on Pickett's Charge. This and the other new Southern state memorials at Gettysburg, Virginia and Alabama, were purposely designed to depict the vigor and bravery of the Confederate soldier. Guides used these monuments to discuss examples of courage at Gettysburg and helped visitors perceive Confederates as equally courageous as the Union soldiers. This fit the theme of national reconciliation between North and South promoted at Gettysburg.

Source: The National Archives

Notes

¹ General Reynolds' early popularity had subsided after the erection of other equestrian statues to Union generals and with the rise in visitors from outside Pennsylvania.

² To offer some context, nearly 8,000 living Civil War veterans remained in 1938.

³ Peace and unity in 1938 reflected the high tide of nationalism and patriotism fervent in the U.S. during the 1930s. The U.S. Government officially adopted the Star Spangled Banner as our national anthem in 1931, and construction work began on the Jefferson Memorial in Washington D.C. in 1938. When were the Washington and Lincoln memorials built?

⁴ See Frederick Tilberg, "Historical Importance of the Oak Hill Area," 19 November 1937, report on file at GNMP Library, Vertical Files 1-17 Forney Farm. The significance of this report is that it includes a Tipton photograph. Tilberg acquired the Tipton photographs for the NPS from C. Tyson Tipton of Gettysburg in 1935. These photos would serve as the basis for historic structure reports and reconstructive and restorative work on the battlefield.

⁵ Another change made to Oak Ridge involved the stone walls along Doubleday Avenue. The original wall behind which Baxter's brigade hid stood along the east slope of Oak Ridge just below its crest. Forney supposedly moved the wall after the battle. When Doubleday avenue was first put in as a dirt road, the wall appeared on the west side, which was likely Forney's wall. Isaac Hall of the 97th New York Regiment wrote that this wall was not the original and that monuments going up behind it should really be placed farther east closer to the crest of the ridge (see Hall 1890, p. 135 in Scott Hartwig's office collection). After this the events become sketchy. Going by photographs of Doubleday Avenue, the GNP Commission likely reconstructed the present wall on the east side of the avenue when they constructed the avenue in 1899. The GNP Commission may have intended the east side wall to serve as the original, only it still does not appear as far east as the original wall supposedly stood. And by 1940, Forney's wall had been removed leaving the monuments standing in open ground. Today, those monuments remain in the open along the west edge of the avenue and the GNP Commission wall still runs along the east side of the avenue and several feet west from where the original wall stood.

⁶ The Park's official tour route now directed visitors along Howard Avenue to Barlow Knoll and then through town to follow the staggered retreat of the Union army's 1st and 11th corps. Still, only those visitors accompanied by a licensed guide could learn of the actual course of fighting, and the guides had more human interest stories to tell.

⁷ Douglas Southall Freeman wrote about this in his 1934 Pulitzer-winning masterpiece, R. E. Lee, A Biography. "Pettigrew's brigade of Heth's division had gone on that day from Cashtown to Gettysburg to procure shoes" (65). However, Freeman correctly point out that "that day" was June 30th, not July 1st, and that "Pettigrew had found Federal cavalry" so that Heth was indeed aware of the Union presence on July 1st(65). Still, the fame of Freeman's work may have helped to "authenticate" the story and led to widespread public acceptance of how Gettysburg got started. The fact that "shoes" appeared in the book was probably more remembered then the fact that Pettigrew marched on June 30th, and remembering "shoes" alone supported Heth's claim.

⁸ There is still question as to whether General Heth knew he had made a mistake (by not following Lee's orders to abstain from purposely engaging the enemy) and invented the shoe story to absolve him of blame, or that his force really did engage the enemy by accident and so he made up the story to insure his innocence.

⁹ The Sure Foot Rubber Heel Company had been in operation since the 1920s, and by 1940 it made for one of the biggest single employers in town. Guides could point out the shoe factory as evidence of Gettysburg as a longtime shoe center whenever visitors questioned why the Confederate Army thought there would be shoes in Gettysburg.

¹⁰ Guides would also take visitors to see Lincoln's pew in the Presbyterian Church. A plaque had been placed on the pew identifying where the President sat for the memorial service that preceded the dedication of the national cemetery (see Carmichael 1917).

¹¹ I was accompanying a tour bus group in the summer of 1999 when an elderly man in his 80s said, "Hey, Spangler's Spring!" in remembrance as the group passed by the site. This occurrence repeated itself on several occasions that summer, always among elderly visitors who recalled the site from their youth.

¹² See also Cope's Reports circa 1920-1927. In the 1920s, Cope receives complaints regarding the practice he allowed for youth to sell cups of water at the spring.

¹³ The NPS hired Fred Tilberg in 1935 to oversee the restoration of the battlefield to its 1863 appearance (as part of his duties to develop the Park's interpretive program). Tilberg shortly acquired the Tipton photographs from C. Tyson Tipton in 1935 and used them in conjunction with the War Department maps created by Emmor Cope to go about reconstructing earthworks, trenches, stone walls, and other authentic defensive fortifications that had deteriorated.

¹⁴ GNMP had two CCC camps with black enrollees: Camp MP#1 in Pitzer Woods (established June 1933) and Camp MP#2 in McMillan Woods (established November 1933). Both camps operated until April 1, 1937 when Camp MP#1 was ordered abandoned. Camp MP#2 remained in operation until circa 1941 (See Superintendent Reports 1934-1942). The U.S. Government had another all-black CCC camp in upstate New York.

¹⁵ Visitors easily assumed, as did some of the guides, that the sculptors intentionally fit the legs of their horses to indicate the rider's fate. But the pattern was purely coincidental. No sculptor intended their work to indicate the rider's fate. Irregardless, the story served the sake of interpretation at the Park by helping visitors, especially children, remember the fate of the generals by looking at the horse hoofs. Children especially found it fascinating and frequently left the battlefield feeling like they knew a secret about the monuments and that they could always rely on it to remember the fate of Union generals at Gettysburg.

¹⁶ Debate or comment over the stories surrounding Lincoln's Address appeared in newspapers far and wide, for example, Philadelphia Record and even in Scotland press (see ACHS file "190: Soldiers' National Cemetery: Newspaper and Magazine Articles after 1863").

¹⁷ According to Merrill Peterson's Lincoln in American Memory (1994), Lincoln's national fame reached it's zenith from 1929 to 1959 (see p. 312). See also Barry Schwartz's Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory (2000).

¹⁸ A Scottish newspaper, reporting on "The Gettysburg Speech" as the anniversary of its delivery neared, noted this tale of the speech originating on an envelope thanks to a visiting American ambassador in Great Britain (Cairns 1941).

¹⁹ The Lincoln Address Memorial stood on the site of the Summerhouse (Engle 1994).

²⁰ Resetting the cemetery gravestones was the first major work done by the NPS and CCC at Gettysburg, which suggests the importance of the cemetery. The stones were likely reset flush with the grass because nobody knew otherwise, they probably assumed the soil and frost action over the years raised the stones, and the Park did not acquire Fred Tilberg and the Tipton photo collection until 1935.

21 By the 1930s, machine powered mowing was in use at Gettysburg. Maintenance found that they broke mower blades and chipped the stones while working in the cemetery.

22 The preserving of the "witness" trees should be seen in a larger context. Remember that by the 1910s, veterans were dying off in great numbers, the original farms on the battlefield were deteriorating badly, and the woods on Culp's Hill had completely regrown. Certainly Park personnel who could remember the Culp's Hill woods lamented the loss of the bullet shattered trees, and that combined with the loss of veterans and the deterioration of farms, probably focused more attention on preserving what remained of the authentic landscape. Indeed, farm restoration on the battlefield began around the same time the witness trees were identified.

23 Whereas today, Memorial Day and Lincoln's Address Anniversary festivities no longer feature presidential speakers and are overshadowed by the hype of new books and videos on the battle, and annual reenactments of the battle.

24 This included William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Franklin Roosevelt.

25 Numerous tourists following the Park's comprehensive tour route remarked in astonishment at the immensity of the battlefield

26 Meade's Headquarters served as a private museum of relics open to tourists, operated by J. B. Danner until the 1910s.

27 The flag pole in the national cemetery was replaced in 1928 with the present flagpole approximately 60 feet high.

28 For a map showing Park lands leased for farming at Gettysburg, see 1915 map of GNMP on file at ACHS.

29 Aside from the marked differences in vegetation, fencing, and viewshed of these fields since 1863, the topography remained as it had -- a gently rolling terrain with swales and dips. The terrain deserves some more comment. Camp Colt did alter the 1863 terrain, but not its general appearance. The laying of water and sewage pipes and the running of tanks over the field naturally tore up much ground. In addition, when it came time to remove the barracks and the pipes and restore the landscape in 1920 after the camp had ceased operation, the contractor who agreed to the clean-up stalled for two years (see Cope's Reports 1920 and 1921). When the camp was cleaned up, the fields were bulldozed, and much refuse was dumped in the old swimming pool on the Codori Farm and covered up with dirt. Thus, the terrain had new swales and dips, however, it still maintained the gently rolling effect.

28 The battlefield lost some of its museum effect by 1940. No restrictive fencing, few "Keep Off" plaques remained, and the monuments needed cleaning.

31 At Gettysburg in July 1863, either during or immediately following the battle, Alfred R. Waud sketched Warren looking out with his binoculars while signal men stood in the background. A woodcut of the sketch appeared in the Century Magazine and subsequently reprinted in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York: The Century Company, 1888, 3:304).

32 See Abbot's article reprinted in Dedication Services at the Unveiling of the Bronze Statue of Major General G. K. Warren at Little Round Top, 8 August 1888 (New York: Brooklyn Daily Eagle Book Printing Department, 1888).

33 The Warren statue attracted much attention, and became the icon of Tipton photographs and postcards of Little Round Top by 1900. This helped to popularize the hero -- at least in name. How quickly public knowledge of Warren's deeds subsequently spread is uncertain, but those who had a postcard could learn from the writing on the back that he saved the hill.

34 Paris' book also helps perpetuate a now-believed myth about Warren. On page 165, he writes that while the Confederate soldiers marched with "polished arms they held in their hands, Warren had caught their reflection, like a streak of lightning, winding with a long trail among the leaves" as they advanced toward Little Round Top.

35 Another measure of Warren's popularity appears on the Pennsylvania Monument. A stone relief of Warren and the signal corps atop Little Round Top appears on the east face of the monument. There are four stone reliefs on the monument, all depicting critical battle scenes. This sculpture reflects the perceived importance of Warren's actions by 1910 as one of the four great moments in the battle.

36 The original "Wheat-Field" spelling used by the War Department was now commonly spelled "Wheatfield" by the NPS in 1940. Similarly, the hyphen was dropped from the original spelling of "Battle-Field" on park maps and signs by this time.

37 Neither Frank Haskell's Battle of Gettysburg (1908), Storrick's Gettysburg (1932), nor the GNMP tour booklet (1940) enclose pictures or highlight the significance of the Wheatfield.

38 The GNP Commission placed division markers around the Park circa 1912.

39 The Swope's were unaware that Rosensteel had moved the Old Pitzer Schoolhouse to the site. Rosensteel is the one who incorrectly identified it as Longstreet's Headquarters and created the painted sign "Longstreet's Headquarters, July 1,2,3, 1863." In actuality, Longstreet used a tent for his headquarters during the battle and did not arrive until July 2.

40 Buohl's Map was a large, three-fold map that directed visitors to follow the same route as the Park's official tour. The map was colorful and highlighted over 70 key spots and monuments with small icons on the map (i.e. miniature drawings of equestrian statues, the Peace Light, the PA Monument, the High Water Mark, and other key features).

41 Some mention of pipe-fencing removal is necessary here. The entire length of West Confederate Avenue had pipe-fencing wherever stone walls did not exist. By 1940, the NPS had replaced this fencing with historic rail and Virginia worm fencing.

42 In addition to these monuments, the other hallmark to West Confederate Avenue were the cannon. The Park had over 400 cannon in 1940, and the greatest concentration of cannon lined this avenue. Guides frequently chose to take visitors along this avenue to discuss the "greatest cannonade ever" -- that which preceded Pickett's Charge.

43 Borglum's fame by 1929 stemmed from his work on Stone Mountain and his bust of Lincoln in the United States Capitol. By 1940, the recent completion of Mount Rushmore furthered the popularity of his monument at Gettysburg.

44 I hesitate to consider this battlefield a Memorial to Peace because the remaining lack of Confederate monuments prevented it from appearing as a neutral battlefield. Tour books suggested it was a "National Shrine," however, perhaps "Federal Shrine" is more appropriate as the government sponsored the reunions in an attempt to restore unity.

45 In consideration of the Round Top Restaurant, Lee-Meade Inn, Shields' Park, and Longstreet's Park, the Gettysburg battlefield was not overly commercialized in 1940. But Tilberg worried that it could grow out of control.

Chapter Five

Glory, Merriment and

The Celebration of Pickett's Charge, 1970

If we grant ... that the Civil War furnishes the great dramatic episode of the United States, and that Gettysburg provides the climax of the war, then the climax of the climax, the central moment of our history, must be Pickett's Charge.

- George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge* (1959)

Visitors to Gettysburg National Military Park on Labor Day, 1970, would receive the last of the park's special seasonal programs for that summer. An announcement in the Gettysburg Times two days earlier alerted locals to the shorter closing times for the park's visitor center, the last amphitheater program, and the final nightly showing of the new MGM film, "The Battle of Gettysburg".¹ Since the 1950s, summer constituted the peak season for tourism. The park initially offered special weekly campfire programs during the summers beginning in 1941, but expanded this substantially in the '50s and '60s to accommodate increasing national and international visitation to Gettysburg. As of Labor Day, the park had received over one million tourists in 1970 – on par with the last two

decades. During the 1960s, the number of annual visitors frequently topped two million. Families were still the principal group of visitors, followed by schoolchildren who arrived by bus most often in the spring, and foreign visitors who constituted a significant portion for the first time.² In fact, annual Park ceremonies experienced increased attendance and the anniversary days of the battle joined Memorial Day and November 19th as the days for peak tourist visitation at Gettysburg.

Coming to the battlefield in 1970 made for a fun experience in a beautiful park. While Civil War buffs and interested persons did come to learn about the battle, most persons visiting were on larger family vacation trips and decided to stop because they thought it a good place for their children and knew of Gettysburg as both the "turning point of the Civil War" and home to Ike. Indeed, former-president Dwight D. Eisenhower had used Gettysburg as both a frequent site for press conferences, presidential retreats, and his retirement home. That and recent news of his death added considerably to Gettysburg's popularity. As visitors approached the town, they arrived via any of ten roads, the same roads that made Gettysburg the hub of a wheel in 1863 and helped bring about the clash of Union and Confederate armies, but now the roads served another purpose. Along each were billboards advertising restaurants, tourist cabins, the Electric Map, new bus tours, and several private museums and theme parks that had proliferated since the 1940s on privately-owned lands within and adjacent to park boundaries. Families could now eat, sleep, have fun, and enjoy their entire visit on the battlefield. And for many of them, the core of their experience began at Cemetery Ridge.³

Beginning at the Climax: A New Visitor Center and High Water Mark Tour on Cemetery Ridge

Pickett's Charge occupied the central focus of the Park in 1970. At center stage stood the Cyclorama Visitor Center and parking lot in Ziegler's Grove, the first central starting point for visitors in the Park's history (Figure 5.1). It received much press attention for costing one million dollars and for appearing as an oversize gas tank, but it housed the Park's administrative offices, collection of relics, licensed battlefield guides, and – in what Park personnel referred to as “the drum” -- Paul Philippoteaux's magnificent 1883 cyclorama painting of Pickett's Charge. The painting served as the major attraction and both reflected and contributed to the popularity of the nearby High Water Mark at the time.⁴

The NPS constructed the Center in 1962 in time for the centennial anniversary of the battle. The observation tower in Ziegler's Grove had to be removed as well as a substantial portion of a stone wall on the Bryan Farm to make way for the new building and parking lot. The key reasons behind the Center's construction stemmed from NPS and GNMP interpretive goals that had been in existence for some time. First, the idea of building a visitor center in the middle of park grounds originated as part of an NPS-wide initiative beginning in the 1950s called Mission '66. This initiative called for new interpretive waysides, programs, and buildings intended to improve public education in America's national parks by 1966. The key to this educational goal involved bringing visitors to the center of parks.⁵ Second, the NPS at Gettysburg needed to

rehouse Philippoteaux's famous mural which had served as a key component to the Park's interpretive program since 1942. The painting had been exhibited in a private museum on Baltimore Street beginning in 1913, which the NPS acquired in 1941 because of mural's fame as the most outstanding work of art on the Battle of Gettysburg. Park historian Fred Tilberg developed an interpretive program immediately to satisfy the steady volume of visitors interested in seeing the painting every year and reopened the museum for the summer of '42. At that time, unfortunately, the old museum had already proved insufficient for properly protecting the painting from extreme heat, cold, moisture, dust, and grime. After World War II the Park scraped up the funds to have Richard Panzironi make an emergency restoration of the painting in 1948, however, not until ten years later did Mission '66 funds make total restoration and rehousing possible. Thus, in 1958, the NPS at Gettysburg commissioned architect Richard Neutra to design a visitor center that could house Philippoteaux's mural, appointed artist Walter Nitkiewicz the following year to restore the painting, and subsequently selected Ziegler's Grove as the most appropriate central site for the building and mural because of its close proximity to the Angle where Pickett's Charge climaxed.⁶

The decision to rehouse the painting near the High Water Mark made for an innovative educational concept -- see the painting and then see the site (Figure 5.2). For many visitors in 1970, this innovation had a powerful effect and the Park used it as the tour-de-force of the interpretive program at the Center. Upon entering the building, rangers on duty directed visitors to embark on a two hour tour consisting of four stops. The first was an orientation program held in a

200-seat auditorium where visitors were given an overview of the battle and Lincoln's visit to Gettysburg.⁷ During the program, a park ranger showed slides and read a script to the audience that patronized the Confederate Army. The script elicited sympathy for the Southerners defeated here by pointing out that Confederate soldiers were equally "patriotic ... and willing to die for flag and country," that Gettysburg symbolized the "High Water Mark of the Confederacy," and that after the battle "Lee's Army departed for Virginia, heroic as before but no longer invincible." In addition, the discussion on Pickett's Charge focused on the shot, shell, and carnage endured by Confederate infantry bravely crossing the fields as "their ranks were torn by lead and iron from front and flanks," but no mention of the Union defenders much less the brutal sacrifices they made in fending off the attack. Other notable commentary in the script included mentioning how the battle began when Union forces first encountered "Confederates who came hunting for shoes" and that President Lincoln gave his address from a platform where the Soldiers' National Monument now stands (NPS 1969). But most importantly, the slide program's emphasis on the gallantry and strength of the Confederate Army served as a warm-up for the cyclorama program that followed.

After the slide program ended, an NPS employee led visitors up a ramp to the center of the drum to experience a sound & light program on Philippoteaux's painting. As they reached the central viewing deck in the middle of the drum, visitors could look in awe at the tremendous mural surrounding them. The cyclorama painting appeared magnificent, measuring 360 feet around and 26 feet high, with its brilliant brush strokes, its beautiful colors and vivid depictions

of emotion and valor of the battle's most climatic scene -- Pickett's Charge. The painting featured 10,000 soldiers, including recognizable officers of both sides -- Pickett, Lee, Meade, Hancock, and Armistead. Within seconds all lights dimmed, a tape played describing the engagement, and a spot light zoomed to the generals and scenes mentioned.

The tape glorified the engagement and Lee's men. It described to viewers how nearly 15,000 Confederate gray on a front nearly a mile long marched bravely across the fields under artillery shell fire, then endured canister fire -- "cans of iron balls fired like giant shotgun shells" -- as they approached the wall at the Angle, that many were torn apart by this "hail of death," and how still the remaining gray kept coming. The tape did point out Union Lieutenant Cushing pictured dying in the mural as well as Union general Winfield Hancock and the 72nd Pennsylvania Regiment rushing to meet the attack, but emphasis on the strength and valor of the Confederate Charge comparatively minimized the heroics of the Union defense. As the description of Pickett's Charge closed, the tape highlighted Confederate general Lewis Armistead falling with a fatal wound at the Angle after leading the gallant final surge over the stone wall and reminded visitors of the importance and magnificence of the charge and the sacrifice given by Confederate soldiers:

Pickett's Charge (pause) one of the most courageous attacks in military history (pause) has run its course to a high-water mark of valor and devotion (pause) and of those who came across that field (pause) two out of three will not return.

The tape ended with a discussion of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address to further instill the meaning of the program: that "ALL who fought here (pause) North AND

SOUTH (pause) gained imperishable glory" (NPS 1963).⁸

The third and fourth program stops were held outside. Visitors were exited from the drum to the back of the building and up a ramp to the viewing deck on the roof over the administrative offices. A seasonal intern, often a college student, pointed out and discussed several key sites that were highlighted in the Cyclorama program: (1) the Angle where Armistead died, (2) the clump of trees that were the focal point of Pickett's Charge, (3) Meade's Headquarters, and (4) Cemetery Hill where Lincoln dedicated the new national cemetery. This had a profound impact on many visitors, especially children. Now they saw the very sites depicted by the mural, and having just come from seeing the magnificent painting and listening to the engrossing tape, they could easily envision the 15,000 Confederates coming across the fields from the woods in the distance. The intern went on to mention to the crowd how the purpose of the viewing deck simulates the view of the battlefield that Philpoteaux had when he came to Gettysburg in 1882 and erected a platform nearby from which to study and have photographs taken of the landscape before painting his cyclorama.

Near the end of the viewing deck program, visitors on the deck were often drawn to looking at the Bryan Farm where they heard a gunshot. Over at the farm, a crowd stood around a white picket fence watching another seasonal intern, dressed up in a soldier's uniform, demonstrate the firing of a Civil War era musket. This was the Civil War Soldier program and the final stop on the Cyclorama tour. Every half-hour, the soldier-on-duty explained the accouterments of his outfit, went through the standard military drill for firing a

weapon, and then fired a musket with blank ammunition. According to Becky Lyons, a Park interpretive ranger working at the time, most visitors were less concerned with the drill and uniform because they “wanted to see that gun go off” (Lyons 2000).

Thus, the interpretive experience at the Cyclorama Visitor Center made for quite a spectacle during the summer. Every half-hour, hundreds of visitors rotated between a slide program, a taped drama of Pickett’s Charge set to Philippon’s masterpiece, a view of the actual High Water Mark from the roof of the Visitor Center, and a musket-firing demonstration. This made for a lot of fun as well as a good learning experience. Park personnel at the time believed these qualities important for instilling public interest in the battle and many families found the experience worthwhile for interesting their children.

Besides these programs, the Visitor Center offered tourists several new options. In the lobby, for example, visitors could purchase souvenir tourbooks on the Park or battle. The most popular selling books in 1970 were This Hallowed Ground --a self-guided High Water Mark walking tour booklet (1962), Gettysburg. High Water Mark of the Confederacy -- a pictorial booklet on the battlefield (1963), and two sourcebooks -- one on Abraham Lincoln and the other on General Lee. Also available in the lobby, at the front desk, visitors could rent a cassette player and a tape of Bruce Catton’s The Final Fury narrated by Walter Cronkite. The tape lasted 38 minutes and directed visitors to follow the High Water Mark trail beginning at the back of the building (Figure 5.3). The trail consisted of a paved path painted green that made a circuitous route around the Angle and Copse of Trees. One visitor, Karen Drickhamer, later recalled that

standing at the Angle with her family, listening to the tape and the music and Cronkite's voice had a powerful, emotional effect. "You could almost picture those Virginians coming across the field," said Karen, "and my mother knows nothing about Gettysburg, but she remembers Pickett's Charge" (Drickhamer 1999).⁹

Tourists who wanted a guided tour of the park needed to look no further because the Visitor Center also served as the central station for licensed battlefield guides. The NPS still allowed several guides to operate out of the West and South End Entrance Stations, and on Lincoln Square in town, but were phasing these stations out and kept the majority of the guide force on hand at the Visitor Center because of its role as the main information and tour center for the Park. In 1970, about half of the guide force, most of them young and new guides, began their tours by taking visitors to the Angle and High Water Mark monument in conjunction with a new tour route recommended by the Park. Many of the older guides, however, started their tours by taking visitors to the Peace Light and continued to follow the park tour route of 1940 because that was the route they were trained on and had grown accustomed to following. The point is that guides could choose which route they wished to follow because the NPS and the Park's two-way roads allowed flexibility, something the guides valued tremendously. But regardless of the way they went, guides frequently instilled Pickett's Charge in the memories of their passengers because nearly all tours began with discussions of the fighting at the High Water Mark or ended with discussions of Lee, the aftermath of the charge, and the retreat from Seminary Ridge.

Aside from the Visitor Center, tourists could enjoy Rosensteel's National Museum and a theme park nearby (Figure 5.4). So many visitors frequented the National Museum that by 1970 the NPS at Gettysburg had entered negotiations with the Rosensteel's to purchase their museum. Several advantages existed in acquiring the museum. First, the museum's parking lot already accommodated overflow parking on a regular basis by 1970 because the Visitor Center parking lot proved insufficient for the high volume of tourists in the summer season. In addition, the Rosensteel's collection of relics remained by and far the largest display of authentic Civil War bullets, shells, pistols, rifles, uniforms and other artifacts gathered from the Gettysburg battlefield for the visiting public to see.¹⁰ Most importantly, Rosensteel's Electric Map served as the best educational program for providing visitors with an overview of the battle, and its popularity in 1970 made it a standard program for visitor interpretation at Gettysburg (Figure 5.5).¹¹ As before, the Electric Map highlighted the Fishhook formation of the Union army at Gettysburg, the "key" position of Little Round Top, and the High Water Mark where Pickett's Charge climaxed (Rosensteel c.1970). Near the end of each showing, the program pointed out the close proximity of the Visitor Center to the Angle and High Water Mark to orient visitors and help lead them to the site.¹²

The nearby theme park stood just down the Taneytown Road from the National Museum and visitors could see it from the Visitor Center. Named "Fantasyland," several large signs up and down the Taneytown Road advertised it as an amusement park for children (Figure 5.6). Fantasyland was created in

1958 and covered several acres of privately owned land in the Guinn Woods south of Hunt Avenue. On these grounds were a dozen or so structures painted in bright baby colors and made to depict popular characters or themes of nursery tales. Visitors entered the amusement park through an entrance designed like a huge children's book. Inside children could visit Little Devil's Den, Santa Town, Merry-Go-Round, the Sugar Plum Snack Bar, Rapunzel's Castle, and Mother Goose, among other things, or ride the Cannonball Express choo-choo train.¹³ The NPS at Gettysburg considered this another top priority for acquisition because it competed with the Park for tourist dollars and because Park personnel felt its visibility from the national cemetery, Meade's Headquarters, and the High Water Mark cheapened the sanctity of these sacred sites.¹⁴

From the High Water Mark to Little Round Top: Driving South Down Hancock

The "self-guided auto tour" served as the most popular way for visitors to travel over the battlefield in 1970. All visitors to the Visitor Center, regardless of whether or not they had time for the interpretive programs, received a new map of the Park featuring this tour (Figure 5.7). This new GNMP map directed tourists to follow a new official Park tour route that began at the High Water Mark and ended at the Soldiers' National Cemetery. The tour encompassed the entire three days' battlegrounds, just as the first comprehensive park tour had in 1940, but the map clearly highlighted Pickett's Charge and the High Water Mark. Three large bold arrows appeared on the map to mark the charges of Pickett's, Pettigrew's, and Trimble's divisions on the Third Day's battle. Albeit, another 20

arrows on the map highlighted Confederate attack movements against Union lines, but the three arrows to Pickett's Charge were five times as large in size and captured readers' attentions first and foremost.

The Angle constituted the first stop and motorists turned onto Webb Avenue to drive out to the wall. The popularity of the site and the two-way convenience of Hancock Avenue made the High Water Mark area a traffic jam in the summer. Visitors who got out and surveyed the fields over which Pickett's men charged had difficulty seeing the Codori farm where Pickett stood during the attack because of a thicket that had grown up on a rock outcropping in the fields.¹⁵ The telephone poles still remained along the Emmitsburg Road that stood between visitors and their view of Lee's monument on Seminary Ridge, and over to the right, a new housing tract named Colt Park could be seen behind the Home Sweet Home motel along Steinwehr Avenue. Begun in 1959, the Colt Park development immediately bordered GNMP lands and occupied grounds that Pettigrew's men had charged across in their sweep toward Cemetery Ridge on July 3rd, 1863. Also visible from the Angle were McDonald's, Hardee's, and a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant (complete with an oversized, rotating bucket for a sign) along Steinwehr Avenue. These fast-food franchises arrived in the '60s and greatly benefited from the close proximity of the new Visitor Center. Tourists enjoyed and frequented the restaurants, but Park officials were highly concerned that these modern buildings created a visual intrusion – the very intrusion that Fred Tilberg had warned of in 1940.

At the Angle, battlefield guides often informed visitors that 15,000 Confederates marched across those farm fields on the Third Day. This served

as the conventional figure for the size of Pickett's Charge for years. Even the Cyclorama program and the Electric Map program mentioned this figure. Author George Stewart, however, had recently determined the total number of Confederate troops "may be put at 10,500" (Stewart 1959, 173). He stated this in his 1959 best-selling book Pickett's Charge, but despite being a popular and scholarly book even in 1970, GNMP historians had yet to change the long accepted 15,000 originally given by General James Longstreet in his 1863 report of the engagement. The real significance is that Stewart questioned a "fact" about the battle given by a participant and long accepted by Gettysburg scholars and it served as one of the first scholarly attempts to revise the standard record of the battle since the veterans themselves had stopped arguing over the facts.

Pickett's Charge clearly received the greatest attention at Gettysburg. As if the Cyclorama programs, guides, Park and scholarly literature, and the first stop on the auto tour were not enough, four new interpretive "waysides" existed for motorists at the High Water Mark area and constituted the greatest concentration of waysides in the entire park. These waysides were roadside exhibits featuring large, relief diagrams and text showing Union and Confederate troops in blue and gray paint. The new diagrams were part of the Mission 66 initiative and the NPS placed several dozen around the Park at key spots for visitor interpretation. The waysides worked well because of their high visibility and clear and simple diagrams, and the bas-relief helped blind visitors interpret the battle considerably better.¹⁶

One new wayside at the Angle illustrated Pickett's Charge well and

guides frequently pointed it out during their tours (Figure 5.8). It showed both the composition and sequence of the assault and subsequent repulse. Pickett's Charge consisted of a huge thrust against the Union center by two Confederate divisions: one division led by General Pickett and second division plus half of another led by generals Pettigrew and Trimble. As Confederates approached the Angle, General Stannard's Vermont brigade struck the flank of Pickett's division, a key movement that aided in the repulse of the assault.

Given this sequence, many guides frequently enjoyed following the auto tour route because they found they could integrate the landscape well with the chronology of Pickett's Charge. By taking their groups south down Hancock in 1970, guides could first describe the outset of the charge and point out Seminary Ridge and the Codori fields from Webb Avenue at the Angle, then discuss the zenith of the attack while passing the Copse of Trees, and finish discussing the Union repulse and Stannard's brave Vermonters while pointing out Vermont monuments as they passed them south of the High Water Mark area. Another advantage is that the passenger-side of vehicles that tourists sat on (while guides drove) faced the fields and tourists could easily look over the battlegrounds as the guide discussed the action.

Two things that went unnoticed by visitors as they left the High Water Mark area were the absence of flagpoles and avenues. The NPS removed the flags and poles at both the Angle and Meade's Headquarters a few years earlier and Meade Avenue and Harrow Avenue (south of the Copse of Trees) no longer existed. Moreover, the NPS stopped flying U.S. flags from the War Department observation towers around the battlefield on special holidays and

anniversary occasions. The reasons for the flag removals are unclear, but Meade and Harrow avenues were two of several small avenues removed because NPS officials at Gettysburg felt these roads gave undue attention to particular heroes or monuments over that of other participants and memorials. Other roads removed, or simply not maintained, included Sedgwick Loop around Sedgwick's equestrian statue, Reynolds Branch Drive to General Reynolds' monument in Reynolds' Woods, and Chamberlain Avenue that passed by the 20th Maine monument on Little Round Top. Of course, the main avenues in the park paid tribute to generals, such as Slocum, Hancock, and Sykes avenues, but these roads were constructed to follow the battle lines rather than bring visitors to the monuments to these generals. In these cases, the monuments came after the avenues. But Sedgwick, Chamberlain, and other small avenues removed by the NPS had been constructed by the GNP Commission to take visitors by new monuments to the heroes for which these avenues were named. The significance of the NPS removal of these "monument avenues" is that it reversed work by the veteran caretakers of this battlefield.¹⁷

Driving south down Hancock took visitors to the second most-popular spot on the field in 1970: Little Round Top. This remained the prettiest part of GNMP for nature enthusiasts and offered visitors the most spectacular view of the battlefield. In fact, a nature trail now existed through the woods around nearby Big Round Top, complete with marked stops and information signs along the route that alerted readers to tree and animal species in the Park. Park officials established the trail in 1964 to accommodate the increasing numbers of outdoor-hikers to the park and encourage conservation and nature awareness as part of

NPS goals.

At the summit of Little Round Top, near the 91st PA monument, stood two interpretive waysides and an audio station (Figure 5.9). Audio stations were the newest addition to the park's interpretive improvements as part of the Mission '66 initiative. Each station appeared as a large metal box with speakers and visitors could press a button and listen to a two-to-three minute narration on the significance of a particular site and the battle action that took place there. The audio tape on Little Round Top, for example, informed listeners on the importance of Little Round Top to the Union defense and the battle over it on 2 July 1863, that staved off certain Confederate victory at Gettysburg. At first, the tape described the Union defense line being in the shape of a "great fish hook" and that the "eye of the hook was here at Little Round Top." As the tape continued, listeners learned that on July 2nd Confederate General James Longstreet attempted to take this "key" hill left unprotected by Union General Daniel Sickles who had advanced his corps to the Peach Orchard that was visible in the distance. The tape then pointed out General Warren's statue and stated that Warren realized the threat, ordered troops to the summit in the nick of time, and saved Little Round Top. The resounding message of the narration left listeners aware that were it not for Warren's quick actions, the Confederates would have taken Little Round Top and "the Union [fishhook] would have been impossible to hold" (Teas 1965).¹⁸

In 1970 General Warren remained unchallenged as THE hero of Little Round Top.¹⁹ But visitors who walked over to Warren's statue had difficulty

seeing the battlefield as Warren saw it in 1863 because of the amount of brush growth obscuring their view from that spot (Figure 5.10). This growth had not changed much since 1940; in fact, the west slope of Little Round Top and the valley below remained covered with brush and trees, and redbuds and dogwood remained abundant. The beauty of this end of the field still attracted hordes of visitors every spring. What did change after 1940 is that more of the public had become familiar with a forested Little Round Top and were no longer aware of its original barren, rocky appearance of 1863. This posed great difficulty for the NPS. In 1964, Park officials temporarily removed brush and tree growth from Little Round Top to restore the original vista that Warren had and to recreate the 1863 landscape over which the fighting occurred, but members of a botanical club vehemently objected to it. Indeed, Superintendent Kitt Wing at the time endured considerable public scrutiny over this "vista clearing" program (see Unrau 1991). Other later attempts at vista clearing met similar fates by vocal opponents who considered it a destruction of nature and beauty and by admirers and locals who had simply grown accustomed to thinking of Little Round Top as always having been a pretty, forested hill (Figure 5.11). By 1970, the NPS abandoned further vista clearing efforts and did not maintain the openness of Little Round Top. Instead, Park interpretive rangers and licensed battlefield guides continually reminded visitors that Longstreet's soldiers attacking Little Round Top did not have all this brush and tree growth to fight through or slow their advance and that this made the hill especially vulnerable because of there being no physical obstacle to their taking it. Unfortunately, visitors to the summit who were not made aware of this had difficulty understanding the swiftness of

Longstreet's attack, the critical timing of Warren's call for troops, and the original openness of Little Round Top that made it such a commanding position for either army who occupied it.

What visitors could see easily from Little Round Top in 1970 were the numerous vultures flying overhead. These birds were not unusual and did not draw attention on their own, but they made for the subject of a good story. The Round Tops served as a nesting ground and habitat for both black and turkey vultures and had so for some time. Because vultures preyed on dead and supposedly lived long lives, a rumor started that these birds were first attracted to the battlefield in 1863 by the abundance of bodies and that some of those early vultures were still alive. It is unclear who originated this notion and when, but by 1970 NPS interpretive rangers and battlefield guides at Little Round Top frequently pointed out the vultures flying around and informed visitors that these birds were the only living witnesses to the battle. The story thrilled children especially.²⁰

Leaving Little Round Top, the auto tour route continued to Devil's Den, through the Wheatfield, and to the Peach Orchard. Guides enjoyed following this stretch because it fit the chronology of Longstreet's attack against Little Round Top and the Union left flank on July 2nd, 1863. Fighting began at Little Round and Devil's Den around 4:00 p.m., by 5:30 Longstreet's forces engaged Union soldiers at the Wheatfield, and by 6:00 p.m. Sickles was being driven back from the Peach Orchard as his corps disintegrated in battle.²¹

Stuckey's at the Peach Orchard and the Emmitsburg Road Strip

Coming to the Emmitsburg Road, visitors could see Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe diagonally across from the Peach Orchard (Figure 5.12). It advertised itself as being "in the heart of the historic Gettysburg battlefield" (Gettysburg Times 1962, 37). The intersection of Wheatfield and Emmitsburg roads made for a good spot for several businesses that had arisen on private lands along the Emmitsburg Road as it cut through the Park. Just north of Stuckey's stood a Twin Kiss ice cream stand and the Battlefield Motel (Figure 5.13).²² In fact, motels, restaurants, and tourist cabins lined Emmitsburg Road continuously for a four-mile stretch south from the Gettysburg borough.²³ Families could eat and sleep on the battlefield, or at least at the edge of it when vacancies filled during times of peak visitation. Even a commercial heliport, Copter Tour of Gettysburg, operated from Emmitsburg Road just south of the battlefield and provided helicopter tours over the Park all day long during the tourist season from April to October. The helicopters could hold two passengers and the tours consisted of 20-minute flights (or longer) of "unobstructed views while hovering over historic sites of the battles" (Gettysburg Times 1962, 36). All these businesses made for super family fun, but they alarmed Park officials greatly.

The tourism industry on or adjacent to the GNMP ballooned beginning in the 1950s and the stretch of Emmitsburg Road through the fields of Pickett's Charge appeared to have the greatest concentration of businesses. In 1958, Michael Frome authored an article for the Sunday newspaper edition of Parade Magazine that warned readers nationwide of these commercial intrusions at NPS

battlefields and historic shrines, particularly Gettysburg -- "the most hallowed of all" (Frome 1958). He titled his article "The New Battle of Gettysburg" and pointed out the auto junkyard where Meade had his field headquarters, the many motels and souvenir stands next to cannon and monuments, and the new housing developments going up on battlefield land not yet acquired by the NPS (Figure 5.14).²⁴ The article received considerable public attention and GNMP officials received letters of concern from citizens from California to Maine (see Reading Files 1958-59). But by 1970, little had changed. The junkyard still existed, juxtaposed across from a GNMP Entrance and Welcome Sign along the Baltimore Pike, as did tourist cabins and souvenir stands all around the park, not just along the Emmitsburg Road. Even public attitudes had yet to change significantly. Aside from the useless blight of a junkyard, tourists in 1970 enjoyed the other businesses for providing amenities and accommodations that fit their vacation trips. Families on vacation constituted the overwhelming visitor group and they liked eating and sleeping on the battlefield and found that souvenir shops, ice cream stands and Fantasyland kept their children happy. Only a relative handful of preservation-minded groups (namely the newly formed Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association) and NPS officials desperately wanted to remove these "visual intrusions" from Gettysburg.

Still, even Park personnel at Gettysburg frequented and did not speak out against some of these private establishments because GNMP did not offer enough souvenirs, museum relics, and refreshments to accommodate the one-million-plus visitors annually. In fact, GNMP administration had complained for several years now that the Cyclorama Visitor Center proved inadequate to

provide enough visitor services for interpretation, comfort, and enjoyment.²⁵

Longstreet's Park, for example, served as a popular hangout for both Park Rangers and tourists in 1970. It remained situated as it had in 1940, just west of the Peach Orchard along the Wheatfield Road at its juncture with West Confederate Avenue. The Park's auto tour route directed visitors this way and the Longstreet's Park they saw had changed little in 30 years.²⁶ Those who stopped could still visit the whitewashed shack marked Longstreet's Headquarters, buy some souvenirs or a hamburger and a drink at the nearby stand, and enjoy their refreshments at one of the picnic tables in the shade next to the stone wall along West Confederate Avenue (Figure 5.15). The original owners, Samuel and Rosalind Swope, sold the property to their grandchildren, Johnny and Betty Johnson, in 1962.²⁷ Like many of the private businesses around the battlefield, this remained a local, family-run enterprise. Johnny had fixed-up Longstreet's Headquarters and gave it a fresh coat of whitewash, and he also brought in the picnic tables and ran the kitchen in the hamburger stand. Jude Smith and other Park Rangers frequented the place for food and drink, and longtime customer and Park Historian Met Sheads even helped Johnny correct the sign on Longstreet's Headquarters to read "Longstreet's Headquarters July 2-3, 1863" which had erroneously stated "July 1, 2, 3" (an error previously unbeknownst to Johnny or the Swopes). As Johnny later recalled, "The Park Service liked and used our place regularly and they did not treat us as an intrusion" (Johnson 1999).

From the intersection where Longstreet's Park stood, guides frequently

pointed out General Eisenhower's farm. In 1951, Eisenhower purchased the Allen Redding farm bordering the west edge of the Park across from the Longstreet Observation Tower. This inspired some of the rise in annual visitation and the commercial boom around the battlefield in the 50s and 60s, especially after Ike was elected president in 1952. Local business entrepreneurs banked on and advertised the fact that the American president and greatest living general had chosen Gettysburg as his home (Unrau 1991). Indeed, Eisenhower publicized this well. He held national press conferences from the Gettysburg Hotel, retreated to his farm frequently during the Presidency, took major world political and military leaders around the battlefield, and announced from Gettysburg his better health following his much-publicized heart attacks.²⁸ Every time he did come home to Gettysburg, it usually made news locally and nationally and excited tourists. On these occasions, the Secret Service closed the Longstreet Tower to visitors (to prevent any potential assassination attempts by would-be snipers).²⁹ After his terms in office, Ike and Mamie retired to the farm, served as guests at Memorial Day and other park holiday festivities, and continued to host prominent U.S. and world leaders until Ike died in 1969.

In 1970, Mamie remained at the farm and visitors wanted to see her home. The NPS had even removed a screen of trees across from the Longstreet Tower to afford motorists on West Confederate Avenue a view of the farm. For tourists who wanted to learn more about Ike, the NPS offered a new film titled "Eisenhower and Gettysburg" shown nightly at the Park's new outdoor amphitheater along West Confederate Avenue in Pitzer Woods

(Figure 5.16). Visitors passed by marked entrances for it on their left while following the auto tour route to the Virginia Monument and they could catch glimpses of the amphitheater building and rows of log seats from the road. Constructed in 1968, the amphitheater served as the new site for nightly visitor campfire programs in the summer as well as new Sunday church services on the battlefield.³⁰ As of Labor Day, 1970, the Park offered "Eisenhower and Gettysburg" for its last showing of the campfire season. The film had proven successful for its first year and crowds had averaged about 150 persons every night.³¹

The Virginia Monument constituted the next stop on the auto tour route and congestion at this spot had never been greater (Figure 5.17). More visitors, both domestic and foreign, desired to see Lee's statue over any other to a general at Gettysburg. Indeed, by 1970, Lee's fame appeared unsurpassed. According to guides at the time, foreign visitors knew of Lee as "the greatest American general" and most had never heard of any other officer in the battle. American visitors claiming to be descendants of veterans of the battle pointed out Lee as their ancestor with such frequency that guides believed most of these claims were probably not true. Lee had become an American icon, both nationally and internationally.³²

At the Virginia Monument, visitors could park in a new pull-off parking section that the NPS had recently added to the avenue loop around the monument. Lee's popularity and an audio station at the monument necessitated the additional parking spaces. The audio station tape described the "tremendous

cannonade" that preceded Pickett's Charge for two hours, involving 130 Confederate guns and 80 Union guns. Then the tape ended with a glorified description of the mile-long battle line of Confederates as they set out "... in perfect order, this gallant array of gallant men ..." to assault the Union Army. By 1970, this moment -- the instant when Pickett's men began their march across the fields to "eternal glory" -- received considerable attention both at Gettysburg and in Civil War literature. Numerous authors and scholars as well as NPS interpreters and battlefield guides celebrated this moment as the zenith of Lee's unbeaten streak and the Confederacy's high tide of victory. The Copse of Trees represented the High Tide of the Confederacy, but it also symbolized the turning-point defeat of Lee, his army, and the Confederacy. But come the moments leading up to Pickett's Charge, Lee's army remained unbeaten -- as history now interpreted it for the public. No one romanticized and idealized this moment better than William Faulkner:

For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863 . . .

This quote first appeared in Intruder in the Dust (1972, 194). By 1970, Faulkner's articulation of the Civil War in the Southern psyche gained notoriety among Civil War scholars as well as college-educated students taking American history and literary courses.³³ Although Faulkner's interpretation was factually wrong (the charge set out at three o'clock), his writing both reflected and contributed to the widespread popular conception of that critical moment before the charge as the pinnacle of the Confederacy and Lee's victories.

In addition to Lee's statue and audio station, guides used West Confederate Avenue to discuss the cannonade preceding Pickett's Charge because of the concentration of cannon along the drive. In 1970, West Confederate Avenue had the most cannon in the entire Park, with over 100 of the 405 guns at GNMP. Guides also frequently stopped along this avenue to show passengers the markings on gun tubes and demonstrate artillery firing drills used in the battle and war. And more visitors took pictures of their families, especially their children, on one of the many guns here than at any other part of the Park. The many cannon and this pattern of usage had not changed since 1940.

The color of these guns had changed, however. The cannon carriages and wheels were now painted a light tan, as opposed to the grayish-blue that NPS maintenance had used to repaint the cannon since the 1940s. The grayish-blue paint had been surplus World War II paint and used for cannon at all NPS battlefield parks until 1969 when the NPS recognized tan as the appropriate color for cannon. According to NPS historian Thomas Harrison at Gettysburg, the light tan color "was made from the formula in the ordnance manual for cannon of the type on the battlefield here" (Gettysburg Times 29 August 1969, 1). Thus, all 405 cannon at Gettysburg, as well as the thousands on other NPS battlefields, received their original Civil-War-era coat of paint, or at least so the NPS thought after remixing the formula for the first time since taking over care of the parks from the War Department.

On to the Peace Light and the Soldiers' National Cemetery

McPherson Ridge constituted the next stop on the GNMP auto tour. Leaving Seminary Ridge, visitors followed the Hagerstown Road west before turning onto Reynolds Avenue along McPherson Ridge. This part of the tour presented an awkward situation for some guides because Lee used the Hagerstown Road for his retreat and guides who liked to discuss Lee's withdraw on July 4th had to "jump back" to the opening of the battle as they continued on Reynolds Avenue. This made for a difficult transition in the tour for both guides and tourists, especially interested visitors trying to maintain a grasp on the order of the battle and their orientation in relation to the rest of the field.³⁴

In 1970, most visitors and readers of Gettysburg literature knew little about the First-Day's fight compared to what they had heard or read about the remainder of the battle. Author Warren Hassler had just completed a book titled Crisis at the Crossroads that presented the first comprehensive account of the first day at Gettysburg, but his book had yet to have an impact on the reading public. Hassler pointed out, "chroniclers of [the Gettysburg] campaign have often seen fit to emphasize the second and third days' battles, while largely minimizing the fighting on the first day" (1970, vii). Indeed, the bulk of extant literature on the Battle of Gettysburg and the Park's interpretive programs made the First-Day's battle appear as just a skirmish compared with the entire engagement. And the visitation pattern on this part of the field reflected the literary and NPS ignorance of this battle. Visitors guiding themselves over the First-Day's field frequently ended their tours after seeing the Peace Light because that remained the principal famed and visible attraction on this part of the

battlefield.

For visitors with guides in 1970, they frequently learned several “traditional” stories of the men and the fight. Many guides driving along Reynolds Avenue to the Peace Light still pointed out Abner Doubleday’s statue and mentioned him as the founder of baseball, and they also noted the Reynolds’ Monument marking where General Reynolds died in McPherson Woods. Those who pointed out the Reynolds’ Equestrian Statue frequently mentioned how the two raised horse hoofs indicated the fatal fate of its rider.³⁵ Other common guide stories in 1970 concerned how the battle began. Many guides told visitors that the “North came in from the South and the South came in from the North,” that the roads facilitated the clash of these armies because so many converged on Gettysburg “like spokes to the hub of a wheel,” and that the battle occurred over the Confederates’ search for shoes.

The reasons for the battle were far more complex, and the guide force knew it, but guides enjoyed sharing these simplified interpretations because they had only a few minutes on their two-hour tour to explain it and because visitors remembered the stories well and easily grasped the approach of the armies and the accidental nature of their clash. Furthermore, various literature and programs on Gettysburg had reinforced these interpretations in recent years. The Electric Map program highlighted how the armies arrived from the opposite direction of their origin and the radial network of roads from Gettysburg. The shoe story had become especially popular among both guides and visitors because the Cyclorama orientation program mentioned it, as did Glenn Tucker’s High Tide at Gettysburg (a standard text for guides and recommended by the NPS for

potential guides preparing for their examination), and Bruce Catton's The Battle of Gettysburg (1963, 33). Guides John Fuss and Charlie Fennell remember that "Catton really helped to popularize the shoe story to the public (Fuss 1999; Fennell 1999). In addition, the shoe story had been reprinted numerous times in academic, newspaper, and touristy publications.³⁶ Moreover, Gettysburg remained a major shoe center for as long as many guides could remember. The Sure Foot Rubber Heel Company on Railroad Street in town operated from 1920 (before many guides were born) until 1965, and the present Gettysburg Shoe Company in town served as the largest local employer in the area.³⁷

Tourists continuing along the auto tour route encountered the Peace Light Motor Inn at the intersection of Buford Avenue and Mummasburg Road (Figure 5.18). It stood across from the old Forney homestead site in clear view of the Peace Light Monument. Constructed in 1946, the Peace Light Motor Inn consisted of a restaurant and several tourist cabins along Buford Avenue. Park officials desired to acquire this property as well as several other privately-owned properties they felt were threatening the integrity of the First-Day's battlegrounds. These other properties included Shields' Museum & Cabin Park near Reynolds Equestrian Statue, the Suburban Motel by Barlow Knoll, Adams County Motors auto sales business next to West Howard Avenue, and three new homes along the Mummasburg Road as part of a proposed housing development.³⁸ In addition, several multi-acre parcels of land important to the historic viewscape that visitors observed while driving along the avenues remained privately owned and vulnerable to development.

Congress had appropriated funds for NPS land acquisition (beginning in 1961), but stipulations demanded that park officials at Gettysburg receive local government approval before acquiring private properties not entirely surrounded by GNMP boundaries (Unrau 1991, 271-272). This stipulation did not apply to the private lands and businesses along the Emmitsburg Road because these properties were surrounded by park lands, but it did apply to the Peace Light Motor Inn and the other private properties on the First-Day's battlegrounds. From the standpoint of GNMP officials, this stipulation hindered their efforts to acquire the latter properties and as a result they placed these lands lower on their acquisition priority list (GNMP 1963). This presented a tragic irony.³⁹ The First-Day's battlegrounds appeared most threatened because the GNMP owned the least amount of these battlegrounds in comparison to its ownership of the Second and Third-Days' grounds, and yet Congressional restrictions on acquisition funds seemingly penalized the park for this problem and helped to perpetuate the threat to this part of the battlefield.

But despite park officials' concerns, many tourists at Gettysburg in 1970 did not recognize this threat to the First-Day's battlegrounds. The Peace Light Motor Inn and Shields Cabin Park, for example, enhanced visitors' battlefield trips because food and lodging accommodations on the battlefield added fun and enjoyment to the family vacation experience at Gettysburg (Figure 5.19). In addition, visitors commonly assumed that GNMP already owned the important battlefield lands and therefore did not recognize these establishments as occupying sacred ground.⁴⁰ Moreover, the significance of the First Day's

battlefield and its threatened condition had received limited national publicity by 1970 and remained overshadowed by park programs and Gettysburg literature that overwhelmingly focused on the fighting of July 2nd and 3rd, 1863. Also, aside from restaurants and lodging, most visitors did not notice the other commercial threats. They could not easily distinguish between private, undeveloped land and NPS land because the NPS removed the gas pipe boundary fencing years before for the sake of interpretation and no signs pointed out private lands.⁴¹ In addition, many visitors did not even encounter the housing tracts and the Adams County Motors because these visible intrusions did not appear until after the Peace Light Monument stop and visitors without guides rarely made it this far on their tour.

The Peace Light Monument served as the principal and final stop for visitors following the auto route because of the “anticlimactic nature” of the tour (Figure 5.20). “For this reason,” claimed park historians, an audio station at the memorial presented a summary of the fighting at Barlow Knoll, Culp’s Hill, and East Cemetery Hill, in place of the remaining auto tour stops at these sites. Up to this point, the audio stations discussed tactics so that visitors could understand the course of the entire battle. But because the battle action at the remaining tour stops lacked excitement now that tourists on the auto route knew the outcome, the remaining audio stations and interpretive waysides emphasized human interest stories at their sites rather than tactics (GNMP 1967). Only the Soldiers’ National Cemetery remained to be mentioned on the tour and most visitors, domestic and foreign, headed there to see where Lincoln spoke.⁴²

The national cemetery attracted foreign visitors more than any other site on the battlefield. Western Europeans (from Great Britain, France, and Germany), East Asians (specifically from Japan), and various diplomats or military and political leaders on visits to Washington, D.C., constituted the principal foreign groups coming to Gettysburg in 1970. According to guides and Park personnel at the time, these foreigners most wanted to see where Lincoln gave the Gettysburg Address and few of them knew anything about the battle, except perhaps General Lee.⁴³ "As was commonly believed at [the] time, the Soldiers' National Monument [marked] the site of the 1863 speakers' stand" from which Lincoln dedicated the cemetery (Frassanito 1995, 163) (Figure 5.21). Walking up to the monument made for the high point of many foreigner's visit because their journey to the site often served as a sort of spiritual pilgrimage. "Foreigners have held [Lincoln's Address] in higher regard than even Americans," recalled guide Clay Rebert. The address more than the battle brought Gettysburg international recognition and this pattern had not changed since 1940. In response to this international fame, the Park had printed over two-dozen different foreign translations of Lincoln's speech and visitors could pick copies up in the Cyclorama Visitor Center. But Americans still revered the speech in 1970 as well, and memorizing the address remained standard fare for any child's education in the U.S. As of the last anniversary celebration of Lincoln's speech, a Gettysburg High School student recited the address from the Soldiers' National Monument where Lincoln supposedly stood. The Lincoln Fellowship continued to sponsor the event and made the practice of high school students reciting the address a traditional component of the anniversary festivities in recent years.

Visitors enjoyed driving through the national cemetery, but the cemetery they saw did not reflect its original appearance. Since 1940, the Norway maples along Upper Main Drive had died out and the NPS removed them, leaving the Soldiers' National Monument to stand alone without the maple foliage to showcase it as before. In addition, the stone wall lining the perimeter of the cemetery and the speaker's rostrum had both reached a severe state of deterioration. Stones, bricks, and mortar now 100 years old had fallen apart in many places and the NPS recognized that much restoration needed to be done to repair the wall and rostrum. Adding to this state of decay were the voluminous number of tour buses and motorists packing Main Drive during the day hours. Park officials desired to close the cemetery to this traffic because they felt it created a state of noise, pollution, and congestion inappropriate for the cemetery atmosphere. But in 1970, returning the cemetery to its original grand design and fitting tranquility required tremendous maintenance cost as well as compromises to visitor convenience that park officials recognized as too sweeping to implement immediately. As NPS Chief Ranger Reed Engle later reflected on the cemetery state at this time:

The Cemetery [bore] little evidence of Saunders' original plan . . . Tour buses [that are noisy and polluted] competed with cars for parking space. . . . [With the headstones no longer raised and visible,] the graves had become pathways for visitors hurrying to visit the 'site' of the Gettysburg Address. [In fact] the removal of the walks, the overgrowth of evergreens within the burial plots, [and] the gradual elimination of the Norway Maple alley [further] completed the destruction of the Saunders concept. . . . Saunders plan was created to provide dignity to the final resting place of some 3700 soldiers, [but it was] lost in a misguided effort to 'ease maintenance,' 'beautify' the scene, and pander to the American public's refusal to walk (1994, 101, 125).

The 1970 Battlefield in Retrospect

As one contemporary visitor remarked, “the two most important things about Gettysburg were Little Round Top and Pickett’s Charge” -- the former for its incredible view, the latter for its perceived momentous importance to American history at the time. This statement captures the lure of Gettysburg National Military Park in 1970; it appealed to the public as both a nature park and as the site of the turning point battle in the U.S. The significance of this comment is that it reflected how the NPS and the local community, driven by Gettysburg’s national popularity as well as their own agendas, had transformed GNMP from an historic battlefield into a park of excitement, fun and enjoyment. Visitors could sleep and eat in locally-owned motels and restaurants on the battlegrounds, they could follow dramatic tape tours around the battlefield and listen and watch climactic audio-visual programs, and they could see living history demonstrations and attend nightly movie showings and campfire films. Families with children could picnic in the woods and walk the trails, drive the roads and look for deer from their vehicles, and frequent the Electric Map, Fantasyland, or find some other entertainment to complete their visit. Children most enjoyed hiking up the old towers, climbing the “big” rocks at Devil’s Den, and sitting on “real” cannon. And museums and stands around the battlefield helped to instill lasting childhood memories of Gettysburg in youngsters who later associated their trip to Gettysburg with buying candy, authentic bullets, Confederate play-money, and toy muskets and hats -- souvenirs they took home with them, played with, and remembered their visits by. All these experiences contributed to the

Gettysburg's notoriety as a popular vacation and holiday destination for most visitors.

The Gettysburg battlefield landscape in 1970 exhibited several other distinguished traits as well. Namely, it glorified the story of the battle and celebrated the vanquished. The Visitor Center's slide, film, and cyclorama programs focused on the courage and valor of Confederate soldiers in Pickett's Charge without equal attention to the Union defenders. Waysides, audio stations, battlefield guides, and park literature continually discussed the Angle and Gettysburg in the context of the "Confederate High Water Mark." Although visitors frequently heard references to the battle as the "Union Turning Point" this context was not emphasized in the same manner because Park personnel recognized that the Union defense did not hold the excitement or drama visitors would remember of the battle as they would Pickett's Charge. In addition, publicity of monument dedications in recent years focused on six new southern memorials along West Confederate Avenue, and the ceremonies of the Centennial Anniversary of the battle in 1963 culminated with a staged reenactment of Pickett's Charge covered by national television.⁴⁴ Indeed, the Park's celebration of Southern heroes and heroics that began with the High Water Mark concept in 1892 had come to fruition and its success in 1970 was reflected by the congestion of visitors at the High Water Mark area, Philippoteaux's painting, and the Virginia State Memorial. Furthermore, this attention to the "noble defeated" coincided with and contributed to the lost cause myth and the supremacy of Lee's popularity among domestic and foreign visitors.

Another trait of GNMP at this time is that park officials made interpretation

paramount over preservation and commemorative efforts. Park administrative and interpretive decisions, for example, compromised authenticity and memorialization. The new official park auto tour ignored the chronology of the battle by starting at the High Water Mark and leaving the First Day's battlegrounds for the last part of the tour. In addition, the NPS removed part of an 1863 stone battle wall and witness trees in Zeigler's Grove to make way for a Cyclorama Visitor Center that would enhance visitors' interpretive experience of Pickett's Charge. Now visitors could "see the painting and then see the site" and many, especially children, never forgot this experience after leaving Gettysburg. Moreover, the NPS removed the short, commemorative avenues to Chamberlain's, Reynolds', Sedgwick's and other monuments. In 1970, the interpretive landscape served as the chief means for the public to remember the battle by rather than the authentic and memorial landscapes at GNMP. More visitors experienced the engagement through the cyclorama painting, waysides, audio stations, and tape programs than from visiting and seeing the earthworks, fields, woods, and farms.

Visitor experiences at Gettysburg revolved around a climactic tour. Pickett's Charge and the Third Day's battle served as the focus of the Cyclorama Visitor Center programs and painting, the new High Water Mark walking tour, and the official Park tour map. In addition, waysides concentrated at the High Water Mark area, cassette tapes available for walkers and motorists concentrated on the Third Day, and publicized events at GNMP as well as books published in recent years on the battle overwhelmingly drew attention to Pickett's Charge. The cumulative effect of these interpretive enhancements compelled most visitors in

1970 to recognize the Angle and Copse of Trees as the key battleground. Little Round Top appeared nearly as important to the outcome of the battle from tourists' perspectives because the Electric Map, an audio station, NPS interpretive rangers, and guides promoted it as the "key" to the Union defense, but the repulse of Pickett's Charge held more spotlight at GNMP and in scholarly literature. To clarify, both the High Water Mark area and Little Round Top stood out as the key battlegrounds, but the interpretive hierarchy between them is best understood by the different ways guides explained it to northern and southern visitors in 1970: from the Union perspective, Little Round Top saved probable Union defeat, whereas the defense at the Angle secured Union victory; from the Confederate perspective, Lee missed a chance at victory at Little Round Top, but he lost the battle when his attack failed at the Angle.

In terms of visitation, the High Water Mark area, Little Round Top - Devil's Den area, and the Soldiers' National Cemetery received equal numbers of tourists and served as the most popular sites at Gettysburg, but the reasons for their popularity in 1970 varied significantly. Tourists congested at the High Water Mark because of its celebrated importance as the site of the battle's climax. Little Round Top and Devil's Den, however, provided more excitement for visitors than just the battle action interpreted there. Guides, buses, and tourists stopped at Little Round Top for the view from the summit, and hordes of motorists still clogged the hill in spring to see the redbud and dogwood in bloom. Families swarmed around Devil's Den to let their children enjoy climbing over the mammoth boulders, and both school, charter, and tour buses regularly drove by the Den because of the physical wonder these rocks presented to everyone

who saw them. In further contrast, the national cemetery held the least military significance to visitors. Park signs, films, and NPS personnel overwhelmingly interpreted the site as a burial ground consecrated by Lincoln, not a battleground, and crowds frequenting the cemetery rarely learned of the Union defense of Cemetery Hill that made the spot so important for it being chosen as the site of the cemetery. Indeed, NPS interpretation and Lincoln's fame obscured this part of the battle story and visitors left the cemetery unaware of the fighting on Cemetery Hill, in contrast with early visitors to the cemetery who remembered Cemetery Hill for its strategic importance to the Union centre.⁴⁵

In assessing the preserved state of the battlefield in 1970, Gettysburg lay at its authentic nadir, both interpretively and physically. Numerous myths and exaggerations surrounding the battle and the field, ranging from century-old turkey vultures still flying overhead to shoes as the cause of battle, had become traditional stories interpreted to the public by licensed guides, Park personnel, GNMP literature and interpretive programs. In addition, new NPS interpretive efforts and the allowance of nature to go unchecked in recent decades had obscured the story of the battle and the original appearance of the field. A new official GNMP tour route, visitor center, films, and other educational programs glorified the story of Gettysburg and celebrated Pickett's Charge far and above other sites and portions of the battle. And new vegetation that added to the Park's beauty conflicted with the 1863 look of various sites. These changes actually heightened visitor enjoyment and helped increase tourism to Gettysburg, but now more visitors received a fragmented view of the battle and became increasingly familiar with a nature park rather than a battlefield.

On top of this, the integrity of the park had suffered markedly in recent decades by the proliferation of museums, cabins, restaurants, and other private businesses on private lands within or adjacent to park boundaries that NPS officials had yet to secure. While these businesses made coming to Gettysburg a fun experience for vacationing families, they also threatened the historic look of significant portions of the first and third day's battlegrounds. This compelled preservationists and Gettysburg scholars to hold a gloomy outlook regarding the future of the battlefield. Unfortunately, this outlook only worsened. Two weeks after the summer season ended in 1970 the Gettysburg Times announced developer Thomas Ottenstein's plans to construct a 300 foot tower on private land adjacent to the National Cemetery and Cemetery Ridge "that will enable visitors to see every part of the battlefield," but opponents pointed out that "no one can go or be anywhere on the battlefield and be out of the sight of the tower" (Gettysburg Times 19 September 1970, 5). This conflict initiated three years of court and congressional battles and local outcry against the tower that brought national attention to the desecration of sacred sites by private developers, but to seemingly no avail.⁴⁶ In 1974, following completion of the tower, Bruce Catton publicly stated that Gettysburg appeared cluttered with tourist cabins, motels, museums, souvenir palaces, and hot dog stands, and he subsequently doomed the future of the battlefield: "The Park Service ... I'm afraid ... are fighting a losing battle."⁴⁷

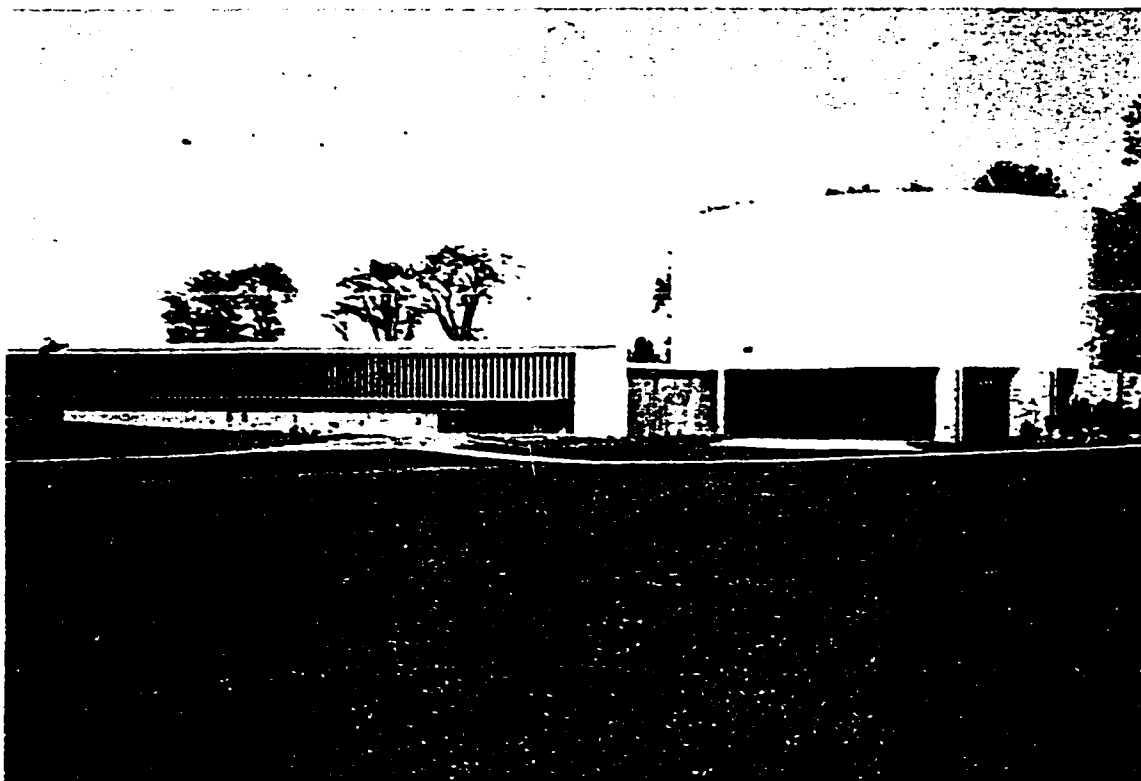


Figure 5.1: The Cyclorama Visitor Center.

Designed by architect Richard Neutra, the new Cyclorama Center consisted of a dome to house Paul Philippoteaux's cyclorama painting of Pickett's Charge, an auditorium, and Park administrative offices in the wing to the left. The NPS constructed the building from 1960 to 1962 in Ziegler's Grove near the Angle to bring visitors to the center of the park and to enable them to see the site where Pickett's Charge occurred immediately after viewing Philippoteaux's painting. The placement of this building necessitated the removal of the Zeigler's Grove Observation Tower in 1961.

Source: Courtesy Johnny and Betty Johnson



Figure 5.2: NPS Seasonal Interpretive Intern with Visitors at the Angle.

During the summer interpretive season at GNMP, seasonal interns and Park rangers offered guided walks to the Angle and High Water Mark daily. The NPS began employing college history majors as seasonal interns at Gettysburg in the 1960s to accommodate the increase in vacationing families coming to the park in the summer. The use of interns enabled the NPS to offer other daily summer interpretive programs including Women in the War, Civil War Soldier, and National Cemetery Walks.

Source: The National Park Service

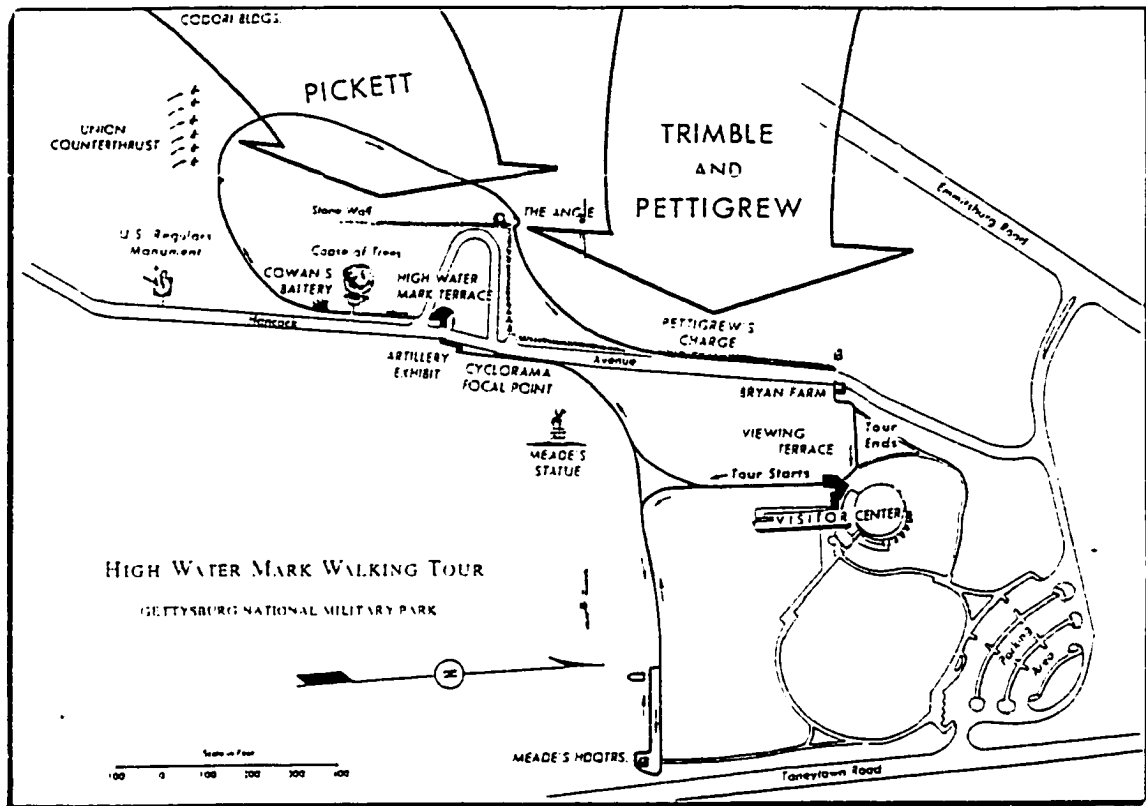


Figure 5.3: High Water Mark Trail Map.

The NPS at Gettysburg designed the High Water Mark trail in conjunction with the construction of the Cyclorama Visitor Center in 1962 as part of the Park's effort to celebrate Pickett's Charge.

Source: Eastern National



Figure 5.4: Rosensteel's National Museum at Gettysburg.

Park officials desired to acquire this museum because it served as the Park's biggest competitor for tourists' time and money. Hordes of tourists frequented the museum because it housed the largest collection of Gettysburg battle relics and the Electric Map program.

Source: The National Park Service

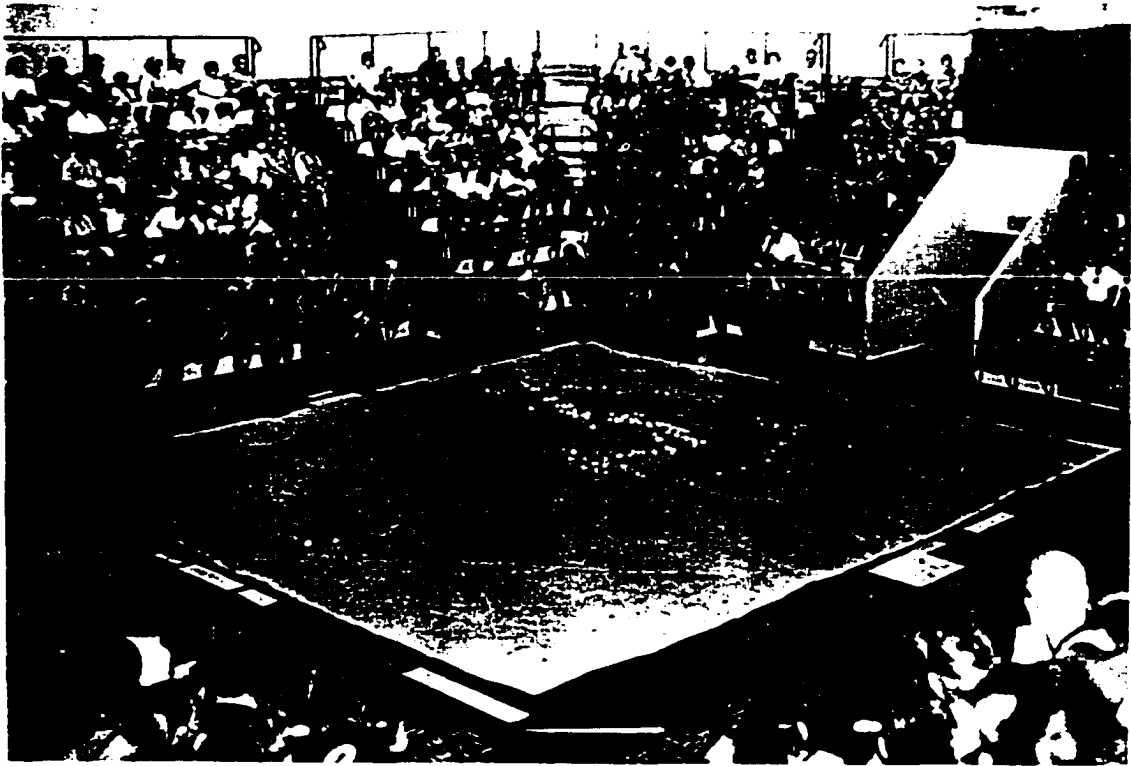


Figure 5.5: The Electric Map.

Rosensteel's National Museum presented 30 minute programs on the Electric Map daily. By 1970, the map's popularity made it the single most-frequented program enjoyed by visitors to Gettysburg. School teachers, families, Park interpreters, and battlefield guides felt this program to be the most useful educational tool for providing visitors with an overview of the battle.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.6: Taking the Children to Fantasyland, 1967.

Fantasyland theme park along the Taneytown Road across from the Cyclorama Visitor Center attracted many families with little children visiting Gettysburg. Park officials disliked the close proximity of this privately-owned fun park to the battlefield.

Source: Courtesy Wayne and Sandra Dixon

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK PENNSYLVANIA

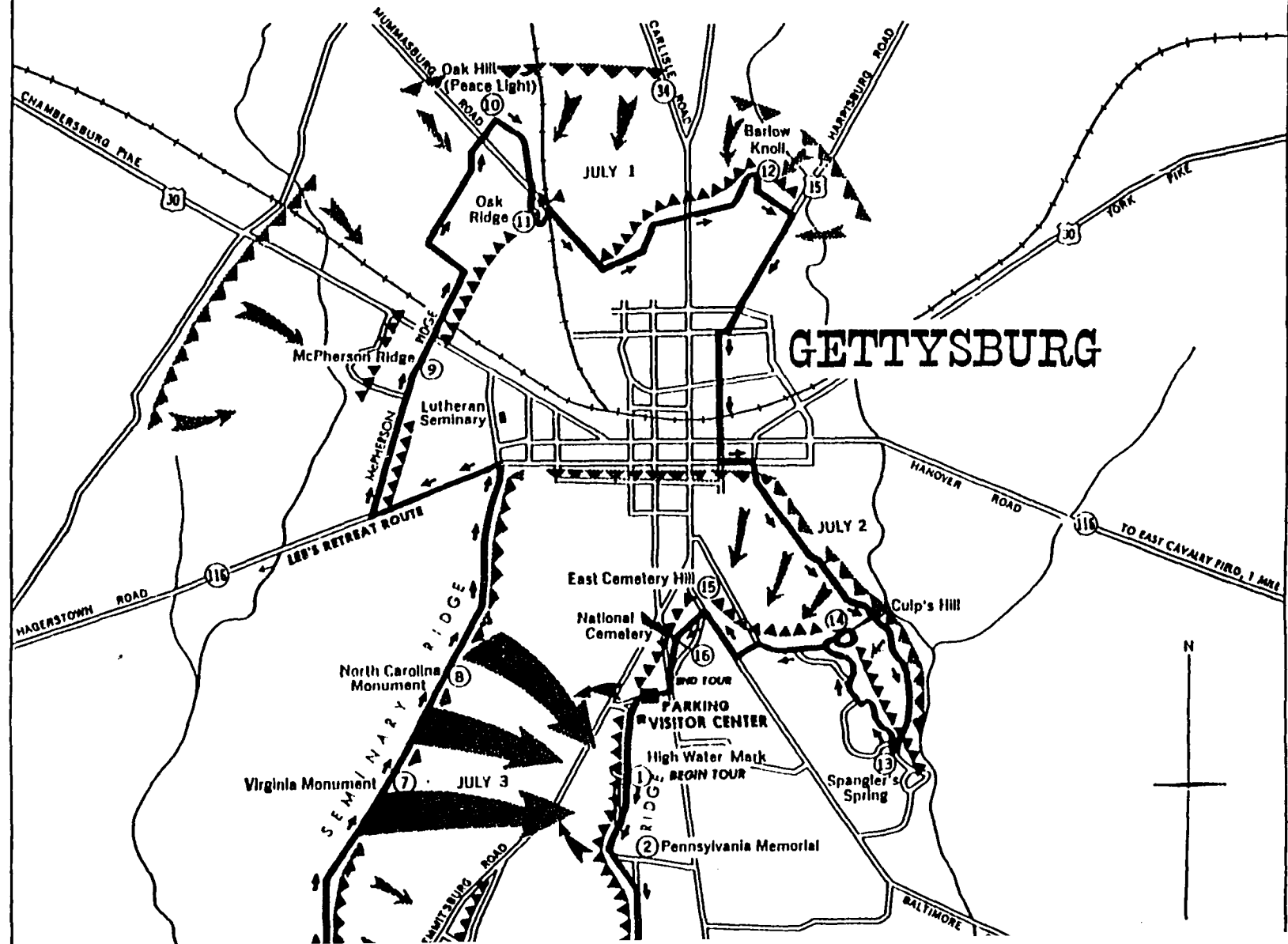




Figure 5.8: Interpretive Wayside at the Angle.

The new interpretive waysides placed by the NPS as part of Mission '66 provided colorful, easy-to-read overviews of battle action at the "most important" spots of the battlefield. The High Water Mark area featured the greatest concentration of interpretive waysides in the Park.

Source: Courtesy Johnny and Betty Johnson



Figure 5.9: Students at Little Round Top, circa 1965.

Little Round Top ranked as the second most-important site for the battle's outcome (behind the High Water Mark area) as evidenced by the stories and programs provided for visitors to the Park. The NPS mounted an audio station in the stone wall in the foreground for visitors to listen to as they approached the summit. The taped recording told of General Warren as the Savior of Little Round Top.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.10: Visitors attempting to See Past the Brush in front of Warren.

Since the 1940s, General Warren's statue pictured here made for a popular attraction on Little Round Top. Guides, Rangers, and an audio station informed visitors about Warren's role in sighting the enemy from Little Round Top and saving the hill. Unfortunately, visitors had great difficulty seeing what Warren saw in 1863 because of too much brush growth.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.11: A Forested Little Round Top, circa 1967.

The west slope of Little Round appeared heavily vegetated by the 1960s. Outdoor enthusiasts and Park visitors enjoyed the redbud and dogwood trees that bloomed in spring. NPS attempted to clear this vegetation to restore the 1863 appearance of the hill and the historic view from its summit, but those efforts met with considerable public opposition. Opponents declared any vista clearing efforts unnecessarily destroyed nature. Many visitors and battlefield enthusiasts had become familiar with a forested Little Round Top rather than its original look as a barren, rocky outcropping.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.12: Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe, circa 1960.

This candy and gift shop along the Emmitsburg Road was one of several privately owned businesses that visitors frequented on the battlefield. GNMP officials desired to acquire these properties and Congressional funding allowed for the purchase of those private holdings completely surrounded by Park lands.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.13: The Battlefield Motel, circa 1960.

The Folkenroth family owned and operated this motel along the Emmitsburg Road in the middle of the fields where Pickett's men charged on 3 July 1863. The view is looking south toward the Sherfey Farm behind the motel and the tower visible in the distance is the Longstreet Tower on Warfield Ridge.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.14: Crouse's Auto Graveyard.

This auto graveyard sat along the Baltimore Pike opposite one of the Park's entrances. This visual blight existed where Meade's field headquarters stood for a period during the battle and its existence since the 1930s made it a longstanding focus of Park and preservationists' concerns.

Source: The National Archives

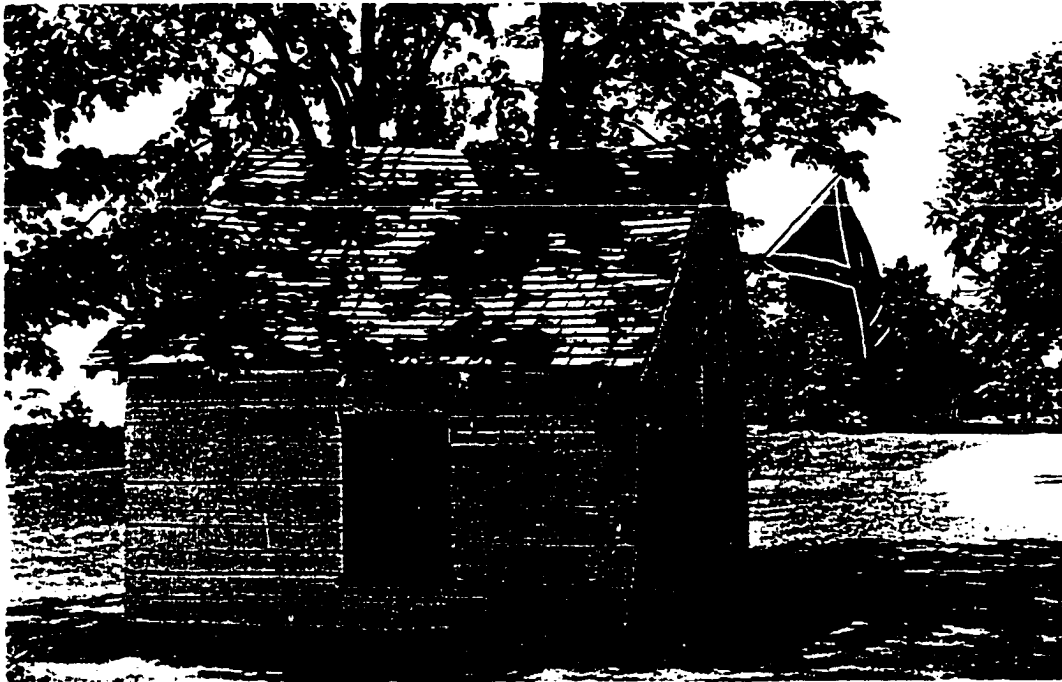


Figure 5.15: Longstreet's Headquarters circa 1960.

Johnny and Betty Johnson owned and operated "Longstreet's Headquarters" just as their grandparents had at the corner of Wheatfield Road and West Confederate Avenue on the battlefield. Both the Johnsons and G&NMP historians and interpretive rangers believed this shack to be used by Longstreet during the battle. The original sign on the building stated that Longstreet occupied this shack on July 1,2,3, 1863 but Johnny had this information quickly changed after learning from Park historians that his sign should read July 2,3, 1863.

Source: Courtesy Johnny and Betty Johnson

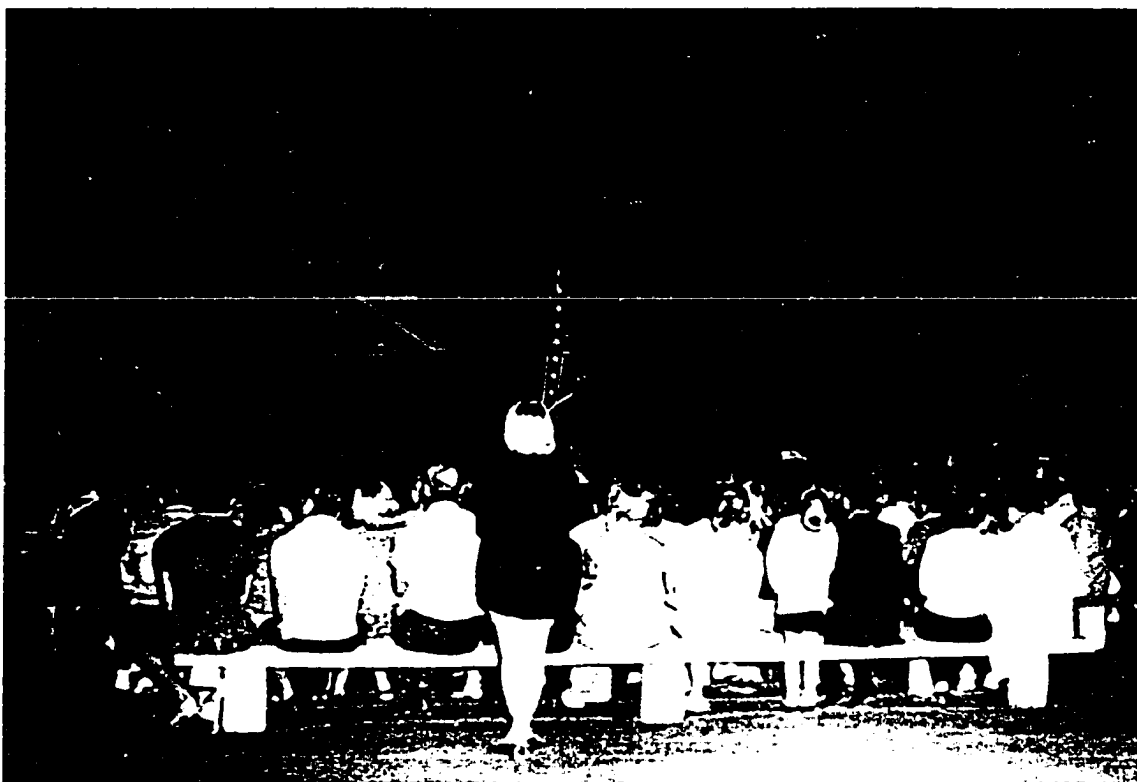


Figure 5.16: The New Outdoor Amphitheater at GNMP, 1968.

The NPS at Gettysburg constructed this new amphitheater in Pitzer Woods in 1968 for nightly campfire programs during the summer interpretive seasons. During its first two seasons, the Park showed NPS nature and conservation films. In 1970, spectators enjoyed a new film, "Eisenhower and Gettysburg." Ike's farm nearby helped to increase visitation and encouraged commercialization on remaining private battlefield lands by entrepreneurs who recognized the rising tourism boom at Gettysburg in the 1950s and '60s.

Source: The National Park Service

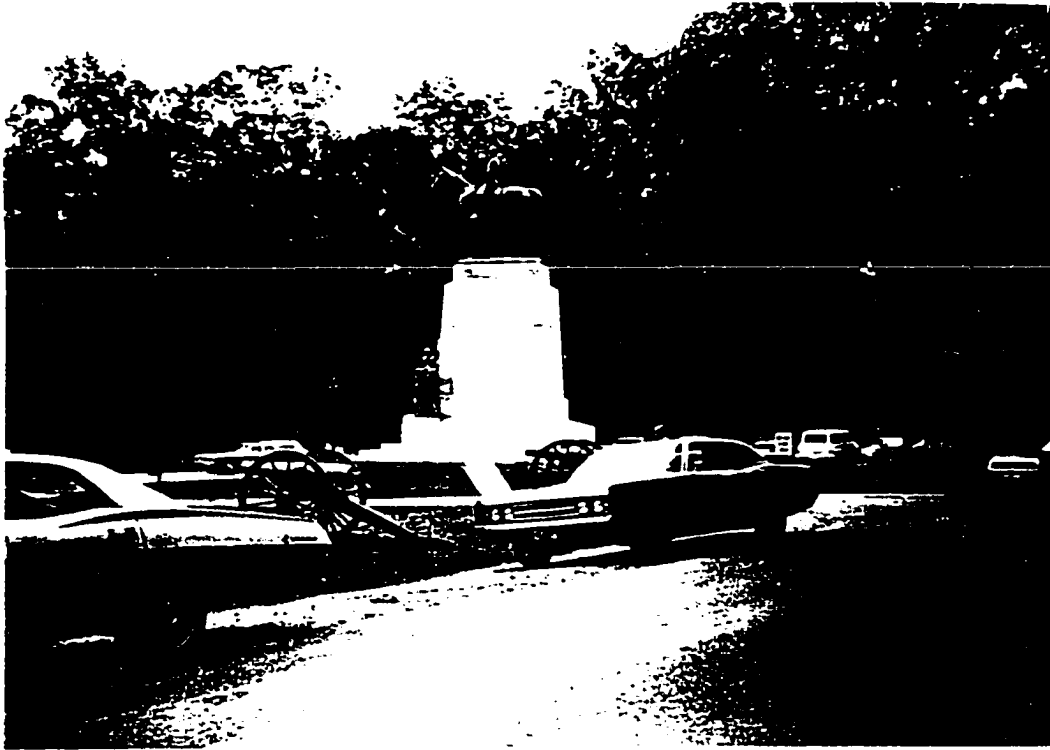


Figure 5.17: Congestion at the Virginia Monument, circa 1970.

Lee was the most popular and esteemed general at Gettysburg among foreign and domestic visitors. Visitor congestion and an audio station placed near the monument in 1967 necessitated the new parking spaces on the loop visible in the background.

Source: The National Park Service



Figure 5.18: The Peace Light Motor Inn as seen from the Peace Light.

This 1946 photo, taken from the Peace Light Memorial, shows the restaurant and tourist cabins of the Peace Light Motor Inn much as they looked up to 1970. The trees across from the motor inn were the only remnants of the historic Forney farmstead. The trees stood adjacent to the Forney home and barn that Iverson's Confederates marched from on July 1, 1863 as they set out to engage the Union army on Oak Ridge positioned at left and out of view. Patrons enjoyed sleeping and eating on the battlefield and assumed that the Park already owned all important battle lands.

Source: The National Archives



Figure 5.19: Shields' Museum.

This local, family operated business provided tour books, maps, souvenirs, and refreshments to visitors in front of Buford's statue on the First-Day's battlegrounds.

Source: The National Park Service

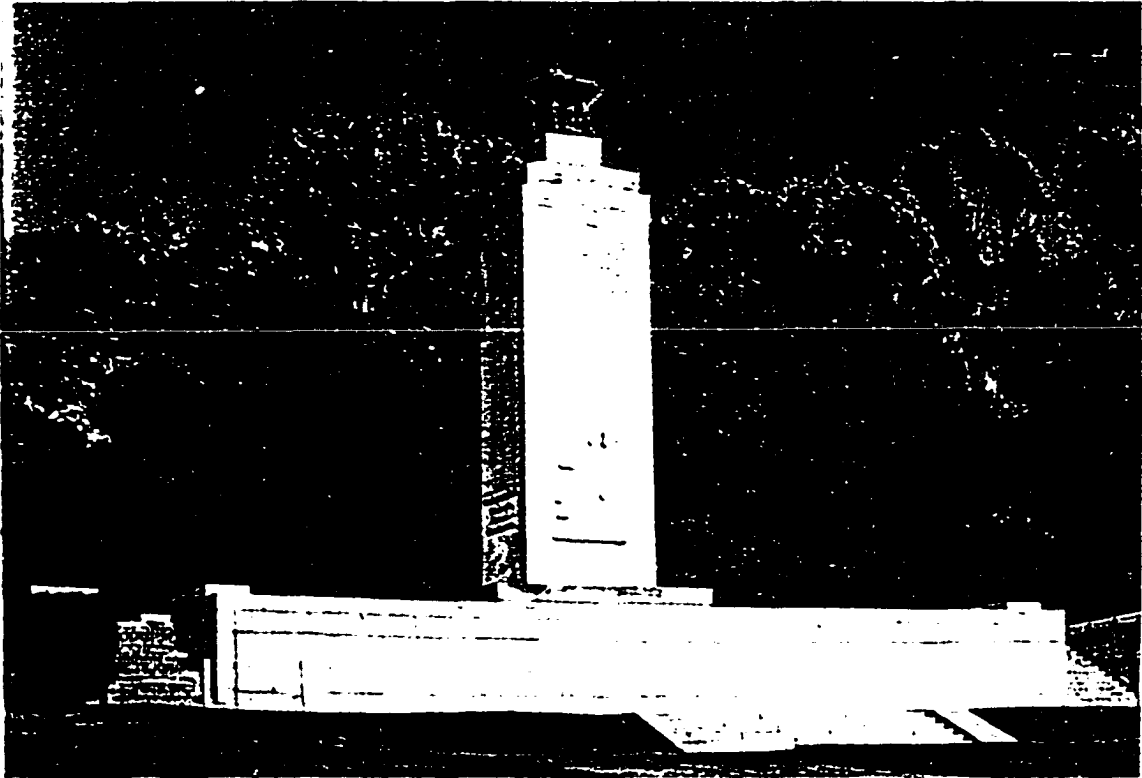


Figure 5.20: The Eternal Light Peace Memorial.

Postcards of the Peace Light, such as this one, reflected the monument's importance and popularity. By 1970, the monument attracted more visitors to the First-Day's battlegrounds than the fighting that occurred there. The Park's self-guided auto tour familiarized visitors with the outcome of the battle prior to reaching this part of the field and made for an anticlimactic ending. Guides found the Peace Light's construction and symbolism of peace between veterans years after the battle fit with the chronology of the official GNMP tour in 1970 and thereby contributed to visitors' interest in the monument over the First-Day's battle.

Source: Courtesy Johnny and Betty Johnson

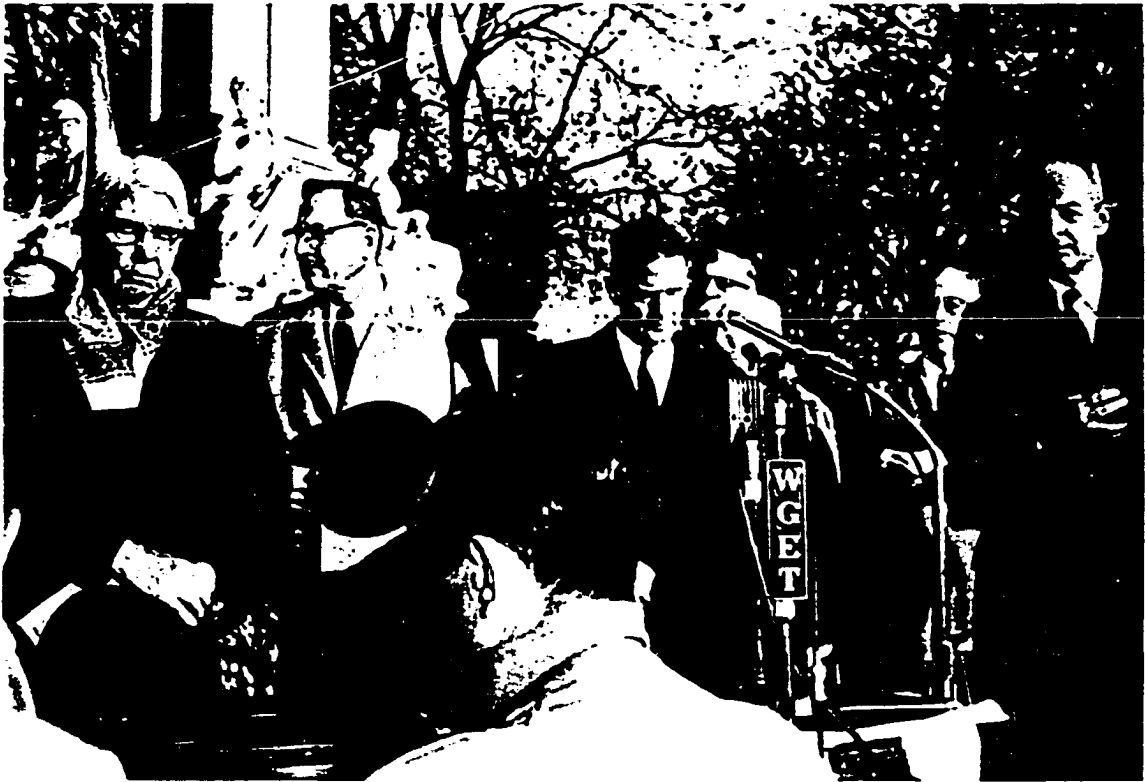


Figure 5.21: Remembering Where Lincoln Spoke.

On 19 November 1963, historian Carl Sandburg (standing at left with scarf) served as guest speaker for the Centennial Anniversary of Lincoln's dedication of the National Cemetery. The ceremonies were held in front of the Soldiers' National Monument where GNMP historians, Gettysburg literature, and the Lincoln Fellowship Organization believed Lincoln to have stood when he delivered his immortal address. Since 1940, visitors en masse were informed by Park signs and interpreters that the monument marked the site of the 1863 speaker's platform. By 1970 that interpretation made anniversary performances in front of the monument standard fare.

Source: Gettysburg College

Notes

- ¹ See Gettysburg Times, 5 September 1970, 1.
- ² Prior to the 1960s, the majority of visiting families came from within a 100 mile radius (see Superintendent Reports). Of course, the park still received families from all across the nation, but by 1970, families outside 100 miles were now as frequent at the Park as those visitors closer to Gettysburg.
- ³ Unbeknownst to visitors and Park personnel at this time, entrepreneur Thomas Ottenstein, president of Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc., had received a local building permit to construct a 300 foot tower near Cemetery Ridge from which visitors could see the entire grounds over which the three-day battle had raged.
- ⁴ An excellent contemporary article on the opening of the new Cyclorama Visitor Center and the public perception of it is by Stepp (1962, 5-6).
- ⁵ For discussion on Mission 66 and the Gettysburg Cyclorama Visitor Center, see Administrative History of GNMP by Harlan Unrau (1991, 257-260). Other Mission '66 visitor centers constructed in the center of historic parks include those at Antietam and Vicksburg.
- ⁶ See Dean Thomas' The Gettysburg Cyclorama (1989, 17-20).
- ⁷ The slide orientation program lasted until 1969. The script celebrated the Confederate soldiers for adherence to noble ideals, for the strength to penetrate this far north, and for gallantry. According to Becky Lyons, hired at GNMP in 1970, the Park replaced the program with the film "From These Honored Dead." Since 1984, the NPS has alternated showing "From These Honored Dead" with a new film "Gettysburg 1863" by Kaw Valley Films.
- ⁸ Underlined words are those which the tape voice said louder and more profoundly.
- ⁹ The cassette was part of CBS's "Living Drama" walking tour series. CBS produced a series of cassette walking tours featuring narratives written by top writers and read by famous performers for several national military and historic parks in the early 1970s (Times 1970).
- ¹⁰ According to Ron Miller, George Rosensteel increased his vast collection with the help of many locals who had collected relics over the years and sold their relics to Rosensteel. Ron can remember as a little kid bringing in bullets off of the battlefield to swap for soda and cigarette money. Rosensteel, in turn, displayed these collections on silver meat platters along with the names of the individuals who sold the relics to Rosensteel. For years, Ron could walk into the museum and see his father's collection on display. This pleased the local community by giving them visibility in helping to make that great collection, and visitors enjoyed seeing the personalized displays.
- ¹¹ In 1970, the orientation film, cyclorama program, viewing deck, musket firing, HWM walk and Living Drama tape, the auto tour, and the Electric Map constituted the core interpretive experience for many visitors to the Park.
- ¹² It bothered Park officials that the greatest collection of relics and the best orientation program on the battle did not belong to GNMP.
- ¹³ Descriptions of Fantasyland are found in local newspaper advertisements (see Gettysburg Times 1962).
- ¹⁴ Of great concern to Park officials is that the museum and amusement park attracted many vacationing families who saw these things on their way to or from the Visitor Center and competed for their dollars that may have otherwise been spent for a guide or for another day's visit at Gettysburg.

15 The "Pickett Thicket" covered an outcropping where sat the advanced marker of the 1st Rhode Island Battery B.

16 According to Licensed Battlefield Guide Deborah Novotny, blind visitors could read the Mission 66 waysides and better understand troop movements as Deb attempted to explain the sequence of the battle.

17 An earlier example of NPS removing GNP Commission work on the battlefield was the removal of pipe fencing in the 1930s.

18 The tape on Little Round Top received heavy use. NPS personnel in charge of replacing drained batteries in the stations informed me that the stations at Little Round Top and Devils Den were the most popular and heavily used (Peterson 1999; Coco 2000). Other audio stations were situated at key interpretive sites around the Park. No audio station had been placed at the Angle because "the area is already congested and no room exists for construction of adequate parking space" (Tilberg 1967).

19 Edwin Coddington wrote in the 1960s that "romantic tradition has accorded General G. K. Warren the glory of the main role in the drama enacted on the rocky spur [Little Round Top] with which his name has become imperishably linked" (1964, 388).

20 Ronald Miller recalled that Colonel Sheads frequently told visitors and children the tale of the vultures.

21 According to John Fuss and John Heiser, Longstreet attacked "en echelon" on July 2nd, releasing a brigade every fifteen to twenty minutes beginning with Law's brigade on his extreme right flank. Sickles lost approximately 3000 of his 6000 men in the engagement.

22 The Folkenroth family owned and operated the Battlefield Motel while living on the Sherfey Farm until selling their business to the Park (Miller 2000).

23 Other examples of motels and restaurants along Emmitsburg Road include Haines' Restaurant (now vacant) and the Carlana Motel near the intersection of Emmitsburg Road and West Confederate Avenue. Also, Stuart's Motel and the Five Star Restaurant further south "at the edge of the battlefield" (Times 1962, 18).

24 Frome's 1958 article in the Parade magazine helped to inspire the phrases "the Second Battle of Gettysburg" or "the Other Battle of Gettysburg" which later preservationists, NPS, and authors used to describe the conflict between preservation and commercialism at Gettysburg.

25 After James Myers retired as Park Superintendent in 1963, the subsequent superintendents found the "million-dollar" Cyclorama inadequate to accommodate the millions of visitors annually and began efforts to design a new Visitor Center for construction by 1975. Park Historian Tom Harrison and Superintendent Jerry Schober spearheaded this effort, but they encountered much public opposition. NPS efforts to justify a new Visitor Center by complaining about the Cyclorama backfired. Public reactions criticized the NPS for building the Cyclorama at such great expense and not foreseeing its flaws that supposedly seemed so obvious shortly after completion.

26 Longstreet's Park did not constitute a blatant desecration of battlefield land. The sign on Longstreet's Headquarters had been corrected, the refreshment stand originated from the 1930s and was not a bold architectural statement in contrast with area architecture like the Cyclorama or other modern 50s and 60s buildings, nor did Longstreet's Park have neon or billboard signs like other private businesses.

27 The Swopes removed Rosalind Park in the 1950s.

28 Major world political and military leaders who Ike escorted over the battlefield include Soviet Premier Nikita Krushchev and British General Bernard Montgomery.

29 Whenever Ike came home during his presidency, tourists could see a Secret Service Agent posted in the observation deck of the Longstreet Tower. Also, the Secret Service approached one restaurant along the Emmitsburg Road just south of the Carlana Motel that advertised "See Eisenhower while you Eat." The restaurant featured a set of observation binoculars (similar to the binoculars at the Angle and Little Round Top in 1940) for patrons to use on the restaurant's back deck that faced the Eisenhower farm visible in the distance.

30 Prior to the new amphitheater, the Park held their nightly summer campfire programs over at East Cemetery Hill. The campfire programs began as weekly presentations, held on Sundays, starting in 1941. According to Ron Miller, "In the 1940s and 50s my family would park over on East Cemetery Hill and there would be a large film screen set up [on the east side of the hill] over by the stone wall and we watch films or slides" (Miller 1999). Many of those early programs dealt with conservation, nature, or other NPS parks instead of the Battle of Gettysburg or the Civil War (See Reading Files).

31 Read "Park to End Its Special Programs for the Summer," Gettysburg Times 5 September 1970, 1.

32 Guides who enjoyed pointing out the Eisenhower farm as the home of America's greatest World War II general followed up by pointing out Lee's statue as that of America's greatest Civil War general.

33 George Stewart quoted Faulkner in his 1959 book Pickett's Charge (p. 281) in his chapter on the evolution of the story of Pickett's Charge. By 1970, Faulkner's works made for standard reading at colleges and universities.

34 Because of the nature of the battle, the NPS and guides at Gettysburg have always had difficulty in designing a tour so that visitors will understand how each part of the field they see fits into the battle both spatially and temporally. Guides frequently use landmarks to maintain spatial orientation.

35 At this point in the tour, guides most likely reinforced the horse hoofs story because they had likely mentioned the story earlier on the tour with a previous equestrian statue. Fred Tilberg noted that the horse hoofs story was a myth but that guides continued to tell it. From the guides' perspective, the only myth about the story was that the sculptors of the equestrian statues did not intentionally design the hoofs to indicate the fate of the riders, but the stories interested children and adults alike and served as a good learning tool for visitors interested in learning the fate of the generals.

36 General Heth's memoirs describing "Pettigrew's expedition to Gettysburg in search of shoes" appeared in Civil War History in 1962 (Morrison 1974, xiv). The Gettysburg Times reprinted the shoe story in anniversary supplements (see Times 1962).

37 The Gettysburg Shoe Company started in Fairfield in 1948 and moved to Gettysburg in 1953. At its peak operation circa 1970 the company employed 800 employees with branch plants in nearby East Berlin and Dillsburg. Since the guide force consisted of local teachers and retired persons in Gettysburg, many had relatives who worked at one time or another with either shoe company in town. This familiarity with Gettysburg as a shoe center contributed to the perpetuation of Heth's story. Also, occasional articles in the Gettysburg Times on the shoe factories associated Heth's story with Gettysburg's history of shoemaking, and likewise articles on Heth's story occasionally mentioned the shoe factories.

38 Land was not the only thing disappearing from Gettysburg. Relics too. Discuss Dave White's relic collecting on the old Forney Farm site, Dave Stoner's experience gathering bullets for tourists at Oak Ridge souvenir stand, and Ronald Miller's account of Mr. Knox importing bullets from Fredericksburg and other battlefields.

39 Congressional Land Appropriation legislation intended to help the NPS acquire commercially threatened lands ironically made those battlegrounds that were most threatened also the most difficult to acquire with Federal acquisition funds.

40 According to Scott Hartwig, a common perception that the Park already owns the most important battle grounds still persists today. One factor is that the distinction between the "battlefield" and "GNMP" remains obscure to the average visitor. Many visitors equate GNMP with the lands over which the battle was fought. As evidence, the Park is frequently referred to as "the battlefield." They are unaware that the Gettysburg battlefield encompasses 25 square miles, compared to the 3 square miles that constitutes the Park.

41 The NPS removed gas-pipe fencing from Hancock, West Confederate, and other avenues on the Second and Third Days' battlegrounds in 1936, but the NPS did not remove gas-pipe fencing from Reynolds, Buford, and other avenues on the First Day's battlegrounds until February of 1967.

42 After leaving Seminary Ridge, visitors by and large did not enjoy learning more about the battle because many felt they had seen the highpoints of action. Therefore, most visitors enjoyed the Peace Light because of the immensity of the monument and they went to the Soldiers' National Cemetery to see where Lincoln gave his address. They also enjoyed seeing these sites at the end of the tour because the significance of both sites stemmed from events that occurred after the battle. Thus, chronology remained an important component for the success of any tour and its neglect in the auto tour route meant the First Day's battle and the fighting of Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill suffered interpretively in 1970.

43 The first question many foreigners asked Park rangers or guides either in the Visitor Center, at the beginning of their tour, or upon entering the Soldiers' National Cemetery, concerned where Lincoln stood when he gave his address.

44 New Southern memorials placed at Gettysburg include Georgia 1961, South Carolina 1963, Florida 1963, Texas 1964, Soldiers & Sailors of the Confederacy 1965, and Arkansas 1966 (See Georg 1982).

45 Early visitor accounts remembered Cemetery Hill for the fighting that took place there as well as the Soldier's National Cemetery on it. But by 1970, this mutual association (of hill and cemetery) had declined to the point that the popularity of the cemetery's creation and dedication overshadowed the strategic importance of the hill it was situated on. According to longtime guides and NPS personnel, visitors to the Soldiers' National Cemetery gave little thought to Cemetery Hill because GNMP films, programs, signs, and guides paid little attention to the fighting on its grounds and instead focused on Lincoln and the dead because of school and public emphasis on Lincoln's speech, sacrifice, and national reconciliation.

46 The controversy over the tower at Gettysburg created widespread public disillusionment over the sanctity of America's historic treasures.

47 Read "Bruce Catton Pessimistic about Field," Gettysburg Times 24 April 1974, 1-2.

Chapter Six

Restoring Integrity, 2000

If it's not true, I do not want to tell visitors it is true. It may be on the monuments and in books, but I believe in correcting the mistakes rather than perpetuating inaccuracies just because they have been the long accepted norm...

- D. Scott Hartwig, GNMP Supervisory Historian (2000)

The anniversary of the battle is presently the biggest annual visitor draw at Gettysburg. This started with approximately 2000 participants reenacting Pickett's Charge at the Bicentennial of 1976 and since then the anniversary celebration has grown considerably. During the 135th anniversary in 1998, approximately 9,000 reenactors and nearly 100,000 spectators converged on Gettysburg as part of the five-day celebration (June 29-July 4). With the exception of 1976, reenactments are not held on the battlefield, but reenactors and visitors throng the park just the same and the NPS offers an array of interpretive programs, walks, and guided tours specifically for this annual massive pilgrimage.

Since 1970, several other changes have occurred in visitation patterns at GNMP. Families and schoolchildren remain the most popular type of visitor, but

more women now take a greater interest in Gettysburg. It is common in 2000 that both spouses within families visiting the park are equally interested in learning the battle, whereas previously a visiting wife or mother touring the field did so primarily to accompany her husband.¹ In addition, so many visitors have either read the 1974 novel Killer Angels – a fictional account of the battle -- or have seen the 1993 movie *Gettysburg* based on the novel, that this account of the battle is the most popular among visitors. But nearly as influential on public memory has been Ken Burns' 1989 nine-part public-television documentary *The Civil War*, which featured an episode of Gettysburg seen by nearly 11 million Americans when first broadcast and easily as many viewers in recent years. Guides and park personnel readily note that visitation to GNMP dramatically surged following the release of each these media, especially after Burns' epic film and the movie *Gettysburg*, and the number of annual visitors since 1993 has averaged nearly two million. These media forms also help account for the increasing interest among women because human interest stories rather than tactics served as the focus of the storytelling. Equally noteworthy is that each of these accounts of the battle have one hero in common: Union Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain of the Twentieth Maine regiment. Indeed, more visitors to the battlefield today request to see where Chamberlain fought than they do of any other participant in the battle.

Finally, the most common public perception to have developed in recent decades concerning the park itself is that the Gettysburg battlefield is among the most threatened and commercialized of battlefields in the United States. This perception is well founded. The NPS has waged a much publicized "battle"

against commercial, private, interpretive, and natural threats in an effort to restore the battlefield to its 1863 environment. This battle received national publicity in 1971 with U.S. News & World Report's article "The Second Battle of Gettysburg," and the title has since become a common phrase used by preservationists, the NPS, and news reporters in reference to public or governmental efforts to fight any threat to the historical or commemorative integrity of GNMP.² This "second battle" gained notoriety over the National Battlefield Tower construction on battlefield land adjacent to the park, but it has since involved other longterm controversies including NPS attempts to acquire more battlefield land from private local owners and efforts to remove non-historic forest from park grounds that were fields or barren in 1863. Most recent controversies have surrounded NPS reduction of Park deer and trees, one-waying of park avenues, and efforts to restore Cemetery Ridge. The pattern to this controversy is that national and local publicity has focused on the perceived threat to the battlefield instead of the outcome, leaving the public and visitors prior to arrival at Gettysburg often unaware of the subsequent physical and interpretive changes to the battlefield that have occurred since 1971. Key to instilling this perception has been the repeated use of photographs of the National Battlefield Tower in newspapers across the U.S. for the last 30 years, making it the national symbol for all private and commercial intrusions threatening the preservation of all Civil War battlefields (Figure 6.1).

But in contrast to the perception, modern visitors to GNMP receive a more authentic experience of the story of Gettysburg than their predecessors did in the last 60 years. This improvement in authenticity stems from sweeping

preservative and corrective measures to the field, structures, programs, stories, tour route, and commemorative events by the NPS and other organizations.³ And this authenticity is most often experienced beginning with the First Day's battlegrounds.

From Cemetery Ridge to Oak Hill: Starting with the First Day

Rosensteel's National Museum now serves as the current park Visitor Center (Figure 6.2). The NPS purchased the building from the Rosensteel family in 1971 because park officials felt the Cyclorama could not adequately accommodate the summer crowds and the site of the museum collection and the Electric Map would serve better for first orienting visitors before touring the battlefield. The Cyclorama has since taken on a secondary role. "People leave the Cyclorama for last on their trip ... they most frequently see the Electric Map and then take the self-guided auto tour around the park," says NPS Ranger Karlton Smith. Karlton has worked the front information desk in both the Visitor Center and Cyclorama and he and other Park Rangers note that visitors leave the films and programs in the Cyclorama for later, provided they have time.⁴ "We run down all the ways that visitors can see the battlefield, either by guide, bus, tape, or map, but we always tell them to see the Electric Map first because it gives them the best overview of the battle" (In conversation with Karlton Smith, 4 May 2000). After seeing the Electric Map program, visitors are directed to follow the official park Auto Tour.

The official park Auto Tour has changed again, this time to better fit the

chronology of the battle (Figure 6.3). Although visitors still begin at the center of the park as they did in 1970, the first stops are on the First Day's battlegrounds and the tour proceeds to follow the order of battle to the climax at the High Water Mark and then concludes at the National Cemetery. Since 1994, Superintendent John Latschar has made several park avenues one-way to insure visitors follow the tour correctly and experience the story as it happened (Figure 6.4).

Admittedly, this change is not infallible. While the tour route conforms to the order of major engagements, it is impossible to conform to the entire battle. Indeed, many guides miss the flexibility of two-way roads that previously allowed them to retrace any action and visit any site from any direction whenever the interpretive need arose. Moreover, even the distance between sites of major engagement on the Second Day -- Little Round Top and Culp's Hill -- make it difficult for visitors to visit these grounds in proper battle chronology without some backtracking or going beyond two hours. Two hours has been the standard accepted tour length since 1938, whereas now visitors must allow three hours to follow the entire route. But the present park administration believes chronology comes first over convenience at Gettysburg because of the importance of the story and that other benefits have further justified the one-waying of avenues. Namely, the one-ways have helped to alleviate congestion, prevent roadside erosion by allowing visitors to park in the right hand lane rather than on the grass as many did previously, and make for safer traffic patterns to fit Federal and State road regulations in order to keep the park eligible for Federal road maintenance funding.

The first stop on the Auto Tour is at McPherson Ridge. Guides with

buses or cars usually pause here to explain the opening of the battle and point out several points of interest to visitors. For example, John Buford's statue and the Lutheran Seminary Cupola that he stood in to watch Heth's division of Confederates approach Gettysburg on the morning of 1 July 1863 are two of the first items of interest guides point out. According to guide Deb Novotny, "Visitors who saw the movie *Gettysburg* remember Buford in the Cupola and since [the movie's] release both [Buford and the Cupola] have been quite popular." She and other guides frequently ask visitors early in the tour if they have seen the movie or read the novel Killer Angels. Many have, as indicated by the personal statistics guide John Fuss keeps of his tours. Last year he gave over 750 battlefield tours, the most of any guide that year, and nearly 50 percent of his tour groups had someone who either read the novel or had seen the movie.

Another frequent task that several guides do at this stage in the tour is to clarify myths over how the battle began. "The battle did not happen over shoes," Robert Gale emphatically tells his parties. About ten years ago, several guides and Park historians found evidence debunking the shoe story, namely that Gettysburg was not a shoe center because only a few cobblers in the entire county existed in 1863, and that Confederate General Jubal Early raided the town just four days prior to the battle leaving few supplies for arriving Confederates to confiscate, including shoes, if there were any.⁵

Researching the battle and questioning the long-held traditions has become standard practice for most guides and interpretive rangers at GNMP in recent years. Overall, the 120 guides today comprise the most educated and

informative group on the battle. Even the guide licensing exams have become more rigorous. In 1970, the NPS accepted a score of 75 percent on guide exams as passing whereas today the minimum passing score is 85 percent. Moreover, the previous exams concentrated on testing one's knowledge of battle tactics and monuments at Gettysburg whereas recent exams test on larger social, political, and economic issues and facts about the Civil War in addition to the Gettysburg campaign to insure new guides can place the battle within its proper context.

The wealth of information on the battle and war, as well as competition for guide positions, has surged since Ken Burns' documentary. After the most recent exam (1998), the Park has thus far needed only to license those with a passing score of 97% or up to fill the guide positions left vacant. And more guides have developed specialties on the battle in addition to having a good breadth of the campaign and war, like guide Charlie Fennell who wrote his doctoral dissertation on the fighting at Culp's Hill (see Fennell 1987). He is one of several dozen guides with specific expertise on a regiment, brigade, encounter, or area of the battlefield who are recommended when military groups or the occasional visitor desire an in-depth tour of a specific aspect of the battle or field. This kind of touring was not available to visitors 30 years ago.⁶

Before the second stop on nearly every guided tour, a visitor will ask if the lands they see appear as in 1863. Guides explain that park lands today cover over 4,000 acres, the most in park history, and that the farms and fields are "pretty much as they were at the time of the battle." GNMP continues to rent the fields and barns to local farmers to maintain the pastoral look of the battlefield.

The main difference today lies in the woods and the fences. "There are more trees on the battlefield, and the forests have underbrush," according to guide Paul Bauserman. Reynolds Woods and the forests visible west of the McPherson Barn are two examples guides frequently point out as having changed significantly on the First Day's fields. Visitors learn that the underbrush within Reynolds Woods has made visibility into the woods impossible, unlike the open, park-like appearance it had at the time of battle. In 1863, underbrush and dead wood were virtually non-existent because of farm animal foraging and farmers' demands for wood.

Explaining the difference in woods between 1863 and today often changes visitors' perspectives. As guides talk about the close fighting between the Union men of the Iron Brigade and those of the North Carolina regiments in McPherson Woods, it is easy for on-lookers to assume the soldiers had cover when they look at the present forest. But then they learn how the men of both sides could see each other through the trees, that there was little underbrush to conceal movement and attacks, and that the soldiers charged and fought facing the enemy right in front of them. This understanding greatly heightens visitors' sense of bravery about the soldiers.

Similarly, riparian forest west of the McPherson barn has sprouted up along Willoughby Run to the west and formed a wall of cover that did not exist in 1863, blocking much of the view of Herrs Ridge. Guide Charlie Kingston likes to stand at Buford's statue and point out to visitors that Heth's advancing Confederates came over Herrs Ridge in full view of Buford's cavalry division and sustained casualties because of that lack of cover. "Those trees are one of two

spots on this battlefield that really obstruct the understanding as to how the fighting actually occurred and under what conditions,” says Charlie.⁷ As guide Paul Bauserman sums it up, “Today you see for several yards, but the soldiers then could see for several miles because the whole place was wide open.” Aside from these forests, much of the battlefield on the First Day does remain open and this openness helps visitors comprehend why the men of either army sustained enough casualties on the First Day to rank it as the 10th bloodiest day of the entire Civil War! ⁸

Learning of the First Day’s casualties and the severity of the engagements that day is a surprise to most visitors. Public ignorance about this matter is another issue that present guides and Park personnel actively attempt to correct. Deb Novotny, for example, always points out to her tour groups that “there were more casualties on the First Day than on the Third Day” and she notes that “visitors are always amazed when I tell them this fact.” Guide Wayne Motts encountered the same problem. “There were less casualties on the Third Day,” says Motts, “but people come for Pickett’s Charge and the Second Day, and this leaves the First Day grossly underestimated in terms of importance and human cost.” Park historian Scott Hartwig has researched Pender’s Confederate Division on July 1 and readily argues that the field between Reynolds Woods and the Lutheran Seminary, across which Pender’s Division charged on the First Day, was “deadlier ground than the ground of Pickett’s Charge – out of 180 officers in the 13th North Carolina Regiment, 150 were casualties!” (1999).⁹ Scott points out the openness and levelness of the field today is consistent with

1863 and that is key to understanding the horrendous losses. When Pender's Division charged, the men encountered firing on their flanks as well as their front, but unlike the men involved in Pickett's Charge, Pender's soldiers had no cover because the field they crossed was really flat whereas the fields of Pickett's Charge were undulating and offered swales and dips large enough for regiments to use as temporary cover. But despite pointing out the dangers of the open terrain and immense losses of the First Day, guides and NPS personnel consistently note that Ken Burns' documentary and the movie focus on the Second and Third days' battle and that has greatly reinforced the pattern of visitors always wanting to see the grounds of those engagements.

The Peace Light serves as the next official stop on the Auto Tour. As tourists drive toward the monument, they enjoy a more-authentic view (Figure 6.5). Shields' Museum & Cabin Park near Reynolds Equestrian Statue, the Peace Light Motor Inn and Cabin units along Buford Avenue, and several private homes that stood along the Mummasburg Road near the Peace Light, have all been removed by the NPS in the last 23 years. When visitors look from the parapet of the Peace Light, they see just the open fields and scattered woods all the way to Big Round Top. The only structure appearing is the McPherson Barn a mile in the distance and guides like to use it to explain the range of Napoleon cannon used by Union and Confederate batteries.

Using the landscape to show firing distance is more effective than just stating the statistical range of cannon. Distance means little unless the visitors can see it, and this requires landmarks and a clear view. Reproductions of British Whitworth cannon used by Confederates are found at the Peace Light and the

range of these guns is five miles. Guides impress many visitors when they point out how these cannon could fire on Big Round Top visible on the far horizon. The range and accuracy of Civil War weaponry surprises tourists, and guides readily admit that they could not explain this concept effectively were it not for NPS efforts to keep the First Day's field clear of commercial distractions. The openness helps bring out the historic McPherson Barn, Big Round Top, and the tremendous space over which this battle occurred.

This raises another reason why the open viewshed from the Peace Light is interpretively important. As Ranger Becky Lyons explains, "So many visitors expect to see a battlefield about the size of a football field and are amazed to find out the real magnitude of the area over which the battle was fought." On every bus tour I accompanied, invariably several visitors would exclaim at the Peace Light how they never would have fathomed the massive area over which the battle occurred had they not seen the view before them. It is also the first view on the Auto Tour to give many visitors a sense of the widespread farmland appearance of the battlefield in 1863. What newcomers do not realize is that the view they are enjoying and learning from is more authentic to 1863 than it has been for visitors to the monument in the last six decades. Guides have pointed out to me that the Peace Light Motor Inn and other intrusive structures the Park has removed from the field in recent years "are now out of sight and out of mind," leaving all first-time visitors unaware of the lengthy duration of these intrusions upon the viewshed since the 1940s.

After stopping at the Peace Light, the Auto Tour directs visitors to go to the Oak Ridge Tower. From here visitors may choose to follow the Union 11th

Corps line along Howard Avenue and over Barlow Knoll, but the official Park Tour Map indicates this route is optional. It is part of the Park's three-hour Auto Tour program and there are no designated tour stops along the route. Unless visitors have a guide who feels that there is time for taking this optional route, most continue over to Confederate Avenue where the next official tour stop awaits.

Confederate Avenue: Pickett's Charge from Seminary Ridge and the Lee-Longstreet Controversy Retold

Guides begin their discussion of the Second Day as they turn onto West Confederate Avenue, in contrast to 1970 when guides ended their tours here by discussing Pickett's Charge and Lee's retreat. This change in interpretation is necessary because the Park made the avenue one-way south to fit the auto tour. This is in keeping with battle chronology because Lee's Confederate army formed its battle line along Seminary Ridge for the fight on July 2nd, but guides find it impossible to take visitors down the length of West Confederate Avenue and not discuss the Third Day as well. For one reason, guides still consider this avenue the best place to mention the artillery strength of both armies and the cannonade that preceded Pickett's Charge because of the concentration of guns.

Interestingly, the cannon carriages here appear olive green and black (Figure 6.6). Until 1984, the NPS routinely painted park cannon carriages a light tan (or brownish French ocher), which they had done since 1969 when NPS maintenance remixed the original paint formula for Civil War cannon to replace the

Federal surplus of grayish-blue paint used on park cannon since World War II. Shortly after Park Ranger Historian John Heiser started working at Gettysburg in 1980, he questioned the authenticity of the “baby-poo brown” paint used on the carriages.¹⁰ GNMP Historian Thomas Harrison, who had previously thought the tan formula correct, agreed with Heiser’s suspicions and asked him to conduct a paint analysis. Heiser proceeded to compare original paint chips taken from a Civil War cannon in a private collection with those of an olive green cannon removed from display in the Cyclorama that was never repainted since the War Department years. The paint chips matched. Further investigation revealed the correct olive green formula could be achieved by mixing two parts of Sherwin-Williams “Evergreen” to one part “Oak.” The mistake in the previous light tan paint, it seemed, had involved a simple reversal of this formula. Heiser later wrote, “Though the color of the gun carriages may seem to be a minor point in the over-all story of the Battle of Gettysburg, it is a representation that should be corrected” (1982, 3). Since 1984, Park maintenance have repainted all 415 cannon carriages olive green, just as they appeared in July of 1863. As one longtime Ranger recalled, “The visual impact of all these green cannon is quite astounding when you think back to when all the guns dotting the entire park landscape were brown.”

After passing the first two dozen cannon on West Confederate Avenue, visitors on busy park days invariably encounter a traffic jam at the North Carolina monument (Figure 6.7). Park maps designate the monument as the next official stop on the Auto Tour route, but the congestion occurs mostly because guides use the monument as their first stop for getting visitors out on the field. Guides

with bus groups are often the biggest contributor to this congestion. During battle anniversary days, the sight of several busloads at the North Carolina stop every half hour is common.

This pattern along West Confederate Avenue is very different from 1970. According to guide Charlie Fennell, "North Carolina is a standard stop for most guides today but we never got [visitors] out at that spot before" (1999). To put the importance of this shift into perspective, nearly all guides I spoke with concurred that on a standard two-hour tour there is only time enough to get visitors out at two or three stops in the Park, and one of those field-stops is usually at the North Carolina monument. In 1970, visitors congested primarily at the Virginia State Memorial however, whereas that pattern has subsided dramatically in recent years.

There are good reasons North Carolina has emerged as a popular fieldstop. It is the first Auto Tour stop on the avenue where the viewshed opens for visitors to see key landmarks where Confederates attacked the Union battle line -- Zeigler's Grove, the Copse of Trees, and the Round Tops. Guides frequently use this spot to explain the army battle lines that formed on 2 July 1863, either by using a map or drawing fishhooks in the dirt near the monument, and then pointing out the Round Tops as the "anchor" or "eye" of the Union fishhook. Second, the North Carolina monument is the first Southern sculpture encountered on the Auto Tour now that visitors must drive south on the avenue. Third, the monument depicts five soldiers embarking on Pickett's Charge so guides feel it is a logical spot to mention the charge and, indeed, correct a common misconception about it. "Pickett's Charge should be named Pettigrew's

Charge," says guide Ed Guy. Ed and other guides frequently explain that General Pettigrew's North Carolina Division comprised the largest unit in the charge, not Pickett's men, and that one out of four Confederate casualties at Gettysburg were from North Carolina making it the most suffered by any southern state in the battle. But newspaper reports of the charge, according to Ed, credited Pickett's men because they were Virginians, because they belonged to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and because the southern journalists following Lee's army and making the reports were Virginians too.

The view from the North Carolina monument reveals a new orchard. The NPS planted crab apple trees on the former Bliss Farm lands 10 years ago. According to GNMP Natural Resource Specialist Dr. Bert Frost, "In 1863, Pickett's Charge fields were a patchwork, or checkerboard, of small pastures, cropfields, woodlots, and orchards, but contour farming and soil conservation practices since the 1930s have removed much of this ... and we are trying to return Gettysburg to that original patchwork" (1999). The Bliss Farm orchard was the first GNMP attempt to restore an orchard to the original battle scene.¹¹

Research by Senior Historian Kathy Georg Harrison and other experts at the Park using early maps, photographs, and contemporaray descriptive accounts of the 1863 battlefield has initiated widespread rehabilitation of historic orchards, forests, and fence lines throughout the Park in recent years.

Fence lines, in particular, are the key to understanding the patchwork appearance, and also key to understanding Pickett's Charge. "Without the fences," explains Bert Frost, "the visitors cannot understand why the Bliss Farm orchard is there and they cannot distinguish the many small pastures and crop

fields that existed" (1999). Ranger John Heiser points out how fences were barriers to troop movements, like those of Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions attempting to cross the fields quickly on 3 July 1863. "When I am out with my Warren Maps," explains John, "and I find where there should be a fence and there is not one, it makes a big difference – it did for the soldiers having to crawl under or through and sustain being shot in the process" (1999).

NPS restoration of historic fence lines to the Park began in 1972. This included replacing existing Park fences with the type at the time of the battle. The original fence types included Rider, Virginia Worm, and Post & Rail. According to recent exhaustive research by Park historians, there were 39 miles of these fences in 1863. As Ranger Eric Campbell tells visitors who inquire about the fences here in the battle, "There is still much fencing missing on this battlefield because the Park has only recreated one-third of the 1863 fencing that existed, but what has been restored is authentically correct" (1999).

After leaving the North Carolina stop, visitors and guides proceed to the Virginia State Memorial. On nearly every bus tour I accompanied during the 1999 summer season, this memorial more than any other monument attracted amateur photographers and camera-toting parents anxious for a keepsake-picture (Figure 6.8).¹² Even if the bus did not stop, as visitors and guide proceeded around the loop, everyone with a camera took a picture of Lee atop his horse Traveler. The reason for this remains twofold. Visitors connect with the familiar and the unique, that is, they know of Lee and they are fascinated by equestrian statues. This trend has not changed since 1970.

What has changed since 1970 is that visitors and guides spend

considerably less time at the Virginia State Memorial. Guides pause briefly here to mention General Lee and explain why he ordered Pickett's Charge despite his trusted subordinate, General Longstreet, voicing disapproval of the frontal attack. As guide David Eisenhart told his bus group, "Lee believed in Pickett's Charge, but Longstreet did not" (1999). Guides note that visitors, by and large, still consider Lee to have been the finest general of the war, but nowadays more tourists are openly critical of Lee's decision and remark at how "stupid" he must have been for not seeing the obvious futility of the attack. As I witnessed one visitor say to a guide in incredulous disbelief (emphasis on words in italics), "Why on earth did [Lee] order his men to cross *a mile-wide open* field, to strike at the Union *center* situated on *an elevated ridge*, especially when his own [Longstreet] could see the obvious!?" (1999). According to Ed Guy, one of the most frequent prejudices that current visitors share when they come to Gettysburg is that "Lee was wrong and Longstreet was right" (1999).

This represents an important shift in how Lee is being remembered publicly. Prior to the movie *Gettysburg*, the occasional visitor looking out across the open fields would ask a guide, in a curious rather than an incredulous manner, why Lee ordered Pickett's Charge because they assumed that Lee, the greatest General of the War, had good reasons which they wanted to understand. In addition, several long-term guides informed me how it used to be that only a "real Civil War buff" was aware of Longstreet and his disagreement with Lee for making the attack.¹³ But the movie changed public perceptions of Lee, Longstreet, and Pickett's Charge dramatically. It casts Longstreet as the subordinate general "who clearly foresaw the futility of Lee's plan of attack and

warned against it" and portrays Lee as the stubborn old man who refuses to listen.¹⁴ As guide Paul Cooksey recalls, "In the movie ... Longstreet's the hero, and Lee's the fool" (1999). Ultimately, the movie's popularity has hurt Lee's credibility among visitors.

But many guides feel the movie has wrongfully prejudiced visitors to idolize Longstreet and they find they have to explain Lee's actions more than ever. Guides try to remind tourists that no general had the benefit of hindsight and that the attack's failure was not inevitable. Paul Cooksey, for example, tries to stress to visitors how "Lee's decision to attack was credible. Lee had a good plan -- first, knock out the Union artillery [along Cemetery Ridge], bring up the infantry [led by Pickett], support it by bringing up the artillery, and pinch [from behind] by Stuart's cavalry" (1999).¹⁵ In addition, Cooksey prefers to have his tour groups look over the field carefully and notice the concealment available to Pickett's men as they marched to the Emmitsburg Road. "Look," as Cooksey likes to tell his groups, "you can't see the base of the PA monument from here at Seminary Ridge, and that means the Union artillery along that ridge can't see you." In this manner he reveals how the fields of Pickett's Charge are actually rolling terrain with swales deep enough to protect entire units from remaining in the sites of frontal fire for three-quarters of their approach to Cemetery Ridge.¹⁶

As part of recent battle anniversary festivities, Supervisory Historian Scott Hartwig leads tour groups (often larger than 100 visitors) on Pickett's Charge walks across the rolling fields from the Virginia Monument. He too reinforces to them how Lee had good reason to believe in the assault. Hartwig explains how

“on the morning of July 3rd, Lee knew that one of Longstreet’s brigades punched through the Union center temporarily on the second day, the Union flanks were reinforced leaving to question the strength of the Union center, the Confederate army was still winning the battle, and Stuart’s cavalry and reinforcements had arrived. All of these are good reasons Lee thought the attack could succeed.”

Visitors convinced by such evidence invariably wonder why Pickett’s Charge did not succeed if its success was indeed plausible. Cooksey tells his groups that Lee’s plan simply fell apart due to several factors, namely that “Lee unknowingly failed to knock out the Union artillery prior to the charge, that Confederate artillery did not follow the infantry in the attack, and Stuart’s cavalry failed to pinch the Union army from behind.” But guides point out that visitor prejudices against Lee are still hard to dispel because many tour without an informed guide or interpretive ranger and rely on the movie Gettysburg to remember the battle. Indeed, the movie remains popular and for sale at the Park, in Wal Mart, and other national chain-stores. The very fact that the Park sells the movie on video in its bookstore endorses the movie to visitors.¹⁷ “The great irony,” notes guide Charlie Fennell, “is that people seeing the movie now think Longstreet is the brains behind the Confederate Army [as opposed to Lee], whereas before no one knew about Longstreet and there was no monument to him” (1999).¹⁸

Indeed, General Longstreet has reemerged in the public mindset after many decades of neglect. A new Longstreet monument (the first to the general

ever) stands at the next stop on the Auto Tour in Pitzer Woods (Figure 6.9). It is an equestrian statue depicting the general rearing his horse in mid-trot to pause and look across the fields toward Cemetery Ridge just before his men embark on Pickett's Charge (Casteel 1998, 17-18). Visitors frequently request to see the monument because of its recent widespread publicity, and nearly every guided car and bus tour pauses at it to inform hundreds of thousands more about Longstreet's crucial role in the battle and remind them of the general's reluctance to make Pickett's Charge. But prior to movie, and the placing of the monument in 1998, Longstreet remained obscure to visitors except Civil War buffs and battle enthusiasts. His neglect stemmed from fellow generals who derided his joining of the Republican Party and his daring to criticize Lee posthumously in the 1870s. They ultimately blamed him for Lee's loss at Gettysburg. Longstreet spent the remainder refuting his critics to save his reputation, but to no avail, and the debate subsequently gained renown among Southerners as the "Lee-Longstreet Controversy." ¹⁹

But public and scholarly perspectives on the Lee-Longstreet Controversy have reversed in the last 25 years. "Longstreet used to be the goat, now he's the hero," reiterates Charlie Fennell. In addition to the movie, Longstreet's popularity began with Shaara's novel and benefitted from books by historians Thomas Connelly (1977), William Piston (1987), and Jeffry Wert (1993) which focused on the general's undeserved blame and neglect over Gettysburg. In fact, Piston's book, Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant, inspired Robert Thomas to organize the Longstreet Memorial Fund Committee responsible for the erection of the new Longstreet monument (Casteel 1998, 9).

The Longstreet monument is also notable for correcting the old myth about the horse hoofs among the equestrian statues in the Park. Hero, the general's steed, is depicted with one hoof raised. Adult visitors who recall learning the myth as a child at Gettysburg – that one hoof raised indicates the rider was wounded, two hoofs raised indicates he was killed – are surprised to learn that Longstreet was not wounded during the battle. They assume the sculptors of these monuments intended their statues to fit the 'hoof theory' because it held true for understanding the fate of the other seven generals on equestrian statues throughout the Park. For this reason, representatives of the Licensed Battlefield Guides specifically asked sculptor Gary Casteel to design the equestrian hoofs to "break the tradition of the 'hoof theory' " and he readily agreed (Casteel 1998, 36-37). Guide Deb Novotny is pleased how "the horse hoof's story is no longer viable now with the new Longstreet statue" because of adamant believers who learned the hoof theory as visiting children. She notes how this kind of deep-rooted affinity returning visitors develop with a familiar myth is the most difficult to correct unless the evidence contrary to it "is plainly in the landscape for visitors to see" (Novotny 1999).

After leaving Pitzer Woods, the next frequently visited site is the Longstreet Tower (which locals refer to as the Eisenhower Tower). Tourists looking over the battlefield from its deck see Pickett's Charge fields, the Peach Orchard, and the Round Tops. The view is perhaps more remarkable for what is not visible than for what does appear (Figure 6.10). For instance, Longstreet's Headquarters Park no longer exists in the fields below. The NPS removed the refreshment stand when it purchased the property from Johnny Johnson in

1974. Then in 1981, Park Historian Kathy Harrison proved the shack marked "Longstreet's Headquarters" was not used by General Longstreet during the battle and that it never existed there in 1863 (Harrison 1981, 32).²⁰ This news shocked Johnny Johnson. The shack had stood there before his family acquired the property in 1930, and neither he nor Park Historian Georg could determine who may have falsified the building's fame.²¹ In 1987, the NPS removed the shack, leaving only the Warfield farm

Other non-historic buildings that once speckled the view from Longstreet's Tower have been removed by the NPS. These include Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe, Twin Kiss, Battlefield Motel, and the former Lee-Meade Inn and tourist cabins that stood along the Emmitsburg Road. The Park aggressively purchased these properties during the early 1970s as an immediate response to the public outcry and publicity over commercialization threatening the park brought on by Ottenstein's National Battlefield Tower and because Park officials considered this part of the field among its most commercially intruded.²² Today, only two residential houses on private property along the Emmitsburg Road visibly stand out.

Approaching Little Round Top: When Do We See Chamberlain?

South Confederate Avenue is heavily wooded and difficult to interpret.²³ The Park map directs visitors to stop near the Alabama Memorial and guides frequently pause here to explain Longstreet's attempt to take Little Round Top on 2 July 1863. From this spot, two lead-off brigades spearheaded the

Confederate assault: Law's brigade of Alabamians approached by way of Big Round Top via a route similar to the avenue, and Robertson's brigade of Texans advanced directly to Devil's Den. Visitors, however, cannot see the brigades' routes of attack because of 20th century forest growth (Figure 6.11).²⁴ As Superintendent John Latschar informed me, "The south end of the battlefield is in far worse condition than [most other parts of the field] in terms of visibility and openness because of that forest cover" (Latschar 2000). Latschar explained how corridors of open fields in 1863 constituted important "avenues of approach" used by these brigades in their attack. The Park has already begun restoring Robertson's avenue of approach by clearing the slaughter pen area of Devil's Den.

This represents a new trend in landscape management at Gettysburg. "Avenues of approach," according to Superintendent Latschar, "are one of five types of key battle features that affected the command decisions and fighting outcome at Gettysburg." They fall under the acronym KOCOA - key terrain (K), observation points (O), cover and concealment (C), obstacles to movement of troops (O), and avenues of approach (A). Although KOCOA is a modern term for how military commanders analyze the terrain before making tactical decisions, this kind of terrain analysis goes back to West Point in the 1820s when it was taught under the auspices of "Military Engineering" (Latschar 2000). West Point generals of both armies at Gettysburg determined their strategy through this kind of terrain analysis. Under Superintendent Latschar's direction, the Park now uses KOCOA as the means to identifying key battlefield features important to the battle for preservation or restoration.²⁵ "By using KOCOA," explains Latschar,

"we are rehabilitating the battlefield landscape so the visitor can understand the battle from both the General's perspective as well as from the soldiers' experience by seeing the same features the Generals saw and encountering the same features that affected the soldiers fighting" (2000).²⁶

Post-battle vegetation growth has arguably obscured KOCOA features more than any other factor of change since the battle (see GMP 1999, 33). Natural Resource Specialist Bert Frost estimates that "approximately 500 to 1000 acres of woods need to be removed or thinned out in the entire park" (see also GMP 1999, 124). Reynolds Woods, Codori-Trostle thicket, and Culp's Hill forest are targeted for thinning, whereas the forest between the Rose Farm and South Confederate Avenue around the base of Big Round Top (where Robertson's and Law's units advanced) is the largest wooded section in the Park targeted for complete removal (Frost 1999). The dramatic difference between the woods today and the open landscape in 1863 has compelled some guides to carry historic photographs on their tours. As guide Charlie Fennell noted, "I carry old photos to show visitors how the battlefield looked [in 1863] because they want to know where the woods were and where there were no trees" (1999).

With little else to see besides forest, guide John Fuss uses South Confederate avenue to set the stage for the peak moment that movie-watching and novel-reading tourists in his groups have been long awaiting: encountering Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and his 20th Maine regiment on Little Round Top. Chamberlain is the most popular hero among visitors to Gettysburg today, and by this point in the tour anyone interested in seeing where

Chamberlain fought has already asked when they will see the spot “where Chamberlain saved the Union Army.” Fuss explains to his groups how they will encounter Chamberlain’s men just as Oates 15th Alabamians of Law’s brigade did in the late afternoon of 2 July 1863.

On the south side of Little Round Top, at the intersection of South Confederate and Wright avenues, Fuss points out the 20th Maine monument where Chamberlain fought in battle (Figure 6.12). The Park keeps the woods around the monument clear of brush so visitors can easily see the spot from their vehicles. But prior to Ken Burns’ 1989 documentary, “it never used to be that way, “ says guide Ed Guy. “That monument was completely invisible, covered by brush and trees, [and] the few visitors who got out of their cars and searched the area had a hard time finding it” (1999).

The present popularity of the 20th Maine testifies to the power of film and fiction. John Fuss recalled once, while taking a family up to see the spot, how he encountered two Union reenactors in full uniform dress looking over the 20th Maine monument intensely. “They considered themselves real experts on the 20th Maine, and said they ‘knew everything there was to know about the unit,’ but they exclaimed, ‘why does Buster Kilrain’s name not appear on the monument along with Chamberlain and the other soldiers listed here!?’” John knew why they were dumbfounded -- they had read *Killer Angels* and saw the movie and believed it -- believed it all. But the “intellectual confidence” that these two reenactors professed to have regarding 20th Maine history was too much for John to overlook. “They were cocky, so I told them flat out, in front of everyone there, that Kilrain was a fictional character invented by Michael Shaara for his

novel," said John. Embarrassed and humbled by their own naivete, the two reenactors said nothing and quietly left.

Since 1984, personnel from the U.S. Army War College, the National War College, the Ordnance School, various ROTC units and other military groups have frequented the 20th Maine monument to study the regiment's action on Little Round Top because the Army's Military Leadership Manual (1983) has "singled [their performance] out as the epitome of leadership and unit cohesion" under the stress of battle (Nelson 1984). According to the manual, the 20th Maine commanded the left flank of Union defense on Little Round Top. When Confederates threatened to sweep the hill from behind, Chamberlain stretched his unit into a "v" position. Oates' Alabamians attacked the 20th Maine six times front-on, wearing down the regiment and exhausting ammunition. And in the darkest hour, when it appeared the 20th Maine could not withstand another assault, Chamberlain ordered a brilliant charge -- the left half of his regiment swung like a door downhill until straight with his right flank, after which the entire regiment continued the wheeling momentum downhill and to the right, charging into Oates' men and thrusting them back. I remembered hearing of this in Ken Burn's documentary as Chamberlain's classic "textbook maneuver." The maneuver worked, the 20th Maine captured over 90 of Oates' Confederates, and the remaining Alabamians retreated, effectively ending the assault on the Union Army's extreme left flank. This earned Chamberlain the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Park historians and guides feel Chamberlain deserves the Medal of Honor, but aspects of his heroics have been distorted by the Army Training

manual, Ken Burns' documentary and the Movie. These media credited Chamberlain with brilliance for the "right-wheel" charge, but recent research by professional scholars show Chamberlain never concocted the "right-wheel" maneuver nor did he order the charge for his men to carry it out. In fact, Chamberlain denied both and suggested his troops carried out the charge and its maneuver on their own when he shouted "bayonet" (Desjardin 1995, 161). The legendary aspects of his heroics originated with Shaara's novel. The movie is based on it. Ken Burns felt the novel influenced him more than any other Civil War book. And U.S. Army colleges and training schools have long required Shaara's novel as standard reading for students and officers. As Ed Guy remembers, "no one visited the 20th Maine monument until the Killer Angels book came out in 1975" (1999).

Over the past 10 years, visitors have consistently left flowers, flags, and other ornamental tributes to Chamberlain at the monument. One summer morning I caught site of Glen Berkheiser of GNMP maintenance gathering up decorations left by visitors. Keeping the Park clean of these items is a weekly chore. Glen has worked at GNMP since 1984 and I asked him where he found the greatest concentrations of visitor ornaments. Without hesitating, he said, "Chamberlain, Armistead, and Longstreet monuments, in that order." Glen recalled how "people started leaving stuff after the 125th anniversary in 1988, but the flood of decorations surged after the movie Gettysburg. Ever since then, the 20th Maine monument has been the biggest spot for this stuff" (Berkheiser 1999).

Chamberlain's fame has made Little Round Top the most popular stop in

the park (Figure 6.13). "Since the movie Gettysburg," says guide Paul Burkholder, "fully two-thirds of visitors want to see Little Round Top where Chamberlain fought" (1999). Guide Ed Guy claims "the two things people most recognize are, number one, Little Round Top because of Chamberlain, and, number two. Pickett's Charge." When Ed started guiding in 1984, it seemed as if Pickett's Charge held everyone's attention. "Nowadays," says Ed, "visitors might not know about anything else, but they know about Little Round Top and Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain." ²⁷

Chamberlain's fame stems from the fact that he "survived to be heard and write, and he wrote beautifully," says Park Historian John Heiser. Other historians concur (Hartwig 1996, 18; Harrison 1999). His war accounts and posthumous book The Passing of the Armies (1915) inspired John Pullen's history The Twentieth Maine (1957) that, in turn, inspired Shaara to make Chamberlain and his regiment the central characters to his Pulitzer Prize-winning novel (Peterson 1994; Desjardin 1995, 161).²⁸ Author Tom Desjardin points out the desperate defense by other Union officers and men on Little Round Top has been lost to obscurity because those officers most apt to have reported on the critical nature of the fight there died in it (1996, 154-155). This includes officers Vincent, Weed, Hazlett, and O' Rorke -- all of whom have individual memorials placed by surviving comrades who have long since died and failed to write much literature on these herces.²⁹

Guides try to keep visitors' love of Chamberlain in perspective. Don Walters likes to take visitors to the 140th New York monument on Little Round

Top and tell about the forgotten heroics of the men in this unit who also saved the hill from Confederate hands. Walters explains that Little Round Top lay unprotected when Robertson's Texas brigade reached Devil's Den. As the Texans advanced from the Den up the front of the hill, Colonel Vincent rushed his men of the 140th up the back side. Walters then declares how "the first 50 men of the 140th New York didn't even have time to load their guns when they reached the summit, and so they came charging down the hill against the Texans who opened fire killing 32 of them outright!" It was a critical sacrifice. Despite the loss, the charge dislodged the Texan, forced them to stop and reload, and the rest of the arriving 140th shot them up and forced them back. "Were it not for those [first] Yankees saving Little Round Top," reminds Walters, "Chamberlain would have been shot in the back. It ain't just one man, it was many men. To paraphrase what one soldier said, 'there is much glory to be had here, and glory was had by many'."

Perhaps the hero most overshadowed by Chamberlain is General Warren (Figure 6.14).³⁰ When stopping at Little Round Top, guides prefer to walk their groups over to Warren's statue first and remind them that he was the "Savior of Little Round Top," but this elicits surprise from many visitors. As one highly vocal and inquisitive tourist exclaimed to guide Jim Clouse, "Warren, the savior?! Why is it I never heard of Warren?!" Having encountered similar remarks in recent years, Jim quickly explained how Warren has been known within military and scholarly circles and by well-read buffs on the battle, but he just has not been popularized by film and novel like Chamberlain. This represents a key shift in public acceptance of the story. In 1970, few visitors ever questioned

Warren's role in the battle, primarily because no other hero received equal attention at the time.

The summit around Warren's statue offers a magnificent viewshed from which to explain the battle lines and orient the visitors. For this reason, guides frequently struggle with visitor requests to see Chamberlain's monument. There simply is not enough time. Although Little Round Top is the longest stop on a given tour, constituting 15 to 20 minutes on average, guides point out how this is barely enough to lead their groups out to the summit, explain the battle lines, mention Warren, and discuss the total action on the hill in brief. "With a bus group," explains Robert Gale, "it can take my entire, allotted-time just to get them from [Warren's statue] over to the 20th Maine monument and back to the bus, and that's if I can pull them away from the majestic view" (1999). Robert will mention Chamberlain, but the view from the summit compels him and other guides to choose Warren's statue over the 20th Maine monument in the woods.

Visibility from Little Round Top's summit has much improved in recent years. The hillside, Valley of Death, and Devil's Den below have been cleared of trees and brush to simulate the rugged, barren condition of the area as it appeared in 1863 (Figure 6.15).³¹ This is in stark contrast to the intrusive overgrowth in 1970. "When I first started guiding," remembers guide Deb Novotny, "Little Round Top was a woods, and the sumac was a real problem because it grew so high at the crest, but now in the last few years the Park has cleared all that to preserve the historic views" (1999).³²

Prior to recent clearing efforts, visitors had difficulty visualizing how Confederates attacked Little Round Top and frequently asked, "where did the

Rebs come from and how did they attack so quickly through all this thicket?" But several guides informed me these questions have ceased now that the corridor between Devil's Den and the base of Big Round Top is visible and Little Round Top is nearly as "rocky and open at the time of the battle." "The [tourists] used to think the [soldiers] fought through brush and thicket," says guide Wayne Motts, "but now they can see the fighting occurred among rocks." Motts personally applauds the clearing efforts because it has made his interpretive efforts easier. As he noted to me, visitors can easily understand how "the boulders provided cover, but also allowed for a quick attack, and this changes the whole perspective because [several years ago] so many people had difficulty visualizing the fight here when they could not see what the landscape looked like."³³

The Park has encountered public resistance to these clearing efforts from local residents accustomed to the Park as both a battlefield and nature preserve.³⁴ The most vocal have vented their disapproval to Park employees and in letters to the editor reprinted in the Gettysburg Times newspaper. Guides and Park Rangers maintain that "Little Round Top was normally a barren hill," and this goes over well with tourists coming to learn about the battle, but these statements, coupled with historic photographs, often fail to convince local critics that the interpretive benefits outweigh nature (Wensyel 1999). Scott Hartwig readily admits that people who have grown familiar with a changed battlefield are resistant to changing things back if the changes were made prior to their life. As Scott remembers, "when we began clearing Little Round Top, one fellow told me how mad he was at the Park for removing trees because 'THOSE trees,' he said, 'had been there all HIS life!' " (1999).

Despite this opposition, Superintendent Latschar feels that rehabilitating the battlefield to “as nearly as possible the way it looked in 1863” does justice to the soldiers who fought and visitors who come to learn the battle (FNPG Newsletter Spring 2000, 3). Clearing Little Round Top has helped instill in visitors General Warren’s pivotal role in the battle. At the summit, guides explain to their groups how Warren was the first Union officer to recognize the hill’s strategic importance prior to the fighting here on 2 July 1863. As it lay unprotected, Warren rode to the summit to survey the situation. By directing visitors to look out over the open terrain, guides show how Warren “immediately recognized the wide field-of-fire the summit commanded,” where “the enemy could enfilade the entire Union line on Cemetery Ridge,” and where he “saw Longstreet’s Confederates forming south along the Emmitsburg Road to outflank Union battle lines and presumably attack this key position.” These dangers compelled Warren to order the first men to the summit. His foresight, based on the open ground before him, ultimately placed Chamberlain, the 20th Maine, the 140th New York, Vincent, Weed, and other soldiers on Little Round Top in time to save the hill. Guides attest the viewshed is critical to this lesson because it allows them to visually “understand what Warren understood when he stood on Little Round Top” (Bennett 1999).

Other Park efforts to improve visitor interpretation at Little Round Top in recent years involved investigating the traditional stories told to visitors there. The long-standing Turkey Vultures story, for example, has been dispelled as myth. The vultures still fly overhead, but rangers and guides have ceased telling how the birds are one of the last living witnesses to the battle and they prefer to

explain the vultures' concentration in the Park as an anomaly instead of "a direct outgrowth of the battle's carnage" (Earnst 1982).³⁵ This change occurred shortly after Hal Greenlee joined the Park staff as a Natural Resource Management Specialist in 1978.

At first, Greenlee became intrigued with the Park's unusually high vulture population. When he heard a battlefield guide tell visitors how some of the vultures were the last living witnesses to the battle, it seemed so outrageous he urged a formal investigation. Superintendent John Earnst backed the idea, noting how "for years, there has been recurring speculation [concerning] the original appearance of these birds" (1982).³⁶ In 1982, at Greenlee's urging and Earnst's approval, the NPS approached Penn State researchers to conduct a vulture study at GNMP investigating, among other things, the birds "true role in the history of the battlefield" (Earnst 1982).³⁷ Four years later, the final report concluded no proof could be found the birds were even here in 1863.³⁸

News coverage greatly aided in dispelling public perceptions about any truth to the vulture story. Between 1982 and 1986, news articles on the Penn State study appeared sporadically in regional newspapers, including the York Daily Record, Harrisburg Patriot, Philadelphia Inquirer, Hartford Courant, and the Wall Street Journal. Early reports dispelled the longevity of the birds. Readers learned vultures could live 20 years, but not 120 years! In addition, newspaper interviews with Park research historians clarified to the public that most dead soldiers were buried before any birds could eat them.³⁹ Moreover, the paper publicized the fact that no evidence confirmed the vultures arrived shortly after the

battle. All that could be determined was the vultures had roosted in Gettysburg since the turn of the century, they numbered approximately 600-800 annually, and they constituted the largest group of vultures in the eastern United States.⁴⁰ After this news appeared, guides ceased telling the myth and it faded away quickly.

As of 2000, the only myth connected with Little Round Top is the "Chamberlain myth," but the Park has had difficulty dispelling it because it originates with the public and not any interpretive staff. The myth is a recurrent public assumption inferred by Killer Angels, Ken Burns' documentary and the movie that Chamberlain (and Chamberlain alone) saved Little Round Top and did so from its summit. It is a case of the magnificent hero being at odds with the magnificent view. At the summit, guides point out landmarks, talk of Warren, but not Chamberlain. "Chamberlain fans," as many guides call them, are frequently disappointed to learn their hero did not fight at the summit because they assume they are on Little Round Top as Chamberlain was. This frequently generates an exchange between visitor and guide that I witnessed on several occasions: "What do you mean he didn't defend the summit, I thought this was Little Round Top?!", retorts a visitor in the group. "It is," asserts their guide, "but so is the spur over in the woods yonder where Chamberlain DID fight." If there is time for visitors in tour groups to make it over to the 20th Maine monument, guides have noticed the disappointment of some who see the wooded spot is not the majestic summit.

The basic principle has never changed. Visitors traditionally expect the magnificent hero to have fought in a magnificent setting. This suited the public

well 30 years ago when Warren garnered the only spotlight as the hero of Little Round Top because the summit view served as the backdrop to his statue. But as guide Charlie Fennell reminded me, "Warren isn't the story he used to be [because] Chamberlain has become the focus" (1999). Indeed, Chamberlain's popularity is so great, Charlie now walks visitors over to the 20th Maine monument to satisfy visitor demand and clear up any confusion over where Chamberlain fought.

Charlie gave me a tour of Little Round Top, complete with a walk over to the 20th Maine before returning to our vehicle. As he paused to reflect, he informed me how the "Chamberlain phenomenon" has affected more than guiding at Little Round Top. "It has changed licensed battlefield guiding in this Park in broader ways," he said. Charlie explained the NPS has slowly validated Chamberlain's popularity through the guide examination process. "When I took my exam in 1986, the answer to the question 'who saved Little Round Top?' had to be Warren, otherwise you were wrong, but nowadays answering Chamberlain is not necessarily wrong." This represents a considerable shift in official Park interpretation.

As we left Little Round Top, Charlie pointed out how catering to visitor demand for Chamberlain has compelled him to leave out mentioning other interesting heroes from their tours. "Considering my previous tours," he explained, "I used to talk about Custer because he was colorful, but now Chamberlain is the one visitors most want to hear about so I substitute him instead" (1999). As I listened to Charlie, I recalled what guide Deb Novotny said about the impact of Chamberlain on her battlefield tours: "More people

want more time on Little Round Top since the movie, but this occasionally means remaining sites and stops get sacrificed from the tour.”

Rushing through the Third Day and Beyond: Cemetery Ridge, The Angle, and the Soldiers’ National Cemetery

Guides who find they do not have time for the Wheatfield and Peach Orchard after stopping at Little Round Top use Sedgwick Avenue as a shortcut.⁴¹ Along this avenue is the equestrian statue to Union General John Sedgwick (Figure 6.16). During the 2000 battle anniversary activities, the Park had it cordoned off for the GNMP Monument Preservation Crew to repair its cracked base. The Monument Preservation Crew is new and consists of four personnel (supervised by Preservation Specialist Vic Gavin). Maintenance Chief Dave Drier organized the crew in 1995 to clean and restore the more than 1700 monuments, markers, and cannon in the Park to their original appearance. Repair work to carvings or bronze art on monuments occasionally involves hiring an outside sculptor or artist to do the work.⁴² The work of the crew in recent years has collectively rejuvenated the memorial appearance of the Park. The Peace Light appears brand new after being renovated earlier this summer, all bronze statues within the Park are shiny and coppery brown now that their green-stained & weathered patina has been cleaned and polished, and cannon in the most visited tourspots have been restored, painted, and shined.⁴³

Driving along Sedgwick, guides frequently mention Union General Daniel

Sickles, "the man who disobeyed Meade's orders" by leaving Little Round Top unprotected on 2 July 1863. Visitors learn the he advanced his men from this area to the Peach Orchard, only to get blown away while Warren hurriedly saved Little Round Top in his absence. Guides are divided over Sickles' conduct. Those supportive of Sickles will point to the thick forest on the left and explain how "he moved his men to the high ground to see the enemy so that the enemy could not advance under concealment of those woods". Other guides are critical of this tactical decision, but emphasize that Sickles was later the Congressman who sponsored the bill creating Gettysburg National Park in 1895 and should be revered as the father of this park. But visitors react most to guides who speak of Sickles as bombastic, egocentric, and vain! "Before the war, he murdered his wife's lover and got off free by pleading temporary insanity (the first case of its kind). During the war, he was a naive political general who put the entire Union line in jeopardy at Gettysburg. After the war, he embezzled the state money appropriated for his own monument." Regardless of any disparity over assessing him, all guides agree "Sickles is the most controversial man associated with the battle" and will persist as a subject of discussion on every tour.⁴⁴

As visitors enter South Hancock Avenue, the Auto Tour route continues toward the 1st Minnesota and Pennsylvania monuments. Along the west side lies a half-mile of continuous earthen-mounds approximately two-to-three feet high in front of several batteries of cannon (**Figure 6.17**). These are breastworks constructed by Union General John Caldwell's men on 3 July 1863. The batteries at these positions fired on Pickett's Charge. Many rangers and guides rarely mention Caldwell's breastworks on their tours. This unofficial method of

interpretive avoidance is one way the Park staff are preserving the most valuable resources at GNMP. As Bert Frost explained, "the crux of NPS management is that its duties to protect the resources and to interpret them are frequently opposing strategies" at Gettysburg. Interpretive avoidance of the earthworks is about choosing protection over interpretation.

Earthworks are the most threatened resource at GNMP. Approximately, 22 groupings of rifle pits, lunettes, or breastworks constructed by Union and Confederate soldiers during the battle remain extant, but two-thirds are rapidly diminishing. The rifle pits in the Codori farm fields used by General Stannard's Vermont soldiers in repulsing Pickett's Charge are virtually gone, portions of breastworks and trenches dug by General Greene's Union troops to defend Culp's Hill have eroded by 80 percent, and other threatened earthworks have deteriorated similarly. Moderate visitor traffic to these places would destroy what little remains. The last time any were reconstructed was in the 1930s CCC workers under NPS direction, but these were few, and the majority have not been repaired or reconstructed since the War Department years.

The loss of earthworks are tragic for visitors like Ronald Miller.⁴⁵ "To think these are where the soldiers dug, where they laid in wait, where they fought, and we know that they were *exactly* here because of these mounds!" exclaims Ron. For him, there is a certain spiritualness to visiting earthworks that place him "that much closer to history." This phenomenon is about sharing sacred space.⁴⁶ At Gettysburg, some space is more sacred than others, particularly where key battle action is believed to have occurred, where reminders or remnants of the battle are situated, or where a relative or remembered individual or unit fought.

As Ranger Eric Campbell explains, the earthworks are particularly sacred to the NPS because "these mounds are among the last authentic remains left in the park." The Park is hesitant to reconstruct the mounds because the veterans are long gone and there is limited documentation on the earthworks. The general feeling expressed by several Park historians is that the NPS does not wish to touch the remaining earthworks -- out of respect for the veterans and out of fear of permanently damaging the remains in the process of repairing them.⁴⁷ Hence, rangers and guides avoid interpreting these "sacred remnants of the battle" to keep visitor wear-and-tear to a minimum and prolong the earthworks' longevity while they exist in such a fragile state.

Park concern for the earthworks began in 1975 when Park historian Kathy Harrison conducted a survey of those remaining in the park. According to Kathy, Congressional funding following the 1973 energy crisis became increasingly tight and the earthworks survey served as one component of a "Cultural Resource Inventory" taken at Gettysburg (and all other NPS parks) to justify NPS budget requests before Congress regarding the care and maintenance of precious resources managed in the parks (Harrison 1999). At the time, few personnel at the park knew the whereabouts or conditions of earthworks and her survey revealed their delicate state. In 1993, the NPS updated the survey as part of the GNMP List of Classified Structures (LCS) project, which revealed some of the fragile earthworks from 1975 have virtually disappeared. In most cases, the cause was continued weathering, but Stannard's rifle pits in the Codori farm fields have been trampled by cows.

The LCS project involved documenting other Park resources, namely

stone battle walls, historic farmsteads, and fences of 1863, as well as avenues, bridges, tablets, and monuments erected by the veterans up through the 1920s. A frequent question by visitors is whether or not the stone walls were constructed by the soldiers. Most are farm walls, but the LCS project confirmed four stone walls were constructed by Union soldiers and four by Confederate forces during the battle.⁴⁸ The only 1863 authentic remnants of the battle that the LCS does not list are “witness” trees -- trees from 1863 still living on the battlefield. At least 12 remain (see ALBG Newsletter May 1999, 9-10).

Continuing north along the Auto Tour route is the First Minnesota monument where guides frequently point out the Codori-Trostle woods to the left. As Bert Frost explained, “those woods were a thicket of low growing shrubs in 1863 and the Union forces here along Hancock Avenue could see over it and observe the Confederate line” (1999). Since the battle, the thicket grew uncontrolled and historic fences and farm lanes disappeared. Park staff have recently begun to rehabilitate the thicket. Immediately noticeable to visitors is new Virginia worm fencing replicating a farm lane that traversed the thicket (Figure 6.18). Park staff and volunteers reconstructed the lane just in time for the 2000 battle anniversary festivities (Pore Friends Newsletter Spring 2000, 16).

A new wayside next to the First Minnesota monument informs readers of the fight in the Codori-Trostle thicket area on 2 July 1863 (Figure 6.19). At this point, visitors following the Auto Tour have covered three-quarters of the entire route learning about the Second Day’s battle. The wayside exhibits throughout the park reflect this pattern. There are 53 new waysides in all, ten more than the

Mission '66 interpretive waysides which they replaced. A major difference in the new waysides is their distribution. Eight focus on the First Day's fighting, twenty-six describe the Second Day's fighting, twelve deal with the Third Day's fighting, and the remaining focus on the National Cemetery and battlefield monuments. Clearly the Second Day's fighting receives lopsided attention, in part because seven waysides were added to this segment of the tour route when the new waysides were placed in 1993. Moreover, the greatest concentration of waysides for one stop is now at Little Round Top, whereas the old Mission '66 signs were most concentrated at the High Water Mark area.

According to the First Minnesota wayside, eight companies of this regiment charged with bayonets and stopped an entire Confederate brigade advancing on the thicket who outnumbered them four-to-one! This crucial engagement prevented the Confederates from piercing the Union line. The closing paragraph reads: "The Union line was saved, but at a terrific cost. According to a regimental officer, of the 262 Minnesotans in the charge, only 47 escaped death or injury."⁴⁹ This description of losses represents a subtle but significant change in how the First Minnesota is being interpreted at the Park. The previous Mission '66 wayside boldly proclaimed the regiment sustained "82 per cent casualties -- believed to be the highest regimental loss in any battle."⁵⁰ Interestingly, the casualty figures do work out to an 82 percent loss, but the attribute of fame is conspicuously absent from the present wayside. The First Minnesota has come under scrutiny in the last 20 years and Park interpretation concerning the regiment remains cautious.

The regiment's storied fame begins with Lieutenant William Lochren of the First Minnesota who reported the regiment's casualties to the St. Paul Daily Press shortly after the battle ended. His written history of the regiment in 1889 established the Second Day's losses as the definitive record by which the regiment should be best remembered: "Of the 262 men who made the charge, 215 lay upon the field, stricken down by rebel bullets... the annals of war contain no parallel to this charge" (1891, 36).⁵¹ Lochren's account was published in the state's military history text Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars (1891), reprinted in Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle (1893), and served as the centerpiece address for the dedication ceremonies of the First Minnesota monument at Gettysburg in 1897 which Lochren was asked to deliver.

Based on Lochren's figures for the charge, author William Fox printed Minnesota's loss at "82%" for inclusion in his book Regimental Losses in the Civil War (1889). According to Fox's research, this high ratio of loss made the First Minnesota the leading Union regiment in the entire war to suffer the "maximum percentage loss" in battle action *in comparison to the number engaged* (an important distinction easily overlooked). This figure secured the First Minnesota's fame. In addition, "83 per cent" appeared in the inscription on the regiment's monument at Gettysburg (1897) which described the loss as one of "self-sacrificing desperate valor [that] has no parallel in any war." When Jasper Searles' History of the First Regiment Minnesota (1916) appeared in print, it too celebrated the loss of 82 per cent as "the highest ratio of loss of any single command in any one battle of the war" (346). But while this literature publicized the "82 per cent" loss, each clarified this per cent did not refer to the aggregate

loss for the entire regiment at Gettysburg. Unfortunately, this clarification was easily overlooked.

By the 1950s, "82 per cent casualties" and "highest regimental loss in any battle" became synonymous with the entire First Minnesota regiment, not just the eight companies. Popular battle literature and the staff and interpretive devices at GNMP perpetuated these exaggerated claims to readers and Park visitors.⁵²

Jack McLaughlin's best-selling book Gettysburg. The Long Encampment (1963), for example, described Minnesota's loss as "82 per cent of *regimental strength*, the highest casualty figure for *one outfit* in the entire war" (113).

Historians Bruce Catton, Shelby Foote, and George Stewart followed suit. Only lesser-known scholar Jim Imholte, who authored a history on the First Minnesota on the occasion of Gettysburg's centennial in 1963, argued persuasively against the evolving "legend" (and even flatly disagreed with Lochren's original casualty figures), but his voice was overshadowed by the more popular historians of his time.⁵³

But in 1982, Professor Robert Meinhard notified GNMP Chief Historian Tom Harrison that the entire First Minnesota could not possibly have sustained 82 per cent losses at Gettysburg and neither did the eight companies in the charge on the Second Day. Meinhard convincingly pointed out the regiment incurred roughly 70 per cent losses for the battle and the actual casualties for eight companies on July 2nd were about 166 instead of Lochren's figure of 215. Park staff subsequently revised the Electric Map program. However, when it came time to revise and update the Park's wayside exhibits in 1990, Stephen Osman of the Minnesota Historical Society had informed the Park staff of considerable

discrepancies between several “official” casualty lists of the First Minnesota either reported or printed and he emphasized that “the contemporary reports are inconclusive” (1988).

When it came time to place new waysides in 1993, Park Historian Paul Shevchuk rewrote the text for the First Minnesota carefully. In describing the charge, he removed any mention of “82 per cent” since only eight companies of the regiment had participated. Still, he was faced with giving readers some sense of the eight companies’ extreme sacrifice and performance in spite of uncertainty over the actual losses suffered. Even critical scholars like Imholte, Meinhard and Osman concurred with previous authors that the charge of the First Minnesota was “an example of military bravery probably unequaled in the annals of warfare”(Imholte 1963, 113; Meinhard 1991, 83). Therefore, Shevchuk decided to keep the traditional figures “of 262 engaged and only 47 survivors,” to maintain the impression of sacrifice that the figures infer, but cautiously rephrased Lochren’s statistics as that of an officer’s recollection rather than absolute fact. As Scott Hartwig noted, “the recent scholarly research into the First Minnesota proves the entire regiment did not suffer 82 percent casualties – none of the aggregate losses for the battle reported or in print exceeded 75 per cent - but given the variety of figures for the regiment’s charge of July 2nd, I am not ready to discount Lochren because he was the unit’s adjutant and observed the attack as well as any participant” (2000). “In addition,” says Scott, “it is difficult for any soldier to ever really know the exact figures because of the chaotic nature of battle.” The statistics may never be resolved with certainty.

The tragedy of the First Minnesota myth is the significant ramifications it

continues to exert on public memory. The Park will continue to fight the myth because of popular media.⁵⁴ As Ranger Becky Lyons informed me, most Park visitors get their history from what they watch rather than what they read. Viewers of Ken Burns' film, for example, are reinforced with the myth by narrator William McCullough's pausing statement that "no Union regiment in the war suffered greater casualties" (1989). Of greater consequence, this myth has overshadowed the proportionally heavier losses sustained by other regiments deserving of recognition for their extreme sacrifice. John Busey and David Martin's recent book, Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg (1994) shows the 154th New York suffered the greatest of loss among Union regiments at Gettysburg with 84 per cent casualties, and the 8th Virginia lost 92 per cent!⁵⁵ Unfortunately, these units have never merited the attention they deserve.

The Pennsylvania Monument is next on the Auto Tour. Recent Park findings concerning its bronze plaques have contributed to a new informal monument policy at Gettysburg: no additions, no corrections, and no new monuments (Figure 6.20).⁵⁶ Over 34,000 names are listed on the plaques, but the precise number has changed over the years. A careful count reveals 395 names are missing, and another 139 were added or returned to the list (having been removed at one time).⁵⁷ When the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Commission (GBMC) placed the plaques in 1912, veterans from company posts occasionally requested the removal of names of certain men in their units. After the NPS assumed management of the Park in 1933, staff assumed the names removed were soldiers not present at Gettysburg. Over the decades,

Park historians have periodically returned or added names as new evidence revealed the actual presence of a soldier during the battle.⁵⁸ This practice continued until two years ago when Park Historian Kathy Harrison uncovered correspondence from General St. Clair Mulholland of the GBMC clarifying the plaques were “a roll of honor” and not an attendance list. Soldiers names were to be removed if their fellow veterans felt they performed poorly or cowardly at Gettysburg or at any other time during the duration of the war. As Mulholland wrote, “All those who deserted either from the fight of the 1st to the 3rd or at any time during the War of the Rebellion will not . . . have their names on any of the tablets, which the Commission consider a roll of honor” (26 November 1909). This finding contributed to the Park’s new hands-off attitude toward monuments out of respect for the veterans and concern over misinterpreting their legacy.

After the Pennsylvania Monument, guides frequently rush through “Day Three” of the tour to finish on time.⁵⁹ Indeed, pausing more often than stopping at the High Water Mark area has become standard practice (Figure 6.21). This represents a dramatic shift in Park interpretation in recent years, not to mention the High Water Mark is no longer the most-popular spot in the Park. Guides continue to point out the Copse of Trees and the Angle, but discussion of Pickett’s Charge is shorter than ever before visitors cannot drive out to the Angle because the Park removed Webb Avenue in 1991.⁶⁰ If time permits, guides pause their groups along Hancock Avenue, but rarely stop and get out. As of 1990, Licensed Battlefield Guide training manuals (given to new guide staff) ceased recommending it as a “stop” on guided tours. A “stop” in the manual

means guides are encouraged to get visitors out at that spot. Recommended "stops" include the Peace Light, North Carolina Monument, and Little Round Top, but not the High Water Mark area. This change most reflects the fact that Pickett's Charge comes at the end of the tour and after Little Round Top, so time is doubly short.

Rangers and guides interpreting Pickett's Charge invariably mention that "somewhere between 12,000 and 13,000 Confederates made the attack." This is down from the standard 15,000 used by guides in 1970. Research by professional historians in recent years has brought this figure into question. As one military historian Jay Luvaas wrote, "authorities cannot even agree upon the actual number of men involved in the attack -- estimates vary from 10,500 to 15,000 with the truth probably somewhere in between" (Luvaas & Nelson 1994, 169). Moreover, the casualty figure given by guides today is "about 6,000" or half of the Confederates making the charge, instead of stating the more impressive "two out of every three were casualties" which the Cyclorama program and park interpreters promoted in 1970.

It seems the favorite heroes celebrated by guides explaining Pickett's Charge are Union Lieutenant Alonzo Cushing and Confederate General Lewis Armistead. Cushing fought to the death, desperately defending his battery of guns at the Angle to keep his men firing into Armistead's Confederates threatening to break the Union line. Armistead led about 200 of his soldiers over the stone wall, with his hat on his sword, before being mortally wounded where a marker to him now sits. Armistead is very popular among visitors because his character has a major part in the movie and novel, but Cushing remains obscure,

known only to buffs and easily forgotten by visitors after the tour ends. Then comes the conclusion on a somber note: the charge took 50 minutes and cost Lee 6,000 casualties. As guide Phil Cole tells his groups, "This is the High Water Mark of the Confederacy because the strength of the Southern army was never the same after Gettysburg" (1999).

According to guide Clay Rebert, guides trying to interpret Pickett's Charge from a vehicle must make several compromises. The Park made Hancock one-way north to conform to the Auto Tour and lessen traffic congestion. Unfortunately, traveling by the High Water Mark in this direction hinders discussion of the critical counterattack made by Union General Stannard's Vermonters against Pickett's division in the charge. The Vermont monuments to these men are back near the Pennsylvania monument, behind visitors and out of view by the time they hear about Pickett's Charge. This makes it difficult for visitors to understand where and how those soldiers struck Pickett's flank and helped repulse the charge south of the Copse of Trees. For this reason, few guides mention Stannard's flanking maneuver on their tours.

Clay also believes it is difficult for visitors to see the fields of Pickett's Charge while facing north, especially from passenger-side seating. "The road is slightly uphill and you constantly have to crane your neck to the left and back because the fields of the charge are to our west and southwest," explains Clay. When visitors could drive south on Hancock Avenue (prior to the recent one-waying), the fields of Pickett's Charge were situated to their right and front, so passenger and driver could see more easily. In addition, the fact that the avenue slopes gently downhill to the south means that proceeding in that direction used

to afford visitors a better viewshed from their vehicle. Nowadays, a good view of the fields necessitates walking out to the Angle, but only if time permits.

For those who do stop and walk over to the Angle and gander across the fields of Pickett's Charge, the view is much improved from what it was several years before. No more power lines and utility poles are visible along the Emmitsburg Road (Figure 6.22). The last pole came down in April 1999. For the first time in over 60 years, visitors can now see Lee's statue and Seminary Ridge without poles and wires obstructing their view. This recent change impressed local resident Dave Stoner. Dave is not concerned with Pickett's Charge or the battle, and he has no feeling for the NPS and battlefield changes one way or the other. At best, he takes a casual interest in the field only because "it's there," but this change he noticed. As Dave informed me, "removing the poles really opened up the view [and] improved the look of the park because those telephone and electric lines feeding Steinwehr Avenue [in town] blocked so much of the view before" (1999). As for battle enthusiasts, the change is a tremendous help in showing the extent of ground that Pickett and Pettigrew's men had to cross in Pickett's Charge.⁶¹

After leaving the High Water Mark area, guides briefly mention "Lee's retreat" and close their tours with "Lincoln's speech" as they pass by the national cemetery in the Cyclorama parking lot.⁶² The Soldiers' National Cemetery is designated as the final tour stop, but it has been closed to vehicular traffic since 1989 (Figure 6.23). Dan Kuehn, Superintendent of GNMP at the time, agreed with park staff that noise and congestion from motor traffic was inappropriate for

the cemetery's setting and disrespectful of the soldiers buried there.

Adjusting to walking the cemetery has not been easy for veteran-members of the guide force. Prior to its closing, the cemetery was a standard stop on most guided tours because of Lincoln's popularity. In addition, guides found they could no longer drive along the Union lines from Culp's Hill to Little Round Top. As guide Ed Guy recalls, "you could ride the entire Union fishhook, until the Park closed the cemetery and shattered that continuity" (1999). Guide Charlie Fennell mentioned to me how Lincoln's role in his tour program has dropped considerably as a result. "The old tour for many guides," says Charlie, "used to be focused around where Pickett's Charge occurred and where Lincoln spoke, but now Lincoln and the cemetery is sort of a footnote to the story we tell because it comes at the end of the tour and there is not time enough to walk visitors into the cemetery" (1999). But Ed, Charlie, and other guides are quick to point out that despite these adjustments, the closing has helped to restore a better atmosphere in the cemetery. Also, Park Rangers and seasonal interns have helped to insure visitation to the cemetery remains high by leading cemetery walking tours for the public several times daily during the summer and making a cemetery walk standard fare for any visiting school group. Ranger Becky Lyons believes "the cemetery is nearly as popular as it's always been because people still want to see the graves and where Lincoln spoke and because of the number of cemetery programs we offer like never before" (2000).⁶³

The most commonly asked question by visitors still concerns where Lincoln gave his address, and foreign visitors desire to see the spot above all

other sites in the Park, but the answer is no longer the same. As guide Don Walters prefers to end his tours, "I can tell you the exact spot where three dogs were killed, and where two horses fell, but I cannot tell you where Lincoln spoke those words!" (1999). This uncertainty reflects a debate over the longtime assumption that the Soldiers' National Monument marked the site of the address (Figure 6.24). In 1964, Dr. Louis Warren published a book on Lincoln lore suggesting the speakers' platform actually stood north of the outermost ring of cemetery graves according to an 1863 map drawn by spectator Thomas Selleck. Parade Magazine noted Warren's work in a September 1965 issue, and eight years later Dr. Fred Tilberg, the Park's most respected historian, refuted Warren's claim in the journal of Pennsylvania History (1973). But the subject generated little notoriety among visitors and guides.⁶⁴ Even in 1975, Kentucky placed its state memorial (featuring Lincoln's speech on a bronze plaque) behind the Soldiers' National Monument with an inscription verifying to readers that Lincoln gave his address from the site now marked by the monument. Not until the following year did the debate draw significant attention for many guides and buffs to take note. Tilberg and Warren squared off on the pages of Civil War Times Illustrated in the July 1976 issue. Both argued strongly and the article left readers undecided.

The issue remained stifled until 1978 when Park historians Thomas and Kathy Harrison carefully scrutinized National Archives photographs taken the day Lincoln gave his address. They concluded Lincoln spoke within neighboring Evergreen Cemetery, approximately 15-30 yards southeast of the Soldiers' National Monument. Since then, several scholars disagreed over the exact spot,

National Monument. Since then, several scholars disagreed over the exact spot, but their findings remain within proximity of the Harrison's (Wills 1992; Frassanito 1995, 163-165; Frampton & Cole 1995, 29-32).⁶⁵ This consensus has proven enough for Park Rangers and guides to inform visitors "Lincoln spoke several yards away, in the Evergreen Cemetery." But for visitors entering the cemetery, a new Park wayside is a bit more cautious. It simply reads Lincoln gave his address "near" the Soldiers National Monument.

Visitors walking in the cemetery enjoy the peace and tranquility. From the Park's perspective, keeping out noisy, idling vehicles and exhaust was one of several steps toward returning the cemetery to its original atmosphere. The first step occurred in the early 1970s when the Park funded the restoration of the speaker's rostrum that lay in a bad state of disrepair. Perhaps the largest steps toward rehabilitating the cemetery have occurred since 1994. Norway maple trees have been replanted along upper main drive, pedestrian benches of 19th century replica have been installed, and the original walking path and plantings around the Reynolds monument exist once again.

The NPS does not wish to return the cemetery landscape to its original barren look at the time of the battle.⁶⁶ This distinction is important for understanding the NPS attitude toward preserving the battlefield. Park preservation efforts are twofold: (1) return the battlefield as closely to 1863 as possible, and (2) keep the changes made or approved by the veterans who created the Park that do not threaten the major components of the historic 1863 battlefield.⁶⁷ This means the NPS continues to preserve 1863 battle evidence,

battlefield land, farmsteads, forest cover, fences, and roads, as well as post-battle monuments, markers, park avenues, and other structures placed by veterans. Monuments, markers, and avenues, for example, do not undermine the integrity of the 1863 landscape because the KOCO features -- key terrain, observation points, cover and concealment, obstacles, and avenues of approach -- used by both armies during the battle are not destroyed or altered significantly by these post-battle changes. The NPS believes in this approach to preserving Gettysburg because it is the same philosophy used by the veterans who first created the Park.

The single, most dramatic Park preservation effort in 30 years served as the centerpiece to the 2000 battle anniversary festivities. On 3 July 2000 the Park demolished the Gettysburg National Battlefield Tower. Approximately 15,000 spectators gathered to watch the demolition, and local and national television news teams broadcasted the event live. Since opening in 1974, the tower loomed large over the national cemetery, and visitors could see it easily from all parts of the battlefield. In addition, it captured the public's attention unlike any structure in recent Park history because of repeated national press coverage over the last 25 years. During its life, the tower remained a privately-owned commercial structure on private land adjacent to the Park that preservationists and the media made out to be the icon of commercialism threatening Civil War battlefields.

Not everyone in the crowd wanted the tower demolished. Opponents to the demolition were mostly local residents who had fond memories of enjoying the tower as a child. Many voiced their opinions that the demolition would be a

severe loss to visitors from an interpretive standpoint as much as from sheer enjoyment (Figure 6.25). As local Andy Wirth commented, "It was the only place where you could see the entire field, and that was neat" (8 July 2000). One battlefield guide lamented to me how the guide force would no longer be able to point it out as a reference marker for Cemetery Hill to orient visitors as they travel around the battlefield. "Some of us have used the tower on every one of our tours," explained the guide, "and now I don't know what I will use [to point out] Cemetery Hill!?" The guide also explained how the tower is key to showing visitors the Union fishhook line from various vantage points on the field. "I point out Culp's Hill [as the barb of the hook], then I say the line curved around the tower, and down Cemetery Ridge to the Round Tops" (2000).

Since its construction, school groups visiting Gettysburg invariably stopped at the tower so students could see the key battlegrounds from the upper deck 300 feet in the sky. Upon reaching the top, children clamored around observation binoculars to get a view of Little Round Top, Devil's Den, and Pickett's Charge (the High Water Mark area). "This is so cool!" and "Can I borrow a quarter?" (for the observation binoculars) were two of the most common statements teachers and parents heard from their children. Over the years, the panoramic view from the top instilled in millions of visitors the vastness of the battlefield, and it helped many gain an orientation of key battle sites. The advantage the tower had over Little Round Top's majestic view is that visitors could better see the First Day's battlegrounds, Culp's and Cemetery hills, and how these battle areas were situated in relation to the town of Gettysburg. Lasting memories of this experience among visitors substantiated the tower's

promotional nickname as “the classroom in the sky.”⁶⁸ Most importantly, no visitor ever forgot their experience atop the tower.

But the tower’s usefulness was not the issue.⁶⁹ The main reason for NPS decisions to demolish the tower concerned its public symbolism (Figure 6.26). When asked why the tower must come down, Superintendent John Latschar explained, “since it was built, the tower has been the symbol of the most obscene intrusion on Civil War battlefields” (2000). Indeed, the tower has represented to millions of Americans, preservationists, Civil War groups, and enthusiasts the commercial threats faced by all historic parks and sacred sites. Photo patterns in national media perpetuated this image. Beginning with U.S. News & World Report’s seminal 1971 article “The Second Battle of Gettysburg,” the tower has served as the most frequently mentioned and photographed subject from Gettysburg appearing in national and regional newspapers and magazines.⁷⁰ Because Gettysburg has long been touted as the “crown jewel” of U.S. historic parks, tower photographs often served as a prime illustration in articles concerned with or mentioning “the fight over preservation” at any site of American historical significance.⁷¹

The most intriguing patterns to this barrage of tower imagery concerned three common ways tower photographs were composed. One popular technique juxtaposed the tower with a monument (especially the Meade equestrian statue near the High Water Mark). The monument usually appeared in the foreground, to represent the sacred, and the tower appeared in the background, to represent the profane. Captions to this type of photograph

stated this representation in clear terms. A second popular photograph technique involved juxtaposing the tower with a battlefield cannon aimed toward it. The message instilled in readers that “another threat” looms on our “sacred lands” and we must again train “our weapons” (of public awareness, outcry, or legal action) to repel it. Captions to these photographs invariably mentioned the desire of preservation groups to bring down the tower and save the battlegrounds through “force” in like manner and spirit as our fighting ancestors did over establishing our heritage. After the demolition, national media again used shots of the tower in the context of “a victory for preservation” at Gettysburg and historic sites nationwide.⁷²

But perhaps the most devastating publicity involved a third common technique found in tower photographs: exaggerating the tower’s intrusiveness through distance zooming. Often, those photographs juxtaposing the tower with a monument or cannon showed the “monstrosity” appearing as large or larger in view than the monument or cannon in the immediate foreground. These photographs appear as if they were taken just in front of the monument, impressing on viewers that to visit the same spot one would see this huge tower intruding on their view to the point of physically overshadowing the monument. This is well demonstrated by 1970s photographs frequently taken of Meade’s statue overwhelmed by the tower (look again at Figure 6.1). Admittedly, the tower was huge. It stood 307 feet tall and could be seen from every major tour spot on the battlefield. But the amount of view the tower actually intruded upon for visitors driving by or walking up to monuments and park structures fails to

come close to that portrayed by media photographs (Figure 6.27).

Exaggerating the tower's intrusiveness involved standing several hundred yards away from a chosen monument and using a powerful camera zoom lens. From this perspective, zooming-in on the monument and tower obscured the distance between the two objects and maximized their comparative heights. The resulting photographs admittedly revealed how proportionately taller the tower was, but not how far away the tower stood (Figure 6.28). This technique was clearly a distortion of the tower's imposition on the visitors' experience at Gettysburg. Over 80 percent of the park's monuments and structures lie within a few yards of an avenue or path and to visitors driving or walking by who stopped to examine these structures never saw the tower from this perspective. And when visitors did span the horizon from such notable lookouts at Little Round Top, Oak Ridge, the High Water Mark, and even the Soldiers' National Cemetery, the tower was never as close as media photographs would have us think. The subsequent distortion contributed to widespread use of the tower as the key symbol for instilling public association of Gettysburg with obscene commercialism.

Also, particularly sparse among tower photographs in national media were shots of visitors inside or atop the tower enjoying and using it. Only local press coverage featured articles and photographs supporting the tower.⁷³ This dichotomy between national and local news coverage simultaneously instilled, reflected and reinforced the lopsided strength of national public opposition over local support for the tower.⁷⁴ Moreover, the widespread use of the tower as a

profane icon encouraged the national public mindset to associate Gettysburg with commercialism. From the Park's perspective, this association worsened into a more serious matter of concern. For 25 years the NPS had struggled to acquire and remove the tower. Until 2000, "the fight to acquire the tower" appeared unsuccessful and the NPS periodically noted widespread public perceptions developing a sense of futility toward saving our national heritage. Shaara's novel, Ken Burns' film, the movie, and the action of several Civil War preservation groups did much to help rejuvenate public interest in preserving sacred battlegrounds, but the NPS needed to succeed on this front to maintain public and visitor support necessary for its military parks and other historic sites. Thus, at 5:03 p.m. on the anniversary of the final day of the battle, the tower came crushing down in seconds following detonation (Figure 6.29).

The 2000 Battlefield in Retrospect

The Gettysburg experience for visitors is greatly more authentic, in-depth, and particular in rendering the story of the battle than in 1970. This is reflected in the increased variety of campfire programs, battle walks, and characters performed by costumed interpreters for living history programs throughout the summer. It is also reflected in the information on new wayside exhibits, in the restoration of 1863 fence lines and orchards, and in cannon paint. Park rangers and guides claim this is in response to a more inquisitive public. Visitors still receive a general overview of the battle from the Electric Map, the Cyclorama film, tape tours for sale, and licensed battlefield guides, but the age of a "standard tour"

ended in the 1980s and 90s when the Civil War experienced a resurgence in popular and scholarly interest. Each ranger and guide reinforces the general understandings of the battle, but do so through different characters, units, events and themes they have studied at length so visitors may become more intimately acquainted with the battle's causes, magnitude, soldiers, and outcomes. The research atmosphere at the Park is very intense and competition to become a ranger or guide has never been higher. Moreover, tape tours offer greater explanation and detail to the battle than those available 30 years before. Over the 2000 battle anniversary, tourists could spend seven days at Gettysburg and never listen to or follow the same program, guided tour, or battle walk twice.

Authenticity is the dominant theme shaping the Park. Rangers and guides, for example, have authenticated their telling of the story to visitors by dispelling myths over shoes, turkey vultures, and where Lincoln spoke.⁷⁵ In addition, the authentic landscape has proliferated, through the return of historic fences and orchards in the fields of Pickett's Charge, the removal of vegetation from Little Round Top, and the restoration of cannon at tour stops. Furthermore, authenticity is reflected in the commemorative landscape as well. The Monument Preservation Crew, for example, has restored the bronze statues and other memorials to their original luster. In reenactments, anniversary celebrations, and living history programs, participants dress and drills down to the minutest of detail contemporary with the Civil War era. Moreover, the costumed interpreters in these events study specific persons in the battle to more-authentically convey the experiences of battle and war.

Indeed, Park decisions have occasionally chosen authenticity over

interpretation and memorialization at Gettysburg. The closing of the cemetery to vehicular traffic restored its original tranquility, but the cost has meant decidedly less discussion of Lincoln on guided tours, and motorists cannot drive the entire length of the Union fishhook line. Another example concerns existing earthworks in the Park. Preserving these authentic remnants of battle has involved interpretive avoidance, leaving visitors largely unaware of these resources and their significance. Furthermore, the Park's objective to maintain the original design of the battlefield intended by battle veterans when they created this Park has contributed a GNMP policy discouraging new monuments and memorial changes. In giving a speech on this matter, Superintendent Latschar stated succinctly, "If there is ever a question of the balance between preservation and use, we will do our best to preserve the historic resources first, and to make them available to the public second" (1995, 115).

In further keeping with authenticity, visitor experiences revolve around a chronological tour.⁷⁶ Recent one-waying of park roads has insured this pattern. This has had several interpretive impacts on guides and visitors. The new Auto Tour demands three hours because of the distance to cover between Little Round Top and Culp's Hill for the Second Day of battle.⁷⁷ Most visitors prefer two hours, guides still operate on a two hour rotation, and Little Round Top is more popular, so Culp's Hill is frequently avoided to make time. One-waying has restricted vehicular interpretation at certain sites. At the High Water Mark, guides leave out discussion of Stannard's Vermonters in Pickett's Charge because Hancock Avenue directs traffic away from Vermont monuments. Visitors interested in specialized tours about individual units in the battle

frequently walk because one-way avenues only conform to major battle action. This is true of groups interested in studying Berdan Sharpshooters on the Second Day of battle. On the other hand, one-ways at popular places like the High Water Mark area and Little Round Top benefit visitors because traffic is no longer bottle-necked and those who choose to stop and get out of their vehicle can do so with greater convenience. Finally, the new tour route has placed the High Water Mark area and the Soldiers' National Cemetery at the end of the tour resulting in guides and visitors spending less time at these sites than ever before. Guides are hurried to complete their tour on time, visitors are drained, and Little Round Top overshadows these sites.

As of 2000, Little Round Top is the most popular spot at Gettysburg.⁷⁸ This is a marked shift from 30 years before when the High Water Mark area garnered the greatest attention as the site of the battle's climax. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's defense now occupies center stage in the public mind as the key battle event that saved the Union because of popular media, specifically Shaara's novel, Ken Burns' film, and the movie Gettysburg. Guides feel Chamberlain's popularity overshadows other worthy heroes and frequently inform visitors that no one single person or action saved the Union and secured victory. Indeed, rangers, guides, wayside exhibits, battle walks and other park devices and programs celebrate several events as key: Warren's heroics atop Little Round Top, the charge of the First Minnesota, the repulse of Pickett's Charge, and the Union defense against Early's attack on East Cemetery Hill. Among these four key battle events, the last is the least known and East Cemetery Hill is among the least visited sites in the park.

Finally, the physical condition of the battlefield is much improved, despite public perceptions associating the park with commercialism. The long and well-publicized fight by the NPS to acquire Ottenstein's tower property and eliminate his gigantic tower from tourstop viewsheds has instilled this widespread perception. The longevity of this controversy overshadowed other preservation efforts at Gettysburg.⁷⁹ The NPS has rehabilitated vistas from nearly all tour stops by eliminating commercialism, post-battle woods, and utility poles and by restoring historic fences and orchards. Peace Light Inn and Shields Cabin Park are no longer visible from the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. Other commercial buildings removed from the battlefield include the Suburban Motel, Longstreet's Park, Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe, Twin Kiss, Battlefield Motel, and Fantasyland Amusement Park. In addition, the fields of Pickett's Charge are more representative of the patchwork landscape of 1863. The NPS has restored the Bliss Farm orchard, Codori-Trostle farm lane, and Virginia worm fencing on several farms. Moreover, GNMP has increased landholdings at an impressive rate. During the 1990s alone, the Park Service acquired or protected over 600 acres of property, unequaled since the 1890s. Of course, the NPS recognizes its work at Gettysburg is far from finished, but in the words of one longtime Gettysburg resident: "the battlefield you see today has never been better" (Bennett 1999).⁸⁰

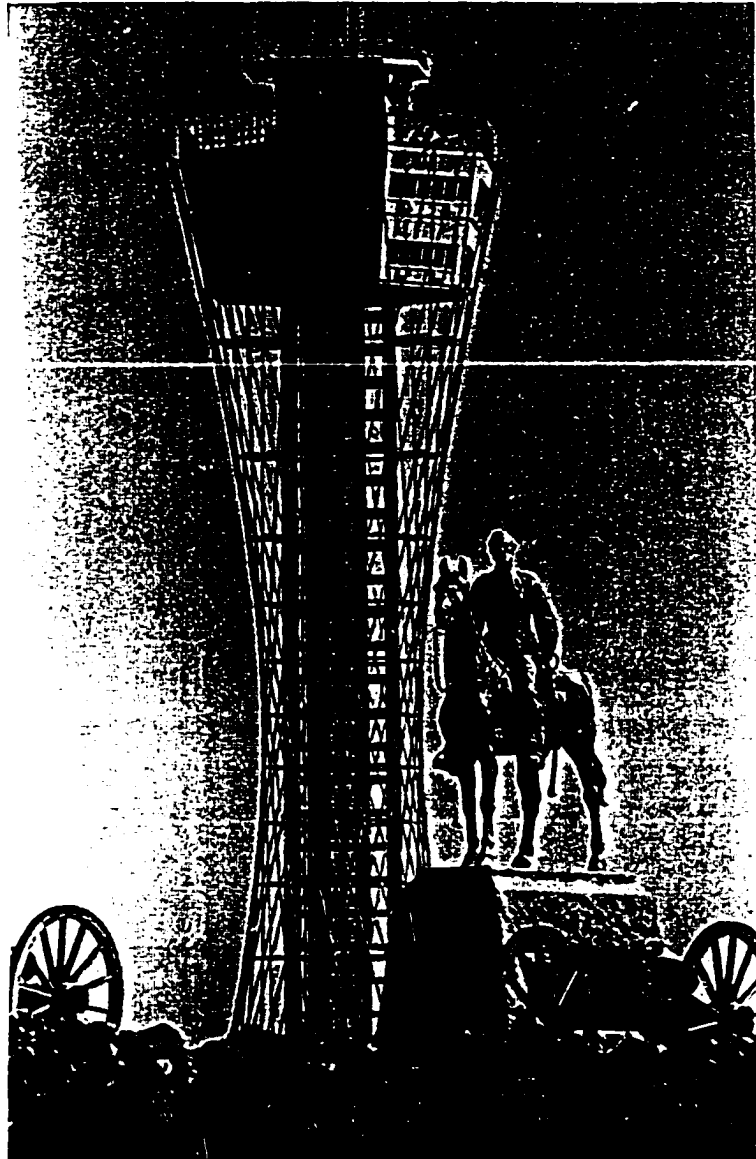


Figure 6.1: The National Battlefield Tower, 1974.

*The tower ignited public controversy over commercialism threatening historic sites across the U.S. since its construction began in 1971. This nationally popular photo emphasized how profane the tower appeared in contrast to the sacred monuments at GNMP. But the image exaggerated the tower's intrusiveness (see **Figures 6.27-6.28**).*

Source: NPS



Figure 6.2: The GNMP Visitor Center, 2000.

The NPS purchased Rosensteel's Museum and Electric Map in 1971. The museum contains the most impressive Civil War collection anywhere, valued at \$50 million, and the Electric Map is the most popular interpretive program now offered by the NPS. Both have undergone considerable renovation. Many of Rosensteel's displays of private artifact collections on silver dinner platters with name cards identifying local donors have been removed to storage. Now more interpretive displays stand in their place, such as the Wall of Faces showing actual photos of Gettysburg soldiers.

Source: Author

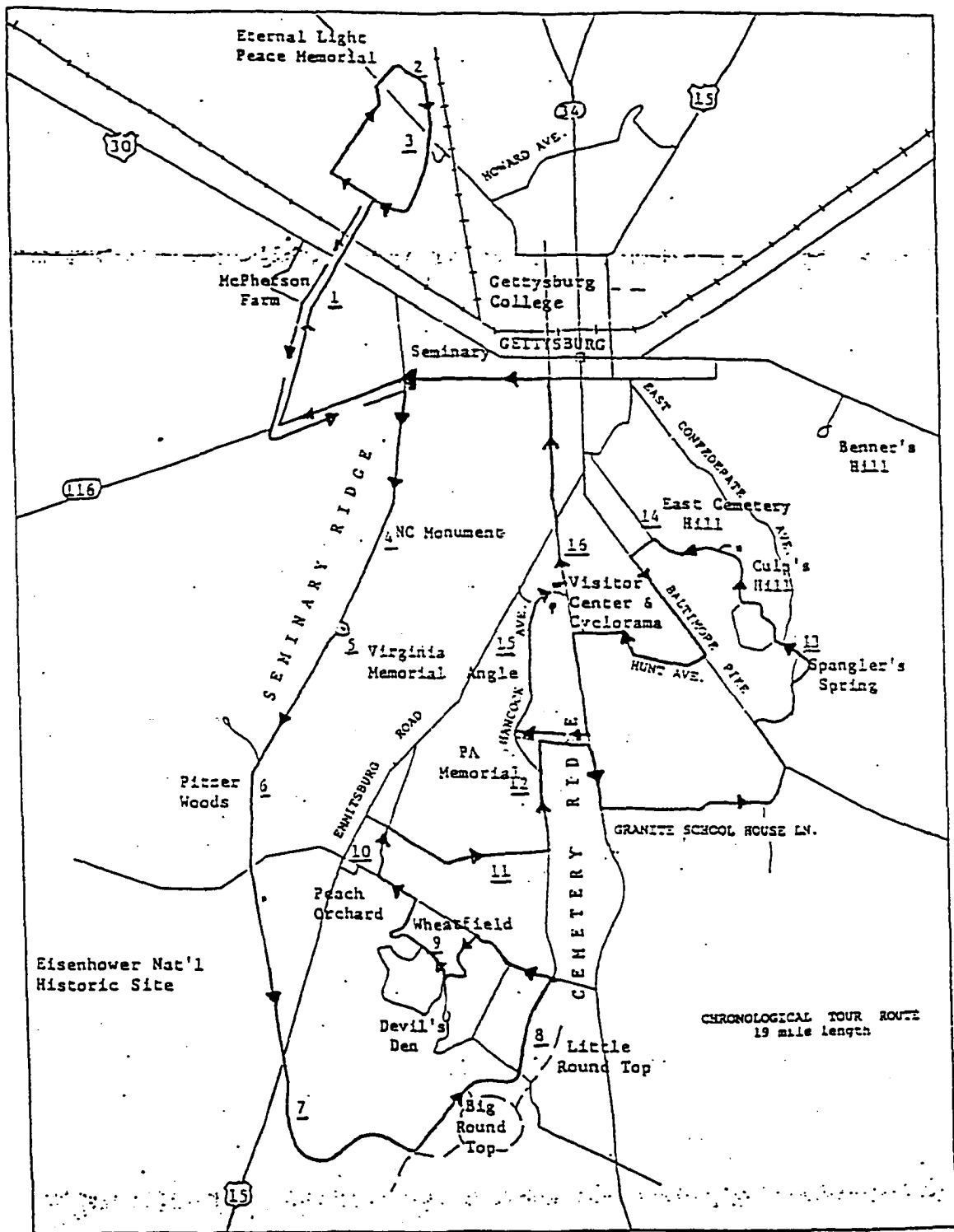


Figure 6.3: The Chronological Auto Tour Route.

Source: GNMP



Figure 6.4: One-Way Avenues.

West Confederate, Reynolds, Buford, North Confederate, East Howard, East Confederate, South Confederate, Sykes, and Hancock avenues have been converted to one-way to facilitate the chronological tour route and lessen traffic congestion. This changed forced many licensed battlefield guides to modify their tour program. Moreover, visitors interested in specialty tours must get out and walk more because one-ways cannot conform to every troop movement and battle action.

Source: Author



Figure 6.5: Restoring the Farm Look of 1863

This view of the McPherson farm is much like it was in 1863. The Park continues to lease the fields to farmers to maintain the agricultural look and historic openness characteristic of the time of the battle. Gone from this view is Shields' Museum and Cabin Park which the Park purchased and demolished. Other commercial and private structures removed by NPS from the First Day's field include the Peace Light Inn and cabins and several homes. Now, the McPherson barn is the only major structure visible from the parapet of the Peace Light.

Source: Author

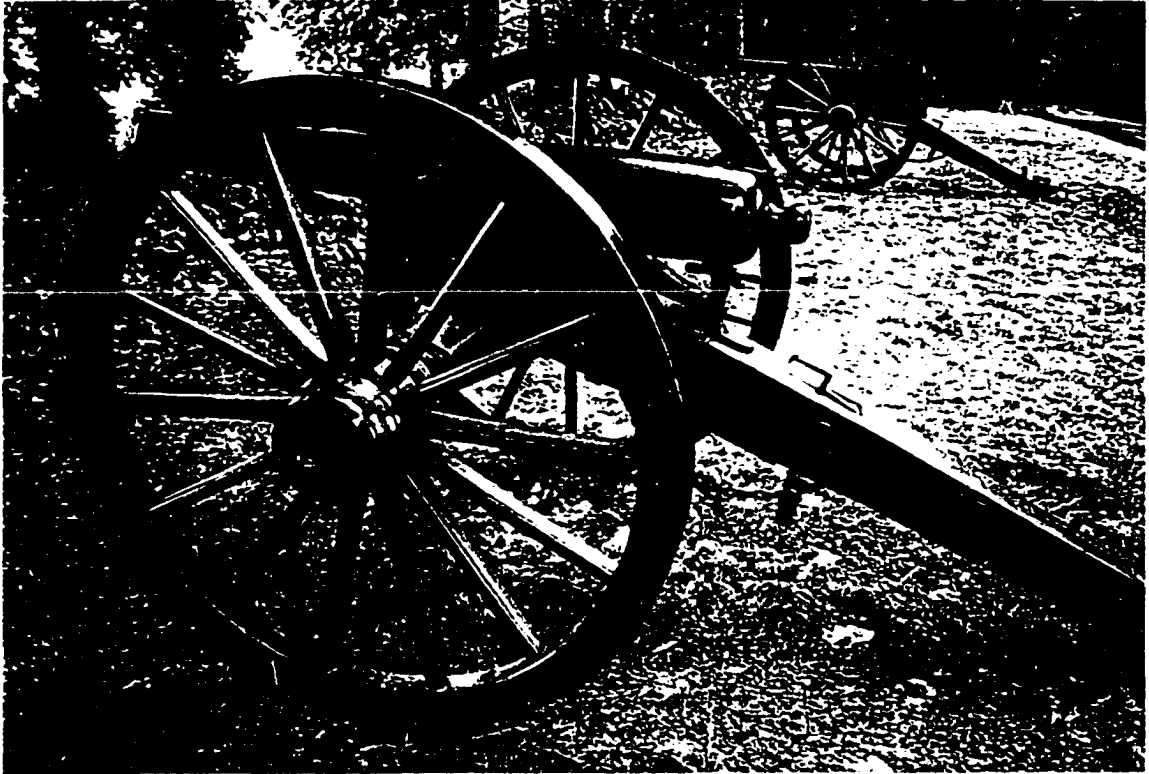


Figure 6.6: Authentically Painted Cannon

Beginning in 1982, GNMIP has repainted all cannon green as they were in 1863 after determining the previous brown formula to be incorrect.

Source: Author



Figure 6.7: Stopping at North Carolina

The North Carolina monument is often the first stop for guides today, and the present congestion ranks it among the top three most heavily visited spots in the Park.

Source: Author



Figure 6.8: Photographing Lee.

The Virginia State Monument is the most popularly photographed monument in the park, but Lee's longtime fame as the war's greatest general has taken a dip with recent interpretive shifts popularized by the movie Gettysburg.

Source: Author



Figure 6.9: The new Longstreet Monument.

Erected in 1998 and dedicated before one of the largest crowds ever gathered for a monument ceremony in recent decades, this monument represents a new popularity for this previously forgotten general.

Source: Author

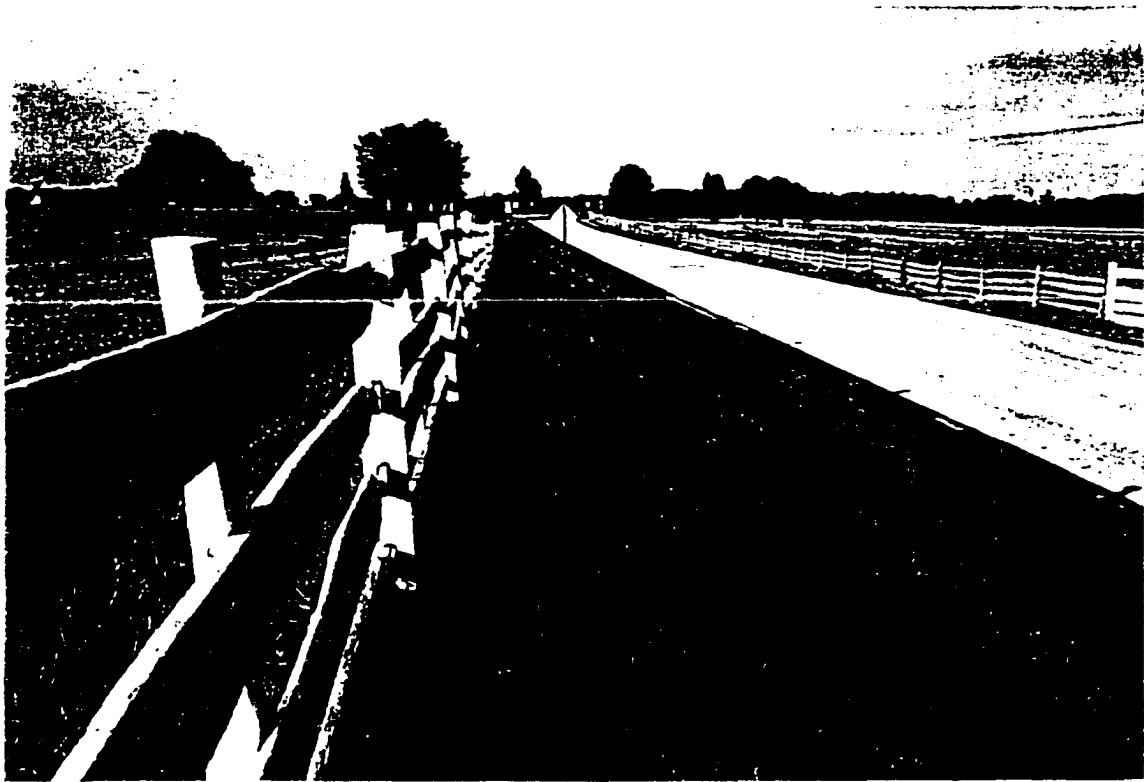


Figure 6.10: The Absence of Commercialism.

This view of the Emmitsburg Road shows the intersection where Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe and Twin Kiss stood. Beginning in the 1970s, the NPS purchased numerous commercial properties on the Second and Third Days' fields to demolish them and rehabilitate the historic viewshed for visitors. Among the many enterprises now gone include Battlefield Motel, Fantasyland, and Longstreet's Headquarters.

Source: Author



Figure 6.11: Woods Obscuring the Confederate Attack on Devil's Den.

This modern view taken from near the present Alabama state monument looks east toward the Round Tops (visible in the distance). On the second day of battle, Robertson's Confederates marched across these fields to Devil's Den, but in 1863 they could see the boulders from here. The present forest in the foreground is post-battle growth and it prevents visitors from seeing the avenue of approach followed by

Robertson's men.

Source: Author

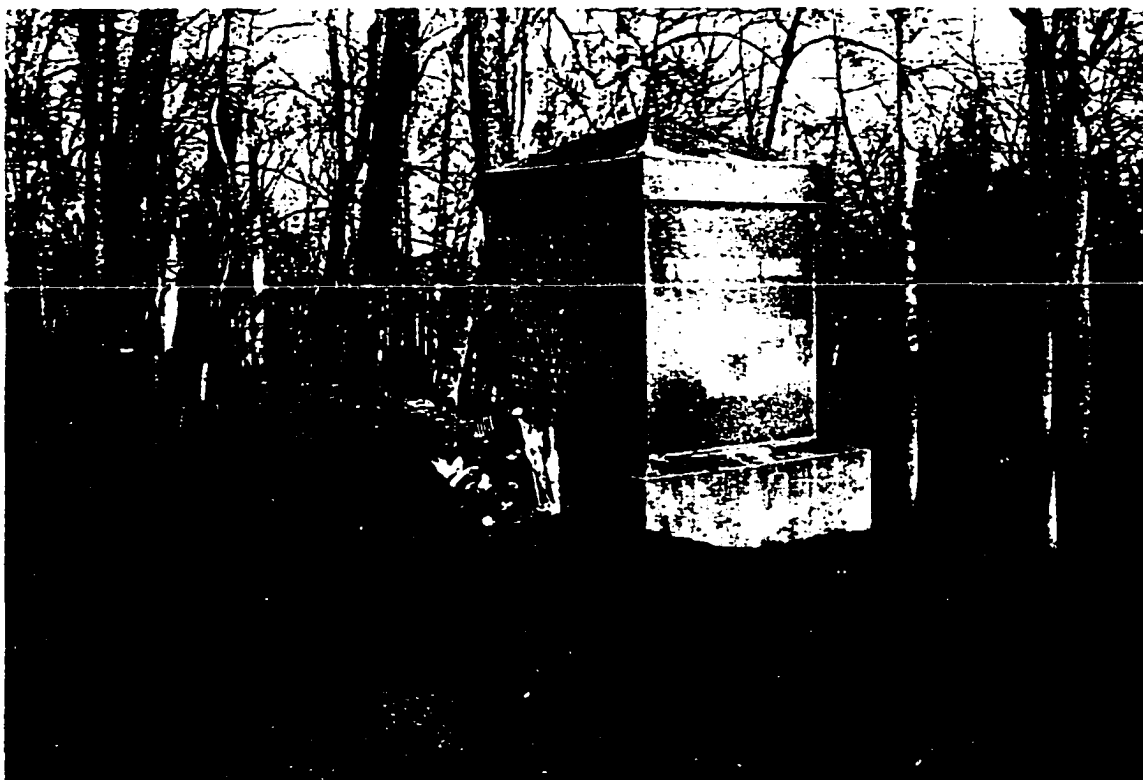


Figure 6.12: Flowers for Chamberlain.

Leaving flowers, flags, and other decorations at monuments has become a popular trend at Gettysburg since Ken Burns' film and the movie. According to park maintenance personnel, monuments to Chamberlain's Twentieth Maine, Armistead, and Longstreet receive the most decorations.

Source: Author



Figure 6.13: Traffic at Little Round Top.

Little Round Top is the most congested spot in the entire park. It also has more interpretive waysides, like the one being read by the visitor in this photograph, than any other site at Gettysburg. Visitors recognize the hill as the key to Union victory, and the most popular hero the public credits for Little Round Top's defense is Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. This is a reflection of the movie, film, novel, and other media that have celebrated Chamberlain in the last 10 years and have helped to propel visitation to Little Round Top exceed even the High Water Mark at Gettysburg.

Source: Author



Figure 6.14: General Warren.

Guides prefer to concentrate visitors at Warren's statue because he was the "Savior of Little Round Top," but his due recognition is lost to visitors who just want to see where Chamberlain fought. Some tourists occasionally wonder why they have not heard more about Warren. Chamberlain's fame has also overshadowed the heroic actions of other heroes equally critical to saving Little Round Top, namely Strong Vincent and Patrick O'Rorke.

Source: Author



Figure 6.15: Clearing Brush from the Little Round Top Area.

Little Round Top, the Slaughter Pen, Houck Ridge, and Devil's Den have been cleared of brush in recent years exposing the stone walls and original terrain where soldiers fought in 1863. Guides report this has improved visitor understanding immensely now that one can see how quickly Confederate attackers could advance up Little Round Top on 2 July 1863 and how precarious the Union situation was for leaving the hill undefended until the last minute.

Source: Author

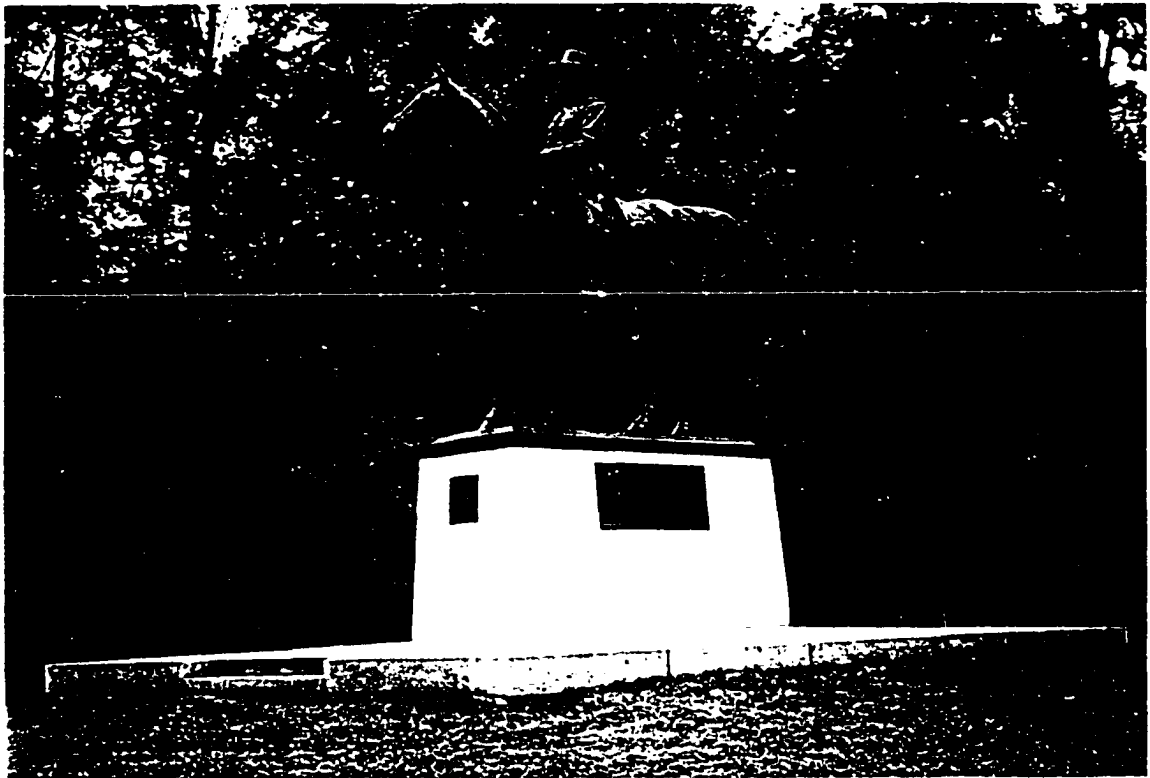


Figure 6.16: Monument Restoration.

The Sedgwick Equestrian Statue is one of many in the park recently restored by the GNMP Preservation Crew. Long discolored green by oxidation of patina, bronze monuments and statues like Sedgwick's now sport their original polished look, giving the battlefield a welcome luster not seen since the turn of the century.

Source: Author



Figure 6.17: Endangered Earthworks.

These earthworks along South Hancock Avenue are one of twenty still extant at Gettysburg, but most of the others are not as visible because of time and erosion. The last efforts to reconstruct earthworks in the park occurred in the 1930s. Presently, park interpreters try to conserve these delicate resources by not drawing public attention to them.

Source: Author



Figure 6.18: The Codori-Trostle Farm Lane.

This new farm lane, constructed in 2000, replicates a lane present at the time of the battle. Recent Park research efforts have helped to restore fencing, fields, orchards, and other authentic features of the 1863 battlefield that have long been destroyed and forgotten but played pivotal roles in how the fighting action occurred at Gettysburg.

Source: Author



Figure 6.19: New Waysides.

Visitors reading the 1st Minnesota wayside exhibit are informed correctly that eight companies stopped two Confederate brigades in the woods ahead against overwhelming odds, but no mention of the long-believed myth that the entire unit sustained 82 percent losses. Recent research by Park staff have corrected many myths and lore about the battle and this is reflected in the new waysides, better guiding, and revised programs at Gettysburg.

Source: Author



Figure 6.20: The GNMP Monument Policy.

Over 34,000 names of Pennsylvania soldiers who fought at Gettysburg are listed on bronze plaques around the Pennsylvania Monument, but at least 395 Pennsylvania soldiers are not listed. The NPS occasionally added soldiers to the list until recent Park research revealed veterans purposely left soldiers off the list who performed poorly or cowardly at any time during the entire war. Now, the NPS presently refrains from making any changes to monuments placed by veterans and discourages new monuments because the veterans are no longer living to give their approval.

Source: Author



Figure 6.21: Pausing at the Angle.

Guides with bus groups often pause at the High Water Mark and Angle, but rarely get their groups out like they did prior to the new chronological tour route. Guides who find themselves rushing through Day Three of the battle attribute their situation to the Angle now coming at the end of the tour route (rather than the beginning) and to Chamberlain's popularity. Little Round Top overshadows the Angle now that more visitors demand more time on the hill, leaving less time for the remainder of the tour.

Source: Author



Figure 6.22: No Powerlines Along Emmitsburg Road.

The view from the Angle is much improved since the Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg completed removal of the last utility pole along Emmitsburg Road in 1999.

Visitors can now see an unobstructed view to Seminary Ridge more in keeping with the authentic viewshed of 1863. Note that Webb Avenue is gone and visitors must walk to the wall. The NPS removed the avenue in 1991, making it the latest of 16 roads removed in park history.

Source: Author

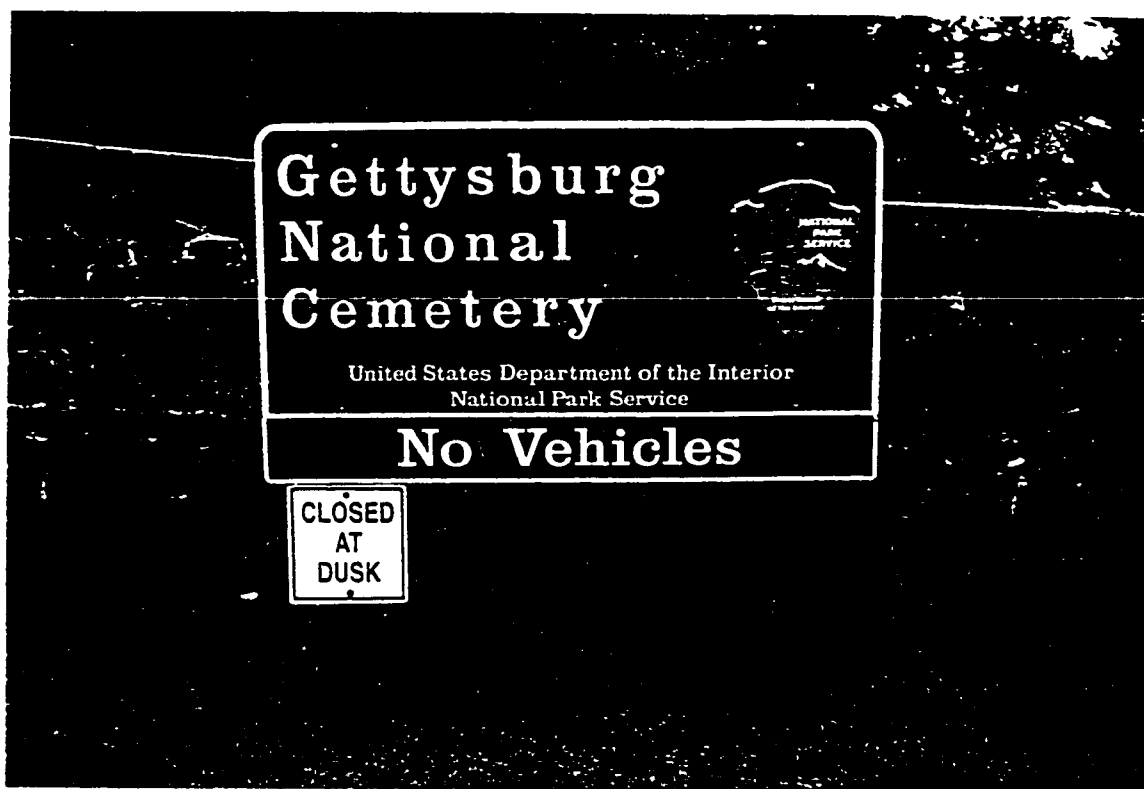


Figure 6.23: Walking to the Cemetery.

The NPS closed the Soldiers' National Cemetery to vehicular traffic in 1989 to eliminate noise, congestion, and pollution and return the cemetery to its original atmosphere of serenity and solitude when William Saunders designed it. Statistically, cemetery visitation has dropped as a result, but the site continues to appear thronged with walkers on summer days.

Source: Author

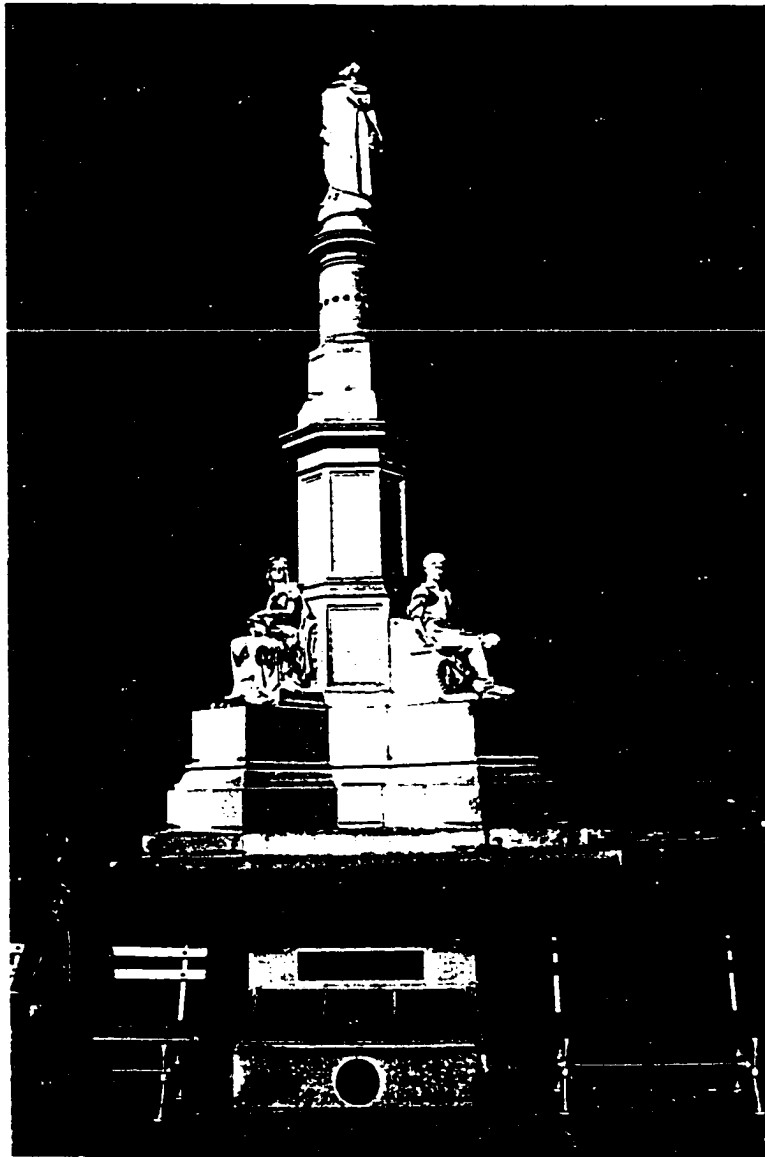


Figure 6.24: Where Did Lincoln Speak?

Guides today inform the public that Lincoln delivered his address in nearby Evergreen Cemetery, not on the long-believed site of the Soldiers' National Monument. The 1975 Kentucky Memorial (foreground) was the last marker to claim Lincoln spoke here.

Source: Author

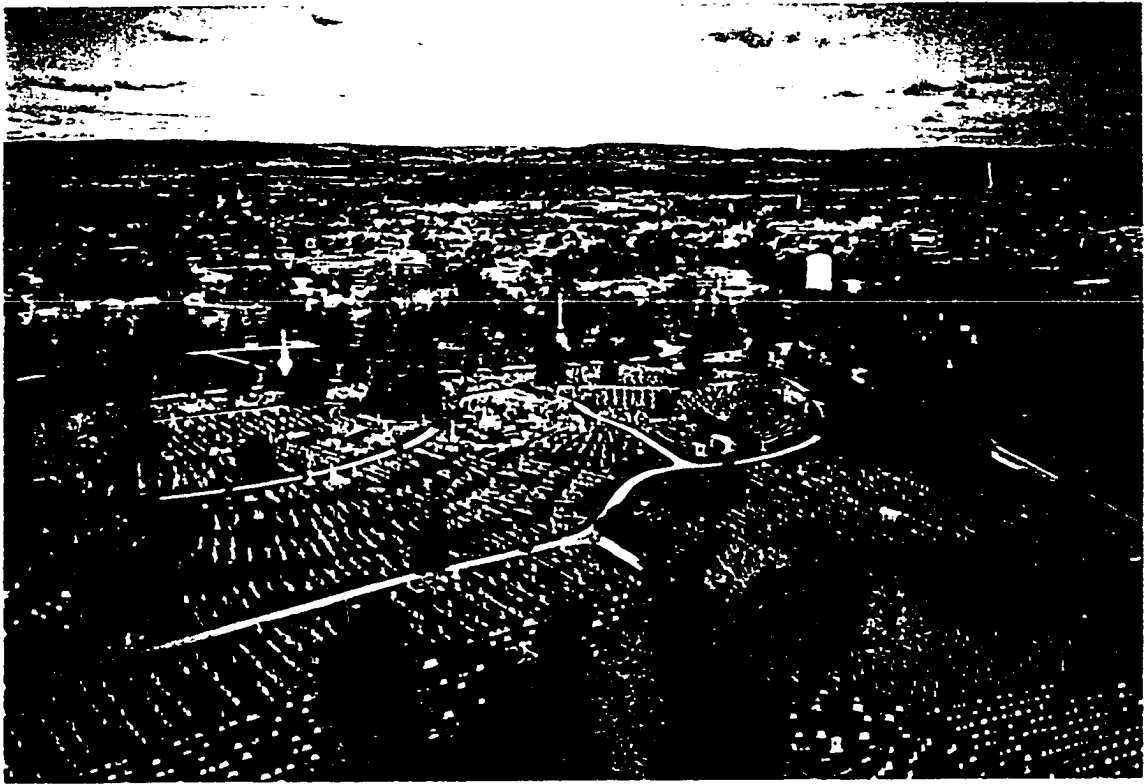


Figure 6.25: The Lost View.

As the Tower fell, so went the majestic view visitors enjoyed from 300 feet above the battlefield. No other lookout before or since allowed tourists to see the entire battlefield as the Tower did. Aside from the Electric Map, this was the best tool for orienting visitors to the battlefield. School field trips to Gettysburg invariably included a stop at the tower. But the hokey music blaring made the tower a noise nuisance to cemetery visitors and media publicity overwhelmingly portrayed it as the symbol of commercialism tainting Gettysburg, thereby necessitating its removal.

Source: Author

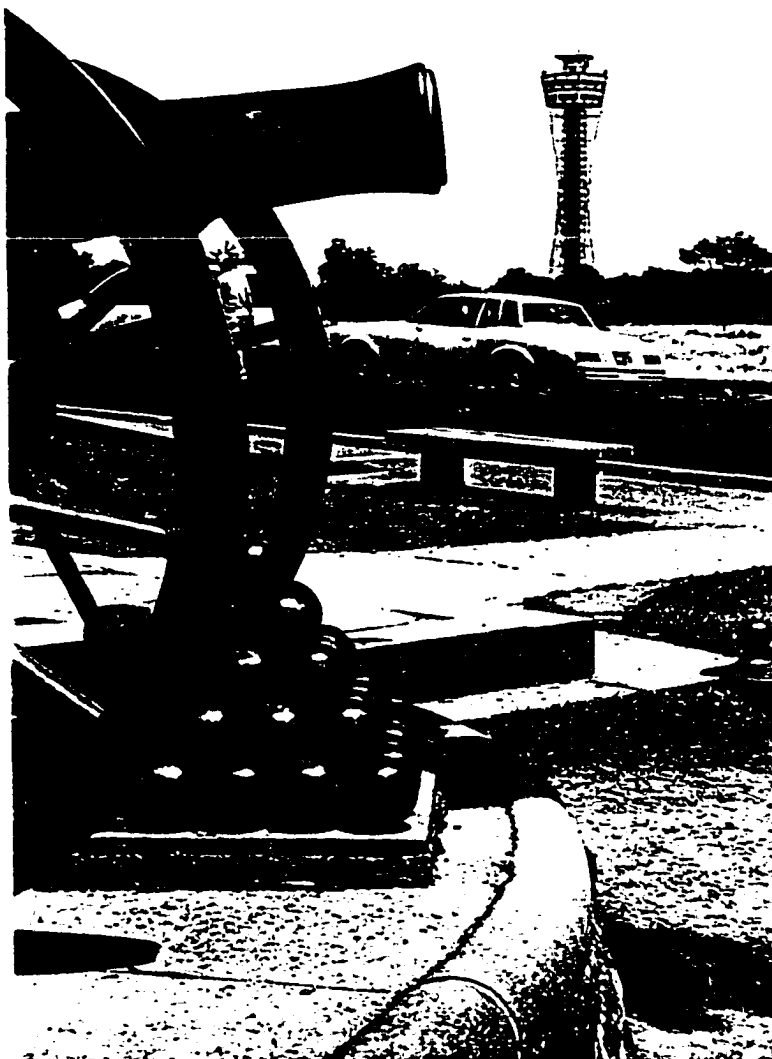


Figure 6.26: The Symbol of Commercialism and Profanity.

Popular media photographs of the tower involved juxtaposing it with a monument to show it as profane, or picturing the tower with a cannon aimed at it to send the message that preservationists and battlefield supporters wanted it gone.

Source: Author

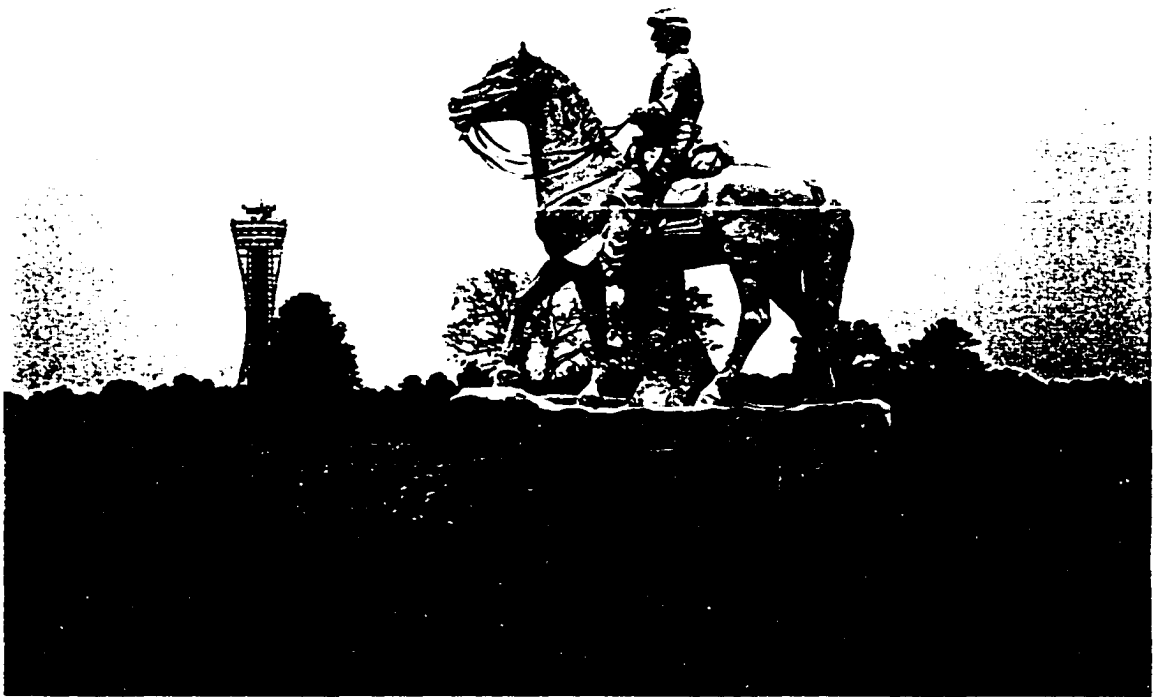


Figure 6.27: The Tower As Seen From the Roadside.

This view was taken standing in front of the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry monument to represent what visitors to the monument see from the nearby roadside. The relative size of the tower in the photograph accurately represents the magnitude of the tower's intrusiveness.

Source: Author



Figure 6.28: Exaggerating the Tower's Intrusiveness.

By zooming-in on the 8th PA Cavalry from 300 yards away, the intrusiveness of the Tower is exaggerated. Media photographs employed this technique to sensationalize the Tower's impact as the grossest obscenity on our nation's greatest battlefield. This contributed to its use as the symbol of commercial threatens to American historic sites.

Source: Author

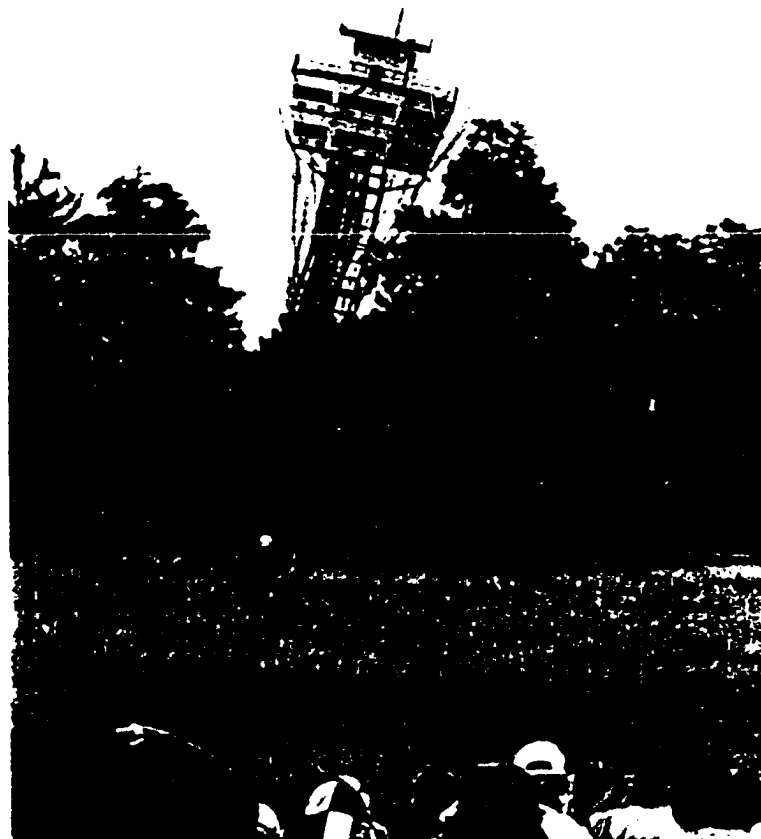


Figure 6.29: Down Came the Tower, 2000.

The tower was demolished at 5:03 p.m. on 3 July 2000 as the capstone to the battle anniversary ceremonies. It fell within 4 seconds of detonation, almost directly on top of itself. Caught up in the excitement of the explosion, most of the crowd cheered, but many locals afterward felt shock, disbelief and sadness over the tower's destruction.

NPS staff and tower opponents felt relief and hope that with the tower's removal

Gettysburg could rid itself of its commercial stigma.

Source: Author

Notes

¹ In conversation with Kenneth Rohrbaugh, Manager of Gettysburg Tour Center Incorporated (GTC) on 15 July 1999.

² Read "The Second Battle of Gettysburg," U.S. News & World Report, 71 (18 October 1971): 66-67.

³ Equally responsible for the improvement in historical accuracy at Gettysburg is the literature on the battle available to the public. According to longtime Ranger Becky Lyons, "the histories of the battle in the '50s and '60s, and even into the '70s, were notorious for lack of footnotes and often told the legends and myths that modern histories have corrected or ignored" (Interview with Lyons, 4 May 2000).

⁴ Visitors to Gettysburg on average stay approximately 2-3 hours at the Park.

⁵ Historian Gabor Boritt also debunks the shoe story as myth (see Toplin 1996, 90).

⁶ According to Scott Hartwig, "Guide Supervisor John Andrews did more for interpretation here at the Park [because] he professionalized the guides. Guides are also more informed, in large part, because of the literature today. Soldiers papers were not available until the 1970s, and the extensive research and books did not begin to proliferate until the 1980s" (2000).

⁷ The second spot Charlie Kingston is referring to is the Codori-Trostle Thicket.

⁸ The casualties for July 1 rank it 12th among Civil War battles. See Graham & Skoch (n.d.).

⁹ See Scott's article on Pender's Division at Gettysburg in High Water Mark: Programs of the Seventh Annual Gettysburg Seminar (1999, 37-60)

¹⁰ NPS personnel began questioning the correct paint formula in the early 1960s. Artillery carriages at Civil War parks ranged in color from black, brown, olive green, to grayish blue. About 1968, NPS Chief Curator Harold Peterson transmitted the written paint formula found in Instructions for Field Artillery (1860) to all Civil War park staffs. Scant evidence fails to indicate all involved who incorrectly reproduced the written paint formula into a brownish French ocher color, but NPS Maintenance Superintendent Emmet Nichols received Peterson's approval for his "mix" of "one part Sherwin-Williams 'Evergreen' to two parts 'Oak'" (Nichols 1968). Whether or not Nichols' incorrect formula was disseminated to several park staffs, and used, is uncertain because many park staffs concurrently attempted to reproduce the manual formula. Confusion and disparity in the final paint formula resulted. In 1980, Dennis Kelly of Stones River National Battlefield Park alerted GNMP's Chief Historian of the "absurdly inconsistent" pattern that half of NPS Civil War parks had green cannon carriages and the other half had brown (In conversations with Bert Barnett and John Heiser).

¹¹ The Bliss Farm orchard is comprised of crab apple trees. According to Bert Frost, 1863 orchards were dominantly apple, peach, or cherry, but these kinds of trees require high intensity care so the Park substituted crab apple because it gives the same appearance.

¹² I observed that the most photographed subjects on the battlefield by tourists include (#1) the vista from Little Round Top, (#2) Virginia State Monument (because of Lee and the equestrian statue), (#3) the Pennsylvania Monument (because it is the largest monument), (#4) the Peace Light (because of the unique flame), and (#5) the High Water Mark monument / Copse of Trees (because of Pickett's Charge fame).

¹³ Not since the 1870s did the "Lee-Longstreet Controversy" in the Southern Historical Society Papers draw national attention to Longstreet's disapproval of Lee's tactics at Gettysburg, but Longstreet's public notoriety began to fade by the early 1900s as discussions over the controversy ceased to appear in major city newspapers (Piston 1987).

14 There are several examples in the movie where Lee appears irrational and egotistical in ordering Pickett's Charge while Longstreet appears to sagely perceive the outcome of such an attack. In a scene for the evening of July 2nd, Longstreet's character suggests the Confederate army reposition itself and Lee's character says in response, "If we retreat now we will have fought here for two days and will leave knowing we could not drive him off, and I have never yet left the enemy in command of the field, no sir ... we will prevail!" This is followed shortly by a scene for the morning of July 3rd, where Longstreet's character makes it clear to Lee, "Sir, I believe this attack will fail -- no 15,000 men ever made can take that ridge -- it's a distance of more than a mile over open ground!" Contrasting the characters' roles provides audiences with clarity for understanding, but it obscures the actual confusion, complexity, and subtlety of the situation that presented dilemmas faced by commanders in battle. Battle decisions were tough rather than easy, consequences uncertain rather than obvious.

15 Guide John Fuss believes Lee never intended Stuart's Cavalry to pinch from behind, rather he just wanted Stuart to attack to create a diversion.

16 See Cooksey's article, "The Plan for Pickett's Charge," Gettysburg Magazine (22: 66-79).

17 The videos for sale at the Park do not come with warning labels stating inaccuracies, exaggerations, or details left out of its telling of the battle. Instead, the only clarification about the movie's historical accuracy available in the Park bookstore is Scott Hartwig's paperback titled A Killer Angels Companion (1996). It examines Shaara's Killer Angels (upon which the movie is based) to distinguish the novel's fictional parts from its compliance with battle records. Note: Scott's book ranks as 21 in sales among Park bookstore items (in conversation with Brion FitzGerald, GNMPL, 2 June 2000).

18 Other contributing factors to Lee's decline from diety-status include the one-waying of Confederate Avenue for the new Auto Tour. This has left Lee and the Virginia Monument in the shadow of the North Carolina monument. Now that the North Carolina Monument is encountered first, and guides use it as a regular fieldstop to mention to Pickett's Charge, guides spend less time discussing Lee and the Virginia Monument. Also, visitors who bother to stop at the Virginia monument find that the audio-station at the point of woods is no longer in operation. And within scholarly circles, Thomas Connelly critiqued Lee's "marble image" as the flawless and genius general (1977).

19 The last significant national publicity concerning Longstreet occurred in 1941 when the Park and the Longstreet Memorial Association (LMA) dedicated a site on the battlefield to be monumented with an equestrian statue to the general as part of the annual battle anniversary festivities that year. But for uncertain reasons, the LMA failed to raise sufficient funds for the monument (see GNMPL Vertical files 17-48 "Proposed Longstreet Monument").

20 Previous Superintendent McConaghie and park historians Louis King and Fred Tilberg had questioned the authenticity of the structure, but they never found the necessary evidence. Georg's research unearthed important newspaper accounts contradicting the shack's supposed origin as the original Pitzer Schoolhouse used by Longstreet during the battle (Georg 1981, 27; Gettysburg Times 24 March 1987).

21 See Louis King's report on the Warfield Property in GNMPL vertical files (1936). Samuel Swope acquired the property in 1930 from John D. Rosensteel. According to the deed of transfer, the property had undergone 5 previous sales. While Rosensteel's affiliation with relic collecting makes him a likely suspect for relocating and identifying the shack as Longstreet's Headquarters, there is no available evidence to yet support this notion and research is needed on the histories of the previous property owners.

22 The Park removed Stuckey's and Twin Kiss in 1974 and Battlefield Motel in 1976.

23 Guides traditionally consider South Confederate Avenue a “dead” stretch on their tour because there is so little to see and that makes it difficult for them to interpret the battle. As guide Don Walters points out, “Good touring is about having your visitors see what it is you are talking about and if they can’t see it, then they won’t remember it.” Also, South Confederate remains the nature drive of the Park, but past motorists who frequently drove this stretch to see deer in the woods have ceased because recent deer kills under the Park Deer Management Plan have eliminated this aspect of the drive.

24 An excellent oversize Tipton photograph showing the openness of Robertson’s approach from Big Round Top is found in Susan Boardman’s private collection.

25 Prior to Latschar’s arrival in 1994, Park staff struggled and disagreed over what constituted a key landscape feature to the battle and what should be the focus of continued preservation or restoration efforts. Latschar introduced KOCOA because of his combat experience in Vietnam and his instruction of military tactics for five years while a Lieutenant Colonel in the National Guard Reserves. Dr. John A. Latschar (1947-) may be the first combat-veteran to be superintendent of the Park since Commissioner Emmor Cope, and the first to hold a Ph.D. in history (Rutgers 1978) since James Coleman.

26 Under Superintendent Latschar’s leadership, Park historians Winona Peterson, Scott Hartwig, Kathy Harrison, Curt Musselman, and Eric Campbell have documented the history of KOCOA features at GNMP under different management by creating the following maps: 1863, 1895 (for the GBMA management from 1864-1895), 1927 (for the War Department management from 1895-1933), and 1993. Historian and cartographer Curt Musselman physically created all the maps, but particular historians deserve credit for researching each map, namely Winona Peterson for the 1863 map, Scott Hartwig for the 1895 map, Kathy Harrison for the 1927 map, and Curt Musselman for the 1993 map. Historian Eric Campbell authored much of the text accompanying this research for the GMP. This research serves as the basis for a new General Management Plan (GMP) for the Park.

27 The congestion at Little Round Top has grown so much in recent years from Chamberlain’s popularity that Ranger Clyde Bell, who supervises the guides and the bus tours they give, has attempted to relieve the traffic problem through bus scheduling. He informed me that for the last several seasons “we have now limited [guided] buses to allowing seven depart every half hour just so there isn’t so much congestion at the popular sites, particularly Little Round Top” (1999).

28 Professor Pullen’s history is recognized and used by historians as the first superb example of how regimental histories should be written, and this fame alerted Shaara (a professor of literature) to the book (Peterson 1994; Desjardin 1995, 161).

29 Colonel Vincent (to whom the first memorial marker was placed on Little Round Top) deserves much credit because he took the initiative to rush and place his brigade without direct orders. In addition, his brigade included the 20th Maine and his “good judgment” in deploying all his regiments (including Chamberlain’s) played a crucial role in the successful defense of Little Round Top (Hartwig 1996, 18). Furthermore, Vincent courageously rallied men of the 16th Michigan to hold the right flank of the Union line on Little Round Top which was crumbling under Confederate attack. The line held under his leadership, but he died in the fight.

30 The Park’s Official Guide & Map mentions only Warren in its description of the fight at Little Round Top. In addition, guides with tour groups concentrate most often at Warren’s statue when visiting Little Round Top, and the statue also serves as the site for Park Rangers conducting summer interpretive programs on the fight at Little Round Top.

31 In 1997, members of the guide force helped to clear willows (*Salix*) and other woody vegetation from Plum Run. The following year, the Park contracted with Pennington Tree Company to conduct widespread clearing. And in 1999, Park Maintenance removed brush from Houck Ridge, Devil's Den, the Slaughter Pen, and a triangular area around Plum Run at the base of Big Round Top. Maintaining vegetation control for Little Round Top "is a continual job" according to Park Maintenance Chief Dave Drier and Natural Resource Specialist Bert Frost (1999). At the time of clearing in 1998, the two biggest species obstructing the viewshed from Little Round Top were alanthis (or Tree O' Heaven) and sumac. Because the roots of these species can resprout quickly, Park maintenance have sprayed herbicide in 1999 and again in 2000. Sumac is native but alanthis is a recent exotic that has invaded the Park aggressively and is hard to kill. Its resistance, density, and rapid regrowth leads Bert Frost to think the Park will never be rid of it and that annual spraying will be necessary to control it. Worse, in the absence of these species, new aggressive invaders take their place before grass and other native plants can take hold and reestablish the 1863-look of Little Round Top's west slope. For example, the Park is also "spot treating" Japanese Honeysuckle that has popped up quickly and aggressively this year because it forms a thick mat cover that prevents grass growth (Frost 2000). The job is never ending.

32 Regular clearing efforts of Little Round Top stem from the mid-1970s, when the Park ran a summer youth camp called the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), similar to the black CCC camps here in the 1930s. The youth were put to work on various maintenance projects including partial clearing of Little Round Top in 1976. Beginning in 1979, the Park introduced cattle on this part of the battlefield and that lasted throughout the 1980s. The Park placed non-historic fencing along Wheatfield Road and Warren Avenue and cattle guards at either end of Crawford Avenue to keep the cattle between Houck Ridge and Little Round Top. Unfortunately, the cattle did not scale Little Round Top's slope and keep it clear. Instead, the animals kept to the Valley of Death, allowing sumac and other aggressive, thick plants to recover quickly and obscure the hill's historic appearance. After the cattle were removed, willows (*salix*) returned to the Valley of Death and grew rapidly along its banks. Not until 1997 has the Park annually kept Little Round Top clear of intrusive vegetation.

33 In 1998, Alanthis (or Tree O' Heaven) and Sumac obstructed the viewshed from Little Round Top. Their roots resprout quickly so Park maintenance sprayed herbicide in 1999 and again in 2000. Sumac is native but Alanthis is a recent exotic that has invaded the Park aggressively and is hard to kill. Its resistance, density, and rapid regrowth leads Bert Frost to think annual spraying will be necessary to control it. Worse, in the absence of these species, new aggressive invaders take their place before grass and other native plants can take hold and reestablish the 1863-look of Little Round Top's west slope. For example, the Park is "spot treating" Japanese Honeysuckle that has popped up quickly in 2000 because it forms a thick mat cover that prevents grass growth (Frost 2000).

34 Redbud, dogwood, deer, and other flora and fauna continue to attract locals to take leisurely weekend drives through this part of the Park. This trend for enjoying nature is deep-rooted, going back to the 1930s when Park officials began publicly announcing peak-blossom foliage on the battlefield every spring for weekend visitors. Even GNMP officials (under NPS directives) designated Little Round Top as part of an Environmental Study Area in the 1970s, which made clearing efforts appear contradictory to Park conservation goals.

35 The quote comes from a letter by Superintendent Earnst endorsing the proposed study for Eastern National Parks funds, in which he writes: "For many years, there has been recurring speculation that the original appearance of these birds was a direct outgrowth of the battle's carnage" (Earnst 1982).

36 On separate occasions, a longtime local resident and a GNMP Ranger who remembered the days of the vulture story both told me in confidence that Colonel "Met" Sheads promoted the story, and likely invented it. The local resident recalled hearing the vultures story as a child on school trips to the Park in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

37 Park plans in 1982 to restore the "historic vegetative scene" to Little Round Top and Devil's Den and change traffic flow in the area prompted the study because officials needed to assess the impacts of these proposed changes on vulture roosting habits before proceeding (See 1982 General Management Plan for details of the proposed plan). John Heiser recalled that Hal Greenlee himself probably contacted Penn State (In conversation, 29 June 2000).

38 According to the report, earliest documentation of vultures at Gettysburg is from 1890s.

39 John Heiser was quoted in the Hartford Courant explaining how the vultures would have likely fed off of horse carcasses, not dead soldiers. At the time, John was an Assistant Research Historian at the Park. Park research historians at the time were few and had less contact with guides and interpretive rangers to dispel exaggerations and myths like the vultures story.

40 Despite its flaws, the vulture myth had merit. First, the story instilled in children how dying in battle is not all glory. Guides found young children had difficulty comprehending that 8,000 men and 5,000 horses were killed during the battle. In addition, describing dead scattered over the field did not necessarily convey the ugliness of war because the dead were most often interpreted as heroes in the context of other interpretive programs and stories at the Park. But the notion of vultures preying upon dead removed any romanticism attributed to war and helped children understand its gruesome outcome irregardless of heroism. On the eve of the Penn State study in 1982, NPS Regional Director James Coleman recognized the importance of the vultures story to Gettysburg irregardless of truth by writing, "how vividly they convey the true horror of war" (Coleman 1982).

41 The Wheatfield, Peach Orchard, and Culp's Hill are the most likely segments cut from the tour.

42 Major funding for monument care has come from the Pennsylvania State Legislature and the Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg (FNPG). FNPG deserves special note. Formed in 1989, it is a non-profit, private organization dedicated to preserving the battlefield through funding raising efforts to pay for Park desired projects. To date, it has raised millions of dollars over the last ten years for monument care alone. The FNPG also raises funds to purchase land easements on private lands adjacent to the Park to protect the historic vistas from potential commercial or suburban development. Other FNPG-sponsored or assisted projects at GNMP include the Rare-Book project and construction of the new Temporary Archives Storage Facility.

43 According to Dave Drier, 84 cannon have been restored as of July 2000 (Drier 2000).

44 At the end of Sedgwick Avenue, some guides point out the New Jersey monument to show where Chamberlain's 20th Maine regiment fought on the Third Day of the battle. They never pointed this out until the movie Gettysburg had viewers believe Chamberlain and his men helped repulse Pickett's Charge at the the Angle on the Third Day. The 12th New Jersey is situated in the woods and a far cry from the fields of Pickett's Charge. This is another let down for Chamberlain fans who wanted to see where their hero fought at the Angle.

45 The earthworks are as crucial interpretively as cannon and monuments because they mark the lines of battle for the visitor. Tragically, the fact that two-thirds are no longer visible from the Auto Tour Route, coupled with the absence of publicized concern for saving these threatened remains, means that most visitors are unaware of what they are missing and how serious these battle remnants are endangered.

46 The NPS frequently describe authentic remnants of battle as "direct links to the past" in reference to the historical and spiritual connection it gives visitors.

47 Documentation on earthworks is indeed sparse. Very few photographs taken by Brady, Tipton, or other photographers shortly after the battle reveal earthworks besides those constructed at Culp's Hill and Little Round Top. In addition, no written records exist as to the exact size, length, and material of each earthwork at the time of battle, except perhaps in soldier accounts but that will require exhaustive research to uncover such scant information.

48 Unlike the earthworks, some of the stonewalls have been periodically rebuilt by park personnel or volunteer groups. In the spring of 1984, Boy Scout Troop 78 repiled many of the fallen rocks from the farmwall at the Angle over which Armistead charged with 200 men on the Third Day. One of the boys in the troop organized this work as part of his eagle scout project. Looking back, I was fortunate to be among the boy scouts participating in this project. At the time, however, I never realized the significance of having had a hand in reconstructing the wall at the Angle.

49 Companies C, F, and L of the First Minnesota did not participate in the charge of the Second Day. The entire force of the regiment at Gettysburg numbered about 330.

50 The quote comes from the previous wayside titled "Regiment with a Reputation" which boldly proclaimed the regiment's loss of 82%.

51 In 1882, Major McGinnis of the First Minnesota published the casualty figures from the Second Day's charge as 205 out of 252 in the Washington Sunday Herald. He titled his account as "The Most Gallant Charge of the War," which represented what many men in the regiment already believed. But despite McGinnis' account, it is Lochren's 1889 history of the regiment that is repeatedly cited as the authoritative record and sets forth the casualty ratios of 215 out of 262 that later authors, buffs, filmmakers, and historians remember best.

52 The Electric Map program highlighted the First Minnesota charge for losing 82 percent until being revised in the 1980s.

53 See John Q. Imholte's The First Volunteers (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1963): 113-121.

54 Scott Hartwig prefers guides and rangers to tell visitors "that the First Minnesota experienced among the highest casualties of any regiment" and serves as an example of the extreme sacrifice by other regiments (11 March 2000).

55 John Busey and David Martin's recent book, Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg (1994), ranks the First Minnesota's total losses below that of 10 Union regiments and 6 Confederate regiments, all of whom suffered greater than 70 per cent casualties during the battle (262, 298). If we are to compare the sacrifice of companies at Gettysburg, Company A of the 11th Mississippi regiment (nicknamed "The University Grays") and Company F of the 6th North Carolina regiment both suffered 100 per cent casualties in Pickett's Charge. In comparison, several of the eight Minnesota companies were annihilated hard, but none were entirely destroyed.

56 The Delaware State Memorial and the 11th Mississippi were dedicated in April and July of 2000. Plans for these monuments originated before the Park established its no-monument policy and they are to be the last monuments dedicated at GNMP.

- 57 Approximately 60 names on the Pennsylvania Memorial have been corrected for misspelling.
- 58 The majority of names added or corrected occurred in the last 30 years as Park historians dug into the original muster rolls found in the National Archives (In conversation with Kathy Harrison).
- 59 The Auto Tour to Culp's Hill rejoins at the Pennsylvania monument, leaving little left for the Third Day as well. Most guides do not take visitors on the Culp's Hill segment of the tour because they cannot seem to fit it into their two hours, and visitors following the self guided auto tour route frequently skip Culp's Hill as well because they feel they have already spent enough time touring the Park and want to get to the Angle.
- 60 Webb Avenue is the most recent of 16 battlefield roads removed in Park history.
- 61 The Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg (FNPG) made the utility pole removal possible through a ten year effort of fundraising and garnering assistance from the NPS, the PA State government, and the local utility companies. Their goal was to restore the Emmitsburg Road and the view from the Angle as close to 1863 as possible, and burying the power lines seemed the best preservation project for achieving that goal. All total, 135 utility poles were removed and the power lines placed underground for the entire two-mile stretch of Emmitsburg Road that runs through the Park. Presently, the FNPG is working to remove the utility poles and bury the wires along the Mummasburg Road stretch that traverses the First Day's battlegrounds (FNPG Newsletter, Summer 1999, 6).
- 62 From the Cyclorama parking lot, listeners can catch sight of the Lincoln Speech Memorial in the cemetery. Guides point this out while discussing Lincoln's dedication to end the tour.
- 63 Fewer people now enter the cemetery as compared to 10 years ago, but the decline in visitation is limited to those who dislike the inconvenience of having to walk.
- 64 As guide William Frassanito recalled, it remained "commonly believed [in the early 1970s] that the Soldiers' National Monument had been placed at the site of the 1863 speakers' stand" (Frassanito 1995, 163-164).
- 65 Thomas and Kathy Harrison suggest the Brown Vault occupies the spot (which Garry Wills publicized in his 1992 Pulitzer-prize winning book), Frampton and Cole suggest the platform was situated near a small obelisk gravestone, and Frassanito argues that the stand was positioned over the present graves of Israel Yount (died 1892), John Koch (died 1913), and George E. Kitzmiller (died 1874). These proposed sites are within 30 yards of each other.
- 66 Critics of recent Park efforts to remove post-battle trees, commercial properties, and other non-1863 structures argue this kind of preservation is hypocritical of the NPS.
- 67 See the present GNMP General Management Plan (1999).
- 68 Tower owner Thomas Ottenstein conjured the nickname in reference to the interpretive tape, photographs, signs, and exhibit displays in the tower capsule, but in actuality, only 20% of all visitors followed the tower program. I base this estimate on visits over 20 years. For most visitors, the view from the top served as "the classroom in the sky" more so than the other devices. The view instilled in visitors the vastness of the battlefield and the relative location of popular battle sites.
- 69 The NPS has engaged in arguing against the merits of the tower's usefulness, claiming it was no classroom in the sky and that it was structurally unstable, but these are arguments do not reflect the prime reason for NPS efforts to demolish the tower.

70 In the last 30 years, nothing captivated the public mind about Gettysburg more than the tower, save perhaps the movie and Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. But the tower's impact on visitor perceptions has had longer, if not more powerful, effect. Also note that Gettysburg photographs in newspapers and magazines over the last 30 years featured the Peace Light or Pennsylvania monuments nearly as much as the tower.

71 Articles featuring tower photographs ranged in breadth from battlegrounds of different wars to sites unrelated to battle themes. In fact, the historical theme of the sacred site in question had no bearing on the appearance of a tower photograph. Only commercialism-as-a-threat served as the common link in all articles with tower photographs.

72 Newspaper headlines and captions of tower demolition heralded the destruction, further cementing the image of the tower as intrusive commercialism.

73 Local press was not always supportive. It attacked the tower during its planning and construction in the 1970s because local homeowners and residents feared it would be a visual blight.

74 Those in favor of the demolition were outsiders, those against were local. Nowhere is this pattern more evident than in the letters-to-the-editor column of the Gettysburg Times during the spring and summer of 2000.

75 Include mention of the interpretive shift at Gettysburg toward more human interest stories emphasizing soldiers and civilians and away from generals and tactics. Similarly, mention the shift toward greater context for the battle (slavery, causes, the effects of war). These shifts are reflected in guide stories, campfire programs, student education programs, and living history programs at the Park.

76 Interpretation of the Third Day, by waysides and guides, is split between West Confederate Avenue and the Angle.

77 Guides tell me the new Chronological tour route demands they go through Lincoln Square or some part of downtown Gettysburg at least once more than before. In the summer, the traffic in Gettysburg (population 8,000) is horrendous and this eats up time. Guides with buses must go through the square three times before getting to the "Second Day" because they have to allow for a rest stop after seeing the First Day's battlegrounds. Two hours is nearly up by the time they leave Little Round Top. This contributes to Culp's Hill being sacrificed from most tours.

78 Little Round Top receives the greatest concentration of traffic by far, followed by the North Carolina monument and the High Water Mark area. Visitor traffic at the latter two sites is composed differently. There are slightly fewer visitor vehicles at North Carolina, but the tour buses always stop there. Conversely, fewer bus groups get out at the Angle, but the amount of visitor cars are greater. The Peace Light is the next most visited site, followed by the Pennsylvania Monument, Devil's Den, and Lee's statue.

79 Interestingly, a different phenomenon occurred on the local level. Local news publicized Park efforts to acquire private lands and demolish commercial structures, but recognition of more NPS protected lands and improvement to visitor viewsheds has been overshadowed by resident attitudes frustrated by the loss of these properties and businesses.

80 Author Gerald Bennett's words reflect the notion that the integrity of Gettysburg as a battlefield is being restored. I selected the chapter title for this reason.

Chapter Seven

The Battlefields of Gettysburg

*...there will never be a final consensus concerning what the ultimate
'historic landscape' of the Pickett's Charge field should look like.*

- Dr. John Latschar, GNMP Superintendent (1995)

Gettysburg is left with many relics of features and interpretations still extant that remind us of what previous groups and generations saw and learned, what they struggled over, and how they remembered the battle. These cultural relics are the very remnants of Gettysburg's past battlefields. In addition, reflecting on these past battlefields collectively reveals several lessons of memory about Gettysburg. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to discuss these lessons through the relics at Gettysburg that serve as their reminders.

The Process of Memory at Gettysburg

The telling of the battle story at Gettysburg has evolved through the following stages of remembrance: division, memorialization, reconciliation, promotion, and restoration.¹ This process is manifested in the battlefield landscape today.

Division (1863-1883) primarily involved local and Federal efforts to vindicate the victors through sanctifying their dead and preserving their ruins on the battlefield.

This is evidenced by the rows of Union graves in the Soldiers' National Cemetery and the mostly Union earthworks and stone walls left in the Park. Memorialization (1884-1904) chiefly involved northern efforts at Gettysburg to commemorate the heroics and righteousness of the victors for posterity and Federal efforts to make the field accessible for military study. The more than 400 Union regimental monuments and the War Department's design of avenues and towers on the field today speak to this era. Reconciliation (1905-1940) involved national and Federal efforts at Gettysburg to make peace between the victors and the defeated. This included welcoming Southern efforts to share their side of the story and providing a comprehensive overview of the battle to the public.² I am most reminded of this shift in memory through the Confederate monuments along West Confederate Avenue, through veterans' reunion memorabilia on display in the Park museum, and through the Electric Map program still operating in the Visitor Center. Promotion (1941-1970) involved Federal and local efforts to celebrate the battle story to the public through glorifying the courage of both sides and focusing on the climactic events of the story. Interpretive and commercial mediums greatly aided in this endeavor. This shift in memory is manifested in the Cyclorama program at the Pickett's Charge area and the few audio tape stations still operating in the Park. Finally, restoration (1971-2000) has involved national and Park efforts to return the field to 1863, correct myths, reenact the human drama, and provide greater historical context on the battle for the sake of authenticity. This is most evident through tree clearing at Little Round Top, ranger and guide interpretation, living history programs, and literature and film available in the Park bookstore.

Indeed, one only needs to look carefully at any given place on the battlefield to find relics to these stages of memory. East Cemetery Hill is one such place (Figure 7.1). Its union artillery lunettes remain the best preserved in the Park, reflecting early GBMA efforts to reconstruct Union earthworks in honor of the patriotic dead buried in the national cemetery. The concentration of monuments to the 4th Ohio, General Hancock, Rickett's Battery, and other Union regiments stem from the memorial era. An outgrowth of reconciliation is the fact that visitors on battle walks to this part of the field learn as much about the Confederate forces nearly taking the hill as they do of the Union forces defending it on 2 July 1863. An old Mission '66 wayside near General Howard's statue reflects NPS efforts to promote the battle story to the public through more attractive and easy-to-read waysides. Moreover, cannon carriages in the lunettes repainted Civil War-era green are evidence of recent efforts to restore the battlefield to its authentic appearance.

The relics of recurring themes in the battlefield also reveal this process of shifts in public memory about Gettysburg. Stories and myths, tour patterns, visitor interests, commemorative events, and popular heroes, for example, have evolved through the same stages of remembrance. More importantly, the ways each theme has been displayed differently to reflect or constitute this process reveals three lessons about the interplay between the battlefield landscape and public memory: (1) stories, tour patterns, interpretive programs, and management themes at Gettysburg have done more to promote new public memory about the battle; (2) conversely, visitor interests, commemorative events, key battlegrounds, and popular heroes at Gettysburg have mostly

reflected existing public memory about the battle; and (3) the Park and public memory have struggled the most over landscape preservation, monumenting the battlefield, and fiction about Gettysburg. A look at the relics of these themes left on the battlefield today reminds us of these lessons.

The Gettysburg Battlefield as a force in Memory

Occasionally elderly visitors at Gettysburg remember drinking at Spangler's Spring and the myth of Union and Confederate soldiers sharing its waters during a lull in the battle. They learned the story as children while visiting the battlefield years ago and occasionally ask about it when they pass by the spring on guided tours. This is a relic of the era of veterans' reunions and reconciliation when stories emerged about battle-examples of peace and compassion between the soldiers of both sides to emphasize their shared American heritage and help reunify the country. Its lingering presence among visitors today is a reflection of the power and endurance of stories and myths that originated or became popular at Gettysburg. Memories of other Gettysburg lore that still linger are evident in visitor questions about the "Sharpshooter at Devil's Den," "Where Lincoln Spoke in the National Cemetery," "How the Battle Started Over Shoes," "Turkey Vultures," and the "Horse-Hoofs." Although not all of these myths originated at Gettysburg, it is through Gettysburg's earlier guides and interpreters these battle legends were substantiated, reinforced, and popularized to millions of visitors over the years. This is not a criticism; rather, it is precisely the attractive stories told by guides, whether fictional or true, that have greatly enhanced the battle's popularity and allure. Moreover, lore often helped to instill important

lessons about the battle. The shoe story left visitors understanding the battle occurred by accident, turkey vultures instilled in children the horror of warfare and removed its glory, and horse hoofs helped visitors remember the fate of generals in the battle. Guides to this day continue to look for interesting ways of teaching the story because they recognize how critical their job is for maintaining public interest in Gettysburg. Park Historian Scott Hartwig believes "the guides, in all probability, have influenced the popular story of Gettysburg and its battlefield more than anyone" (1999).

There is an old trail going up the north side of Big Round Top (Figure 7.2). It begins in the woods behind the 10th PA Reserve monument and parallels the stone wall used by Union soldiers of Fisher's brigade. The trail is all but forgotten, and so is the stone wall and monuments to the 118th PA Infantry and other Union regiments that line it. Hundreds of visitors at the turn of the 20th century followed this way to the top of Big Round Top to enjoy the view from its tower, but the tower is gone and the NPS has allowed forest and time to slowly wear away the path. It is a relic of the memorial era, when trails, avenues, and monuments concentrated most along the Union fishhook line from Culp's Hill to Big Round Top. As a rule, visitors go where the road and direction markers lead them. Learning the battle at Gettysburg has revolved around this very fact. As access and suggested tour routes changed, so did visitor experiences of the battlefield, from one of sightseeing, to following the fishhook, to a comprehensive tour around the battlefield, to a climactic tour, and finally a chronological tour. These changes have discouraged memories about the battle as much as they have intended to encourage public understanding of it. The advent of the

fishhook tour drew attention away from the First Day's battlegrounds, and Reynolds' Park and Iverson's Pits eventually faded out of existence. Most recently, the chronological tour has made Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill outposts on the tour that require additional time to reach. This discourages visitors from going there and learning about the units and men who fought on those grounds on the Second and Third Day of the battle.

The Electric Map program continues to provide over 300,000 visitors annually with a concise overview of the battle (Figure 7.3).³ It is a relic from the final years of reconciliation, when comprehensive touring, nostalgia, and renewed attention to the First Day's battlegrounds collectively emphasized telling the whole story of the battle for the public to relearn as the memories of old veterans passed away. Park rangers and guides feel this program has exerted the greatest influence in teaching visitors since 1939 the basic concepts about the battle, namely the Union fishhook pattern and the hub of roads that brought the armies together.⁴ Other powerful interpretive programs still operating include the Cyclorama program, auto tape tours, and campfire programs at the amphitheater, all relics of the promotion era when the Park attempted to excite the public about Gettysburg through climactic stories and fun events. The Cyclorama brought millions to the center of the Park and instilled lasting memories of Pickett's Charge through seeing the painting at the very site of action. Furthermore, the recent proliferation of tape tours, living history programs, and interpretive walks strongly affect public knowledge of the battle. As Park rangers and guides attest, the majority of the visiting public do not read about Gettysburg, they watch it on television which offers no interaction for their learning

experience. Park programs in conjunction with guided tours are the main forums that allow visitors to ask questions and learn about the battle at the very place it happened. Indeed, interpretive programs at GNMP spread word of the most recent scholarly research on the Civil War to the public and help to make Gettysburg the major educative institution on the battle. Visitors remember more about the battle from their visit to Gettysburg than they do from any book or film because Park programs allow them to associate what they have learned with immediate memories of their experience with the battlefield.

On Powers Hill is a stone wall unlike most in the Park (Figure 7.4). It is tightly built of five layers of rock, topped by a row of capstones, and very formal in appearance. The War Department reconstructed this and other stone walls in the Park at the turn of the century to create a memorial look fitting for Gettysburg. It stands as a reminder of how memorialization dominated Park management then and how the War Department conformed the authentic and interpretive landscapes of the battlefield to fit this theme. Other relics to this management theme dotting the battlefield today include over 400 brigade, corps, and army interpretive markers and tablets look more like stone and iron memorials. In addition, broken and twisted gas-pipe fencing along Pitzer Woods and the placard at the base of General Warren's statue reading "Keep off this rock" allude to the fencing and placards placed around monuments and throughout the entire Park to keep visitors away from the memorials and battlefield. Managing the Park grounds in this manner had a profound influence on public memory about Gettysburg. It helped to make Gettysburg into the premier battlefield in the country. Moreover, monuments proliferated at Gettysburg largely because of

this management. The War Department's Commission tirelessly encouraged veterans' organizations to aid in their efforts to memorialize the field. Visitors and veterans went home and spread the word by mouth or newspaper how impressive and grand the entire battlefield appeared and how they needed to be a part of this process.

Later management themes exerted profound effects on the battlefield and public memory as well. Audio stations still found in the Park, for example, are evidence of how interpretation guided management during the promotion era. These and other interpretive devices proliferated, namely Mission '66 waysides, the Cyclorama Center, living history programs, and interpretive trails and walks. Moreover, interpretive management meant greater access to memorial and authentic landscapes. This involved the removal of restrictive fencing to allow visitors hands-on experience with monuments and grounds, and the placement of the Cyclorama in Ziegler's Grove to bring visitors closer to the fields of Pickett's Charge. Ultimately, this kind of management allowed for recreation, relic hunting, boy scout camping and trails, and Armed Forces Day demonstrations on the battlefield that appealed to American families and increased public visitation to two million annually by the 1960s. Today, the Park management theme of authenticity has brought about sweeping changes to remove commercialism, rehabilitate the physical landscape to resemble 1863, improve the interpretive programs to be more historically authentic, and protect and restore the monuments to their original luster. These changes are already exerting a powerful effect on public memory about the battle by helping to correct visitors' misconceptions about the original terrain, fences, fields, woods,

openness, weapons, apparel, events, and issues.⁵

Finally, Gettysburg traditions deserve mention for the power of instilling images many Americans continue to remember. This is aptly demonstrated by recent Remembrance Day ceremonies at the Park held near the Albert Woolson monument every November 20. After a wreath-laying ceremony and a few speeches, Union and Confederate reenactment units march down to the Angle to shake hands over the stone wall (Figure 7.5). The custom is in direct reference to Union and Confederate veterans who shook hands over the Angle at Gettysburg reunions in 1887, 1913, and especially 1938. The 1938 reunion received the greatest publicity of any event in the history of the Park. Another major influence on public memory has been the tradition of Presidents to speak or tour Gettysburg. The great publicity and frequency of their visits have contributed greatly to reaffirming Gettysburg's fame as the premier battlefield over the years.⁶ Indeed, visitation to the battlefield surged in the 1950s and 60s in large part due to Ike and Mamie retiring at their Gettysburg farm. The Eisenhower National Historic Site at Gettysburg is a relic of this tradition.

The Gettysburg Battlefield as a reflection of Memory

Visitor interests have changed substantially, and the battlefield has come to reflect this over the years in various ways. Early visitors were mostly Union veterans and their families who wanted to see where relatives or friends fought and died. This close association with the men in battle contributed to many of the Union monuments having statues modeled after veterans who fought at

Gettysburg (Figure 7.6). If we look to the national cemetery, carriage-width corridors of grass between the grave plots are the remnants of roads installed for early visitors to ride up to the grave sites of their lost brethren. During the memorial era, the War Department and Army took active interest in the battlefield for military study. This compelled the GNP Commission to construct the towers still standing today at Oak Ridge, Warfield Ridge, and Culp's Hill. Moreover, chunks of cement still found in the Pickett's Charge fields are remnants of the Army's Camp Colt swimming pool from 1918 that remind us of the frequent use of those fields by PA Reserves and Army groups for training.⁷

Visitor interests shifted to the story of the battle after veterans passed away, and the Park subsequently carried literature for this demand. One can still find evidence of this in the bookstore where reprints of Park Historian Fred Tilberg's 1954 Gettysburg National Military Park guide remains for sale.⁸ The subsequent rise in vacationing families, youth groups, and hikers and walkers during the 1950s and 60s contributed to the proliferation of motels, restaurants, souvenir and snack stands, camping grounds, and increased environmental awareness in the Park. Evidence of commercialism is mostly gone, but relics of the other changes include NPS nature-placards still found in the national cemetery, the continued use of McMillan Woods camping ground, and the Big Round Top Nature Loop trail. Nowadays, the increase of Civil War buffs and women ask about greater detail and human drama concerning soldiers' lives, relationships, trauma in battle, aftermath, reasons for fighting, and civilians in the war.⁹ The Park has responded by hosting Saturday reenactment events during

the summer, creating the giant “Wall of Faces” display of individual soldiers who fought in the battle, and offering more “Women in the War” and other living history programs. Guides also give more specialized tours on the battle to accommodate this new demand.

Attendance of commemorative events, anniversaries, and holidays at Gettysburg has reflected trends in public memory. When Union veterans and families constituted the largest group of visitors, and battlefield monuments were mostly to Union regiments, “G.A.R. Week” held in the end of August and May Decoration Day ceremonies in the national cemetery were the most-attended annual holidays up to the 1910s. Memorial Day festivities today remind us of this early popularity through the strewing of flowers by schoolchildren, the oldest tradition in Park history dating back to 1867 (Figure 7.7). As widespread public attention shifted to reunifying the country and remembering the aging veterans, the 50th and 75th anniversary reunions of “Blue and Gray” held at Gettysburg in 1913 and 1938 set attendance records that have yet to be broken. During this era of reconciliation, Lincoln’s popularity among visitors grew and so did national efforts to memorialize our 16th president around the country. Consequently, November festivities at the Park for the Anniversary of Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address became the most-attended annual celebrations by the 1930s and 40s. Nowadays, the largest-attended ceremonies at Gettysburg are those held over the anniversary of the battle, 29-4 of July. This is a function of the surge of summer-vacationing families that started in the 1950s and a resurgence of popular interest in Civil War reenacting that started in the 1960s. Interestingly, reenacting has become so popular that reenactors have become a regular

feature at nearly all ceremonial events held throughout the year at Gettysburg.

The battlegrounds celebrated as “key” to Union victory have invariably been where the greatest number of visitors go. Throughout the stages of remembrance, the most visited battlegrounds in the Park have shifted around the Union fishhook, from the barb to the eye. During the era of vindication, Cemetery Hill and Culp’s Hill attracted the most visitors. Sketches of the fighting on these hills had appeared in newspaper coverage of the battle, and it helped for the sites to be close to town. As visitors learned more about the fighting there than other places they could not visit so easily, the hills took on an ever more crucial role in the story. The concentration of the battlefield’s first monuments on Culp’s Hill and the Soldiers’ National Cemetery bespeak of this early pattern (Figure 7.8). By the memorialization era, the High Water Mark joined Cemetery Hill and Culp’s Hill as the most popular sites. This is evident in the iron fence around the Copse of Trees from 1887, the High Water Mark monument from 1892, and the clustering of Union monuments in the area. During the era of reconciliation, the entire Union fishhook line received equal visitation. This reflected visitor awareness of Lincoln and the cemetery, handshakes at the Angle from Gettysburg reunions, and Warren’s role at Little Round Top as told by guides. The highlighting of the fishhook during Electric Map presentations remains a relic of its popularity. In the promotion era, the High Water Mark emerged as the most popular site. The decisions to place the Cyclorama building nearby and create the High Water Mark loop trail reflected the rising popularity of Pickett’s Charge as much as they encouraged it. Presently, Little Round Top is the most visited site, largely because of media publicity over

Chamberlain.

The heroes most celebrated at Gettysburg have traditionally reflected whoever is popular among the visiting public. The first heroes reflected Northern and local interests, namely the victorious commander General Meade, Pennsylvania's own General Reynolds, and townspeople Jennie Wade and John Burns. Wade and Burns have remained the mainstays as the battle's civilian heroes to this day. However, the military heroes have changed considerably. As Union monuments began to proliferate on the battlefield, Gettysburg became a tribute to dozens of heroes. Visitors came to see their relatives, former commanders, and friends carved in the statues and monuments. Meade and Reynolds remained the most revered, but soldiers like Strong Vincent, Colonel Ellis, George Greene, Gouverneur Warren and other brave Union officers who fought or died had their followings in their fellow men who placed monuments to them. Lincoln later emerged as the most popular hero among the visiting public, with Lee a close second, because of national efforts to memorialize Lincoln and remember his speech and because of growing national recognition of Lee as the war's greatest general. During the era of promotion, the Electric Map and battlefield guides increased attention to Warren as the "Savior of Little Round Top," but he remained well overshadowed by Lee and Lincoln. Lee's popularity eventually exceeded Lincoln's because of widespread national acceptance of the Lost Cause theory and new Confederate monuments at Gettysburg reflected this notion. Nowadays, Chamberlain, Longstreet, and Armistead are the most popular heroes because visitors have seen, read, and heard about them in books and film, especially the movie Gettysburg.

Struggles between the Gettysburg Battlefield and Memory

The battle occurred over 16,000 acres (25 square miles) but just over 4,150 acres (6.5 square miles) are presently owned by GNMP. Acquiring battlegrounds for preservation has been a major issue of struggle between the Park and mostly local memory since 1863. There are many relics left to remind us of this fight over land. At first, the GBMA struggled to raise enough funds locally to purchase battlefield lands so the first acquisitions were mostly strips of land or "avenues" to provide visitors access to the Union battle lines. Many of these early avenue purchases were scattered, wherever they could get Union battlegrounds for the cheapest price. Neill Avenue today is a relic of this pattern (Figure 7.9).

When monuments proliferated and Gettysburg attracted visitors nationally, Park management entered into lengthy court battles with local businesses and land owners over control of popular and important battlegrounds. The location of the Longstreet tower is a relic of the dispute between the Park and local owners on Seminary Ridge over property compensation that delayed the construction of West Confederate Avenue and forced the Park to place the tower on Warfield Ridge instead of nearer the fields of Pickett's Charge. Another relic is a trail that runs from the Valley of Death, around Devil's Den, and through the Rose Woods. It is the old trolley bed left from when the Park removed the tracks after having finally condemned Tipton's Park and the Gettysburg Electric Railway through a court battle that lasted a decade.

Eventually the Park began acquiring large farmsteads, but between the 1930s and 1950s commercialism exploded on private islands within Park boundaries. A stone slab from the ticket booth is all that remains of the Gettysburg Airport to remind us of the commercial businesses on the First Day's battlegrounds. The Park initially allowed snack stands, souvenir shops and other private businesses to operate because it did not have these services to meet the demands of millions of visitors, but this attitude changed after the National Battlefield Tower appeared. The Park has since aggressively purchased one business after another, until Congress restricted the GNMP boundary in 1990 to approximately 6000 acres in response to local outcry against losing property to the Park Service. The boundary included the National Battlefield Tower, enabling the NPS to use eminent domain proceedings in acquiring it, but townspeople grew upset over the loss of jobs and tax money provided by the tower. Presently, 100 properties (1850 acres) remain within the GNMP boundary. As long as homes and businesses exist on the battlegrounds of Gettysburg, the Park will continue to fight over land with local residents whose memories are more than of the battle but also of Gettysburg as their home and livelihood.

The monuments at Gettysburg have struggled with battle memories. On Buford Avenue stands the 9th New York Cavalry monument. It features a bronze plaque set in granite showing cavalryman on horseback. The bronze has blackened over the years and only when the sun strikes this monument in the afternoon can one make out the words "Discovering the Enemy" set in relief under the horse's feet. A mile away stands the 8th Illinois Cavalry monument on which the words have been inscribed "First Line of Battle." These statements

refer to the argument between the survivors of these regiments over who engaged with Confederate forces at Gettysburg first. Neither unit fought in sight of each other to have credible witnesses and much honor was at stake for having started the greatest of Union victories. The GBMA never resolved the argument and allowed both monuments to stand.

Park management has dealt with other struggles over marking and monumenting the field. Most notably, the Park has struggled with veterans over where to place monuments. The 72nd Pennsylvania monument at the Angle involved a court battle between the GBMA and the regiment's survivors to finalize its placement (Figure 7.10). Moreover, the War Department struggled to interest Southerners in marking the field. Today, only 27 monuments representing the Confederate army exist in the Park compared to 472 Union monuments. In addition, Park management struggled over what kind of monuments were allowable. The white bronze base of the 4th Ohio monument on East Cemetery Hill is a relic of early attempts by monument manufacturers to substitute materials cheaper than bronze or granite that the GBMA and War Department eventually disallowed after trial and error. Finally, Park management has struggled to properly supervise every monument going up and some mistakes have occurred. A fitting relic is the 84th Pennsylvania monument along Pleasanton Avenue. The regiment protected the Union supply train and did not arrive at Gettysburg until after the battle was over, but approximately 30 yards east and west from the monument are flank markers marking the ends of the regiment's line in battle where the unit never fought.

In the last 30 years, the Park has struggled with public memory mostly

over fiction in several forms. It has involved fighting over media, myths, and nature. While the Park aggressively acquired land and removed commercial structures from all parts of the battlefield, national news and images of Ottenstein's Tower branded Gettysburg as being heavily commercialized and artificial. Despite tireless efforts by Park rangers and guides to correct myths and exaggerations about the battle, visitors still come believing in shoes, horse hoofs, and turkey vultures. On the local and regional level, the Park has struggled with community residents and frequent visitors over the removal of post-battle trees.¹⁰ In spite of NPS efforts to explain how Little Round Top and other forested areas in the Park were barren in 1863, opponents remained resistant to see the woods cut because their lifelong memories of the Park were tied to its beauty and wildlife. Admittedly, Gettysburg has long been a nature park, going back to the 1930s when GNMP officials publicly announced peak-blossom foliage every spring to attract weekend visitors. This, of course, speaks to the common problem with all of these struggles: Gettysburg is ultimately fighting itself. Through the battlefield, the public has become familiarized with structures, stories, sites, and images not authentic to the battle and war and this has proven destructive to preservation efforts. While Gettysburg is more authentic in 2000 than in recent decades, there is still some change in need of correction, and if left alone, the inherent power of its visible presence may continue to mislead public conceptions that may eventually prove too stubborn for later preservation efforts. As one visitor aptly stated, "this is an historical park first -- losing sight of it will cause us to lose sight of that" (Miller 1999).

But Park difficulties with fictional memory originate from beyond the

battlefield as well. On a daily basis, park rangers and guides continue to struggle with Shaara's novel and the movie Gettysburg. To this end, I am reminded of Park Historian John Heiser's experience in the national cemetery. While on duty in 1997, a visiting couple approached him and said they were looking for a Union soldier from Maine who they presumed was buried in the cemetery. The husband claimed he had read about the soldier, knew he fought and died at Gettysburg, and traveled "all this way" to see the man's grave. When John asked which soldier, the husband replied "Buster Kilrain." To the couple's dismay, John informed them Kilrain was a fictional character in Killer Angels (that is where the husband had read about him). Indeed, fallacies about the battle instilled in visitors from the novel (and the movie upon which it is based) have become so commonplace at Gettysburg they compelled Scott Hartwig to author A Killer Angels Companion (1996) that examines the novel to distinguish its fictional parts from battle records. Hartwig claims the novel is not at fault and neither is the movie because "these works do not pretend to be non-fiction and the public should remember these are meant to entertain." But the fact remains, with the so much available media on Gettysburg, every guide occasionally engages in arguments with visitors insistent on adhering to fallacies about the battle they learned elsewhere. As one guide speaking anonymously put it, "The problem with Gettysburg is its appeal. Everyone who reads a book and watches a movie wants to be an expert."

The Time of Greatest Influence and the Place of Greatest Change at Gettysburg

This study has been about the stages of memory at Gettysburg and the

interplay between the battlefield landscape and that memory. Some final conclusions seem worthwhile on this matter. While lessons in the battlefield suggest that the forces and reflections of memory have operated synchronously throughout Gettysburg's stages of remembrance, the battlefield was actually most influential on visitors from the 1930s to the 1970s. Prior to the 1930s, the public learned about the battle through art, family and friends who were veterans, and veterans' debates in newspapers, as much as they did coming to Gettysburg. That is why visitors to Gettysburg during those early years most wanted to see the specific spots where veterans (whom many knew personally) had fought and died, to learn about the history of the unit those veterans fought with, and to see the regimental monument placed in honor of those men. Since the 1970s, the public has learned about the battle as much from popular media as they have from the Park and, like the early visitors, many also come with similar specific interests. Visitors nowadays inquire about particular soldiers, units, and engagements in the battle. Many request to see where Chamberlain fought or Armistead died, or they want an in-depth tour of Little Round Top. Mostly, they have gathered their interests from reading Shaara's novel, Ken Burns's film, the movie Gettysburg, or from the incredible volume of literature and television programs on the battle that has surged since the 1980s.

But between the 1930s and 1970s, the American public looked most to the Gettysburg battlefield for remembrance. As veterans died out, discussion on the battle in newspapers faded, and travel became easier, so more visitors arrived just to learn of the battle their generation knew little about. These were the years when Gettysburg became "a mecca for tourists" from all 50 states.¹¹

The Electric Map, Cyclorama, wayside exhibits, official Park tour routes, and the physical landscape took on unprecedented importance in conveying the battle story to the average American. Indeed, most everything about Gettysburg in public memory was being generated from Gettysburg during this time, including important events, popular books, news, images, and details of the battle. The public and visitors read as much from Storrick and Tilberg as they did from Catton and Foote, they became familiar with the battle most through articles and postcards distributed by local businessmen Paul Roy and Leroy Smith, and they learned the battle through school bus trips or family tourist outings to Gettysburg. Fred Tilberg wrote in the midst of this era, "the interest in the battlefield now centers more in the story of the battle" because he and other guides observed more tourists with little knowledge of the battle coming to hear the story "where it took place." ¹²

Finally, while the struggles between the battlefield and memory are exhibited throughout the entire Park, it is important to consider the one place that has undergone the greatest change because this indicates where the interplay of battlefield and memory has struggled the most at Gettysburg. That place is the High Water Mark area and fields of Pickett's Charge (Figure 7.11). Imagine standing at the Angle shortly after the battle and witnessing the transformation of the landscape in every direction up to the present. The change has been astounding. Interpretively, it is the only part of the battlefield that has gone from virtual obscurity to the pinnacle of popularity. For the first 20 years, few photographers and tourists paid attention to the place. It had no avenue until 1881, and no name until 1892. Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top

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drew more visitors during that early time. Following Bachelder's construction of the iron fence around the Copse of Trees and the placement of Armistead's marker in 1887, visitors increased, and eight decades later the Official Park Auto Tour affirmed it as the premier spot at Gettysburg. Nowadays, its popularity is overshadowed by Little Round Top. Physically, it has witnessed three avenues constructed and removed, a tower placed and demolished, and more monuments proliferate here than at any other spot. The original 1863 topography and earthworks have been plowed, dug, trampled, camped on, and run over by tanks, trolleys, and trains. The area has been used for cattle grazing, contour farming, railway construction, national guard camps, U.S. Army training camps, veterans' reunion camps, military demonstrations and maneuvers, and the most publicized reunion and reenactment festivities in the history of the Park. Lastly, the viewshed from the Angle has been altered in every direction. To the north, visitors witnessed the Cyclorama and Visitor Center penetrate Ziegler's Grove and Cemetery Hill. To the west, they saw utility lines rise in front of Seminary Ridge and railroad and trolley cars pass through the fields. To the South, they saw restaurants and motels built and demolished along Emmitsburg Road and post-battle forest obscure the fields to Little Round Top until being cut down. And to the East, they saw the rise and fall of the National Battlefield Tower.

I am drawn to the relics that speak of these changes. The iron fence still stands around the Copse of Trees and the old bed of Webb Avenue that led to the Angle reappears in the burnt grass every mid-July.¹³ The very point of this chapter has been to show how every site at Gettysburg is fascinating for what

remains of past structures to remind us of previous public experiences and memories tied to this place. Indeed, more relics will appear because more is sure to change. At the time of this writing, the Park received Congressional approval for a plan to continue the process of returning the battlefield as close as possible to its 1863 landscape and restore the original structures first placed by veterans that have since been removed or altered (See GMP 1999, 124-139). This shall involve the removal of the Cyclorama and Visitor Center, the rehabilitation of Ziegler's Grove and the High Water Mark area, the clearing of 600 acres of forest, and the restoration of historic monuments and viewsheds. To this end, the Park has demolished the National Battlefield Tower and begun removing post-battle trees. As these features are removed from the landscape, invariably something tangible will be left behind. Perhaps later scholars will find remains of the Cyclorama or Visitor Center, or uncover the cement base to the National Battlefield Tower. With a careful reading of the landscape, they too will see the many layers of relics to past memories, including that which is indicative of how our generation has come to remember the place. It is for these layers of relics, each a window to a different time and place of remembrance, that I consider Gettysburg to be a living battlefield.



Figure 7.1. The Process of Memory

Many sites exhibit evidence of the stages of remembrance at Gettysburg. In this view of East Cemetery Hill the preserved Union lunettes are relics of the vindication era and the Union monuments were placed during the memorial era. Modern interpretive programs at this site give equal attention to both Union and Confederate involvement because of the reconciliation era. At the crest of the hill is a Mission '66 wayside from the promotion era. The cannon were recently painted authentic olive-green as part of the restoration era.

Source: Author



Figure 7.2. Discouraging Memory

The steps are relics of the old trail that followed the Union battle line to its terminus at Big Round Top. When the official Park tour route changed in the 1930s, it ignored the trail which discouraged visitors from seeing monuments and learning of the fighting here. Tour patterns and access affect what visitors remember and what they miss.

Source: Author

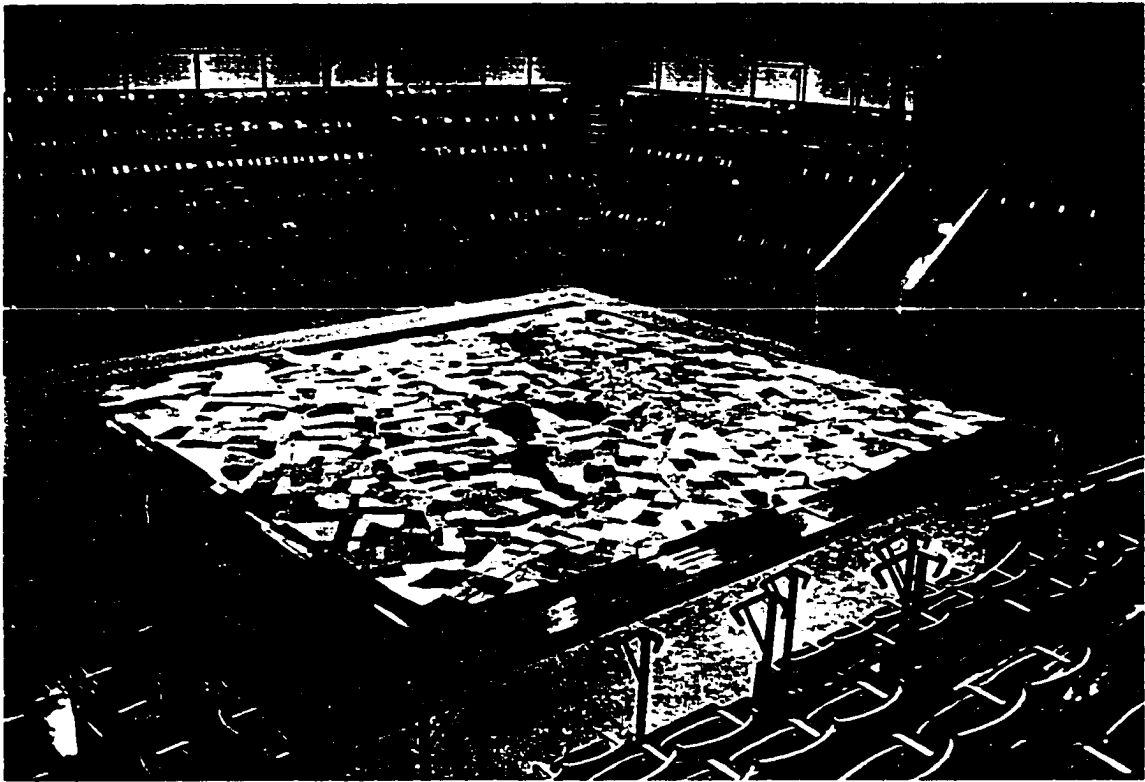


Figure 7.3. Teaching Memory.

The Electric Map has taught more visitors the concept of the fishhook than any existing book or film on the battle of Gettysburg. It is a relic from the era of reconciliation when teaching the visiting public about the entire battle took on great importance as the last of the veterans passed away. Interpretive programs at GNMP strongly influence public understanding of Gettysburg by illustrating important concepts about the battle at the site where the action occurred.

Source: Author



Figure 7.4. Memorial Management

When the War Department Commission at Gettysburg (1895-1927) focused on monumenting the battlefield, they constructed authentic and interpretive features, like this stone wall on Powers Hill, to fit the new memorial look of Gettysburg at that time.

Throughout the history of the Park, management themes have emphasized memorialization, interpretation, or authenticity. Whichever theme has dominated management, the corresponding landscape has proliferated and the rest of the battlefield has been shaped to reflect the paramount theme.

Source: Author



Figure 7.5. Gettysburg Traditions

On Remembrance Day, Union and Confederate living history units reenact the handshake at the Angle. This custom is a living relic to the influence Gettysburg traditions have on public memory. As this example demonstrates, the great reunion ceremonies held at Gettysburg in 1913 and 1938 that publicized former enemies of the Blue and Gray reconciling over the Angle are still remembered to this day.

Source: Author

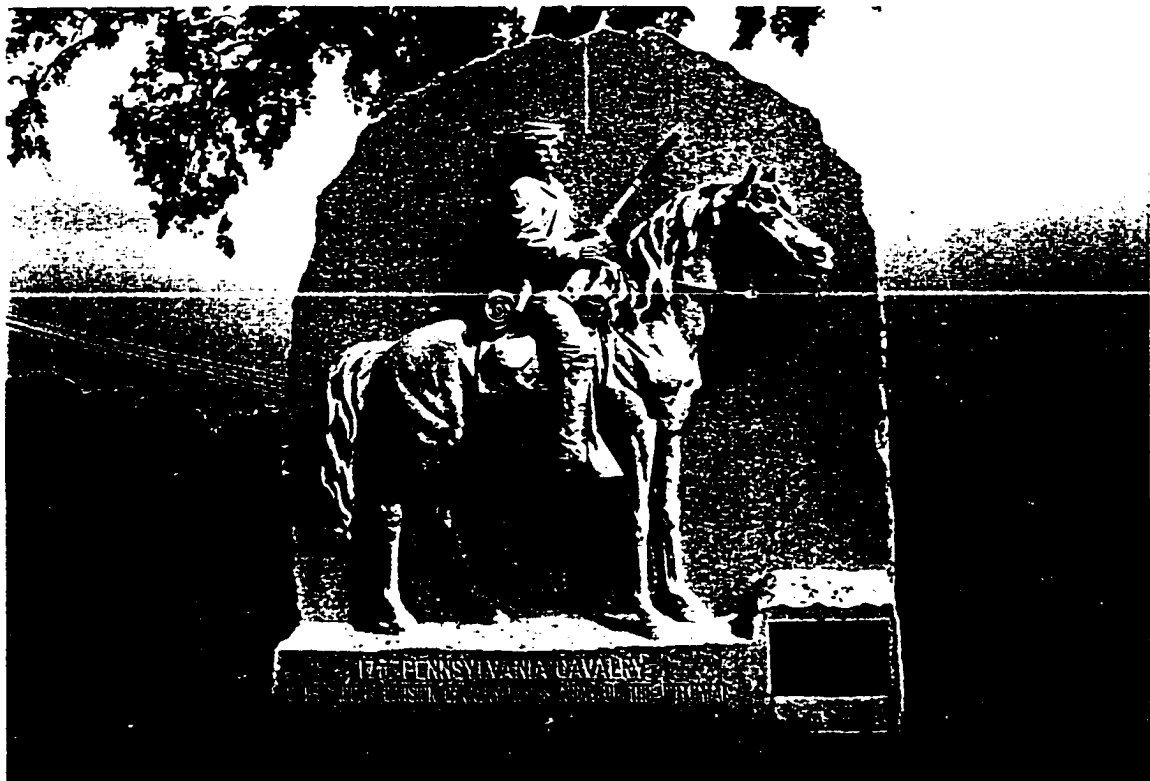


Figure 7.6. Remembering the Men Behind the Monuments

The 17th P.A Cavalry regiment features a stone vedette modeled after soldier George Ferree of Company L in the unit. Many of the statues and figures on monuments erected at Gettysburg up to the 1900s are likenesses of real veterans who fought in the battle. This reflected public interest in the battlefield during those early years. Many visitors and survivors had relatives and friends in battle who they wanted to see memorialized and not forgotten.

Source: Author



Figure 7.7. Reflecting Memory

Schoolchildren marching on Memorial Day with flags and flowers to strew on the graves in the national cemetery is the oldest tradition at Gettysburg, dating back to 1867. This reflects the early popularity of Memorial Day, the largest-attended holiday until the 1910s. As other holiday festivities garnered greater attendance, such as the Anniversary of the Gettysburg Address in the 1930s and 40s and later the battle anniversary, this reflected shifts in public interest in the battle. The origin of traditions associated with these holiday festivities reflect the history of their relative popularity.

Source: Author

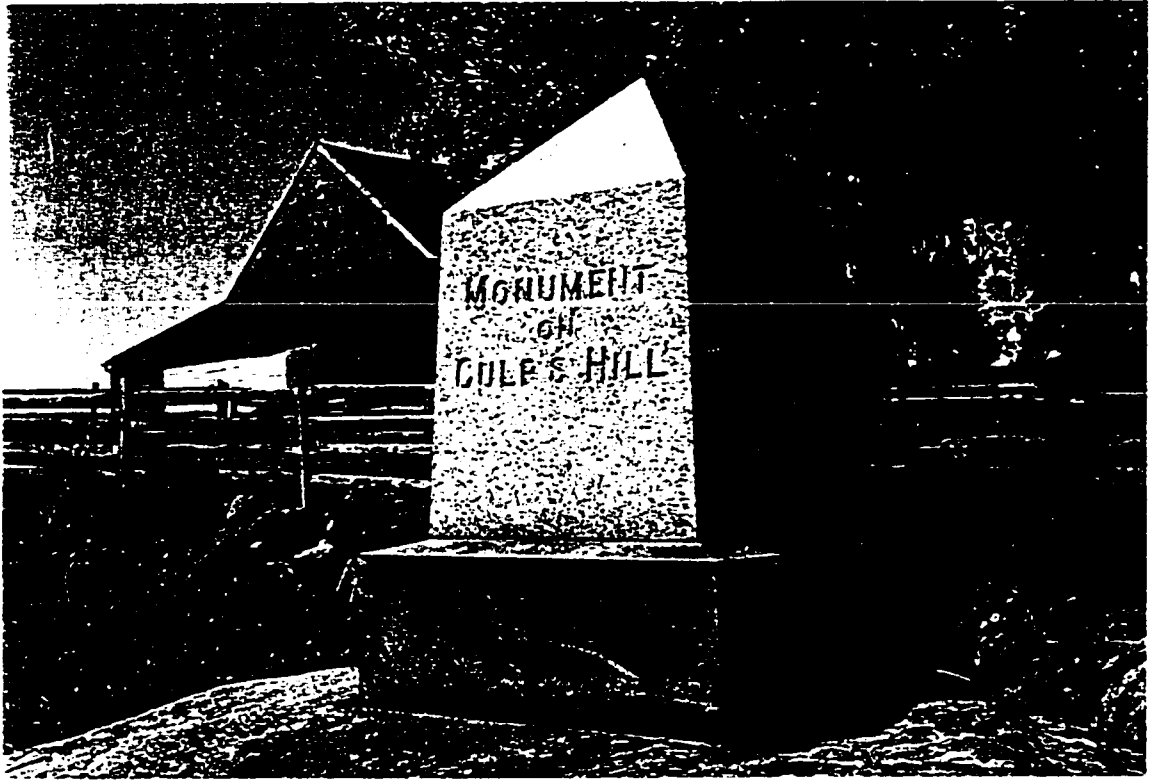


Figure 7.8. Popular Memory

When survivors of the 150th New York regiment placed this marker where they had fought at the Trostle farm, they included the inscription (picture above) to remind visitors of the regiment's main monument on Culp's Hill. The clustering of early monuments on Culp's Hill reflected its initial popularity as a key battleground.

Source: Author

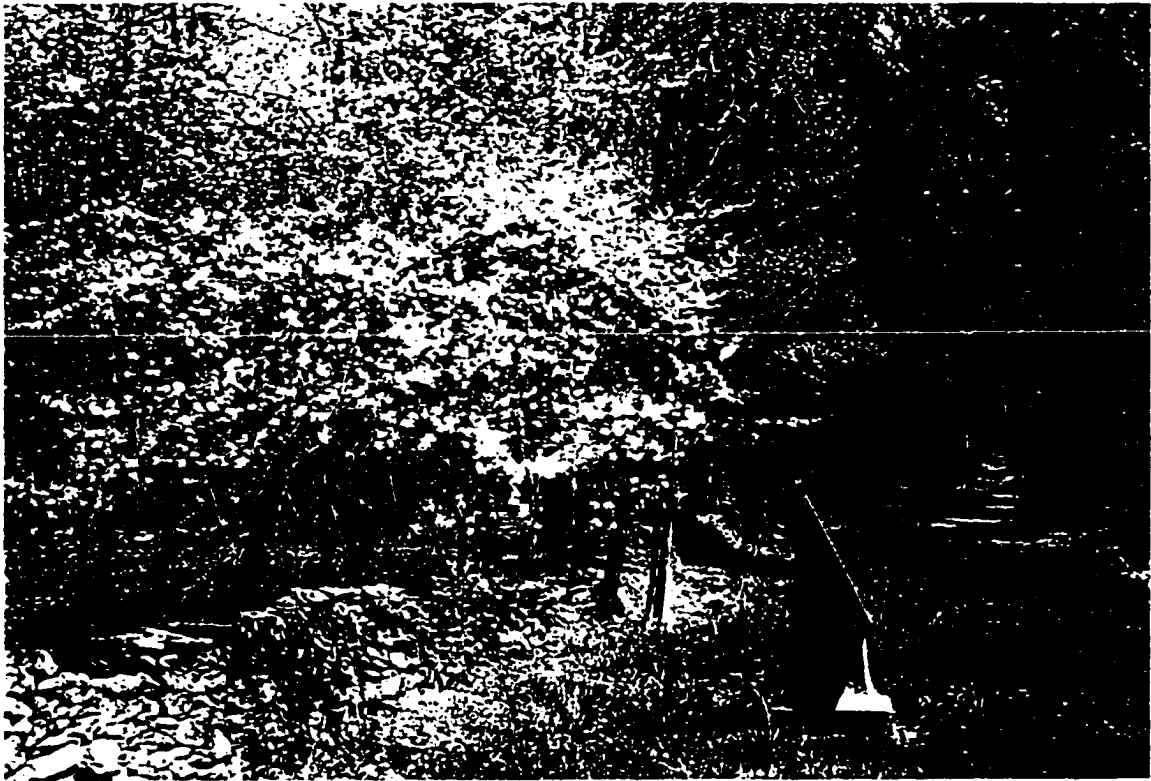


Figure 7.9. Struggling over Land

Neill Avenue, surveyed in 1888, was one of several early "avenues" or strips of lands purchased by the GBMA and to mark Union battle lines. The park has grown in a piecemeal fashion because every management at Gettysburg has struggled to acquire battlefield land. The War Department acquired lands to mark Confederate battle lines, and later, farmsteads to fill-in the Second and Third Day's battlegrounds. The NPS acquired large parcels of the First Day's battlegrounds, and later, private properties scattered throughout the Park. GNMP presently owns 4,150 acres (6.5 square miles) of the 16,000 acres (25 square miles) of land over which the battle was fought.

Source: Author



Figure 7.10. Struggling over Marking the Field

Survivors of the 72nd PA Infantry went to court against the GBMA to have their monument erected at this spot where they had fought. GBMA rules required the monument be placed 30 yards back where the regiment first formed in battle line, but the Pennsylvania Supreme Court allowed this exception. Marking the field has involved numerous struggles between Park management and regimental organizations over monument placements, over what memories should be recorded on monuments, and over what materials were appropriate for monuments.

Source: Author



Figure 7.11. The Place of Greatest Change

The High Water Mark area and fields of Pickett's Charge have undergone the greatest change of any site at Gettysburg. Interpretively, it has risen from virtual obscurity in the 1880s to the pinnacle of popularity by the 1960s. Physically the area has been used for farming, railway construction, National Guard and U.S. Army camps, veterans' reunion camps, and military maneuvers. In addition, utility lines, restaurants, motels, and other structures have appeared and disappeared from its historic viewshed, including the National Battlefield Tower from which this view was taken in June 2000.

Source: Author

Notes

¹ The process of memory at Gettysburg has involved vindicating the victors through martyring their dead and ruins (1863-1883), memorializing their heroics and recording the battle (1884-1904), reconciling with the defeated (1905-1940), promoting the battle to the public (1941-1970), and restoring the field and story (1971-2000). Essentially, this is about telling one side of the story, telling both sides of the story, telling the whole story, enhancing the story, and telling the story as it happened.

² The War Department markers and tablets are also part of the reconciliation period. Most were placed after 1905 for the purpose of documenting both Confederate and Union action in the battle comprehensively.

³ Statistics on annual visitor attendance to the Electric Map program courtesy of Dave Wagner at GNMP.

⁴ Since 1989, Ken Burns' film and subsequent television programs on the Civil War have shown millions of viewers the fishhook pattern, the town as a hub of roads, and other basic concepts of the battle. But these media have not surpassed the Electric Map because of its longevity and because many families and schoolchildren visiting Gettysburg have not seen Burns' film or other Civil War programs.

⁵ The physical landscape of Gettysburg exerts a powerful role on public memory. Devil's Den is a good example. Rangers Terry Deal and Becky Lyons claims more adults remember seeing Devil's Den than any other place on the battlefield. "They don't remember a thing about the battle, but they remember the big rocks of Devil's Den."

⁶ Presidential speakers and visitors include Rutherford Hayes, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, and Jimmy Carter.

⁷ Military groups can still be seen on the battlefield today, either in their gray buses on tours or occasionally running maneuvers on Little Round Top.

⁸ Also read Fred Tilberg "Gettysburg in 1954," Reading Railroad Magazine 19.3 (1954): 4-8.

⁹ Rangers and guides attribute this shift largely to Shaara's novel, Burns' film, and the movie Gettysburg.

¹⁰ Other major issues of struggle between the battlefield and public memories concern killing the deer and one-waying the avenues.

¹¹ Tilberg "Gettysburg in 1954," 4.

¹² The quotes come from Tilberg's "Gettysburg in 1954," (5) and from guide J. Guy Wolf speaking in Jerry Gleason's "Guide Notes Recent Shift in Interest," Harrisburg Sunday Patriot, 8 October 1972.

¹³ Webb Avenue appears because there is little soil above it to hold moisture and so the grass over it burns first in summer. It also appears in the fall because the grass over it is the first to die.

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